PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

III

172 A—263 C

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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PREFACE

The translation found in this volume is doubtless open to criticism from more sources than that in the volumes which have preceded it, since much of the matter which it contains is familiar to many people, and many of the *Sayings* have come to be a part of our everyday language.

There are doubtless omissions in the numerous references, and some references to the more familiar stories it was necessary to curtail for lack of space, but it is to be hoped that, on the whole, the references may prove to be fuller than those to be found elsewhere, and that the necessary clues have been given in the case of the curtailed references, so that anyone interested may be able to follow them up.

To the bibliography in Vol. I. p. xxvi is to be added an interesting book: W. R. Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch*, with a New Translation and a Commentary (Oxford, 1928).

At the time when this volume stands completed the second volume of the text of the *Moralia* in the Teubner edition has not appeared, and, in the main, one must still depend on the editions of Wyttenbach and Bernardakis.

However, the grant of a subvention by the American Council of Learned Societies has made it possible to procure photostatic copies of a few of the MSS. in the Bibliothèque National at Paris, and anyone who has had the experience knows the satisfaction in seeing with one's own eyes the reading of a MS. instead of having to depend on the (sometimes careless) collation of another.

As a result, a good many readings of Bernardakis's text have been silently corrected. It is evident that Bernardakis did not collate some MSS. which he says in his preface that he did collate, or else his collation was careless in the extreme. Several of his critical notes are but corrections of imaginary errors, which do not exist in the MSS. which he did not collate!

It is quite clear that, in the MSS. of the *Sayings*, occasionally a part of a word (or more rarely a whole word or a part of a sentence) has been omitted. If this be accepted as a working hypothesis, it may serve in some cases to further the criticism of the text, and to explain some of the dubious readings of the MSS.

F. C. B.

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August 1929.

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SAYINGS OF KINGS AND COMMANDERS
(REGUM ET IMPERATORUM APOPHTHEGMATA)

INTRODUCTION

Anyone who reads some of the many articles which have been written about the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* found in Plutarch's works would almost certainly gain the impression that the whole book is a tasteless forgery; yet a closer study would probably convince him that the *Sayings* are, in the main, just as truly the work of Plutarch as the poems of Sappho or Alcaeus which we now possess are the works of those authors. The only question, then, is how it happens that the *Sayings* stand in their present form, and this will doubtless serve as a topic for debate in the future, as it has in the past, since it can never be definitely settled.

The assumption that the whole book is a forgery can only be regarded as nonsense. Many of the stories included here are found also in other writers, such, for example, as Aelian, Polyaenus, or Valerius Maximus, and the relation between the versions found in the different writers is quite the same as the relation between other stories found in the indisputably genuine works of Plutarch and the versions found in other writers.

A second assumption that some of the stories were put together by a later writer who copied them largely from Plutarch's *Lives* (when there were Lives from which they could be copied) is more plausible in the case of many of the *Sayings*, especially since the versions often coincide (in whole or part) in language. At the same time a comparison of the versions found here with the versions found in the *Lives*, for example, of Phocion, or Fabius Maximus, or the elder Cato, will probably serve to convince an unprejudiced reader that these were not copied verbatim from the *Lives*, but that they have been put down independently from the same or the original source. A special stress is laid by those who uphold this theory upon the words ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον (196 E), but that again is only a natural observation which anyone writing a memorandum might properly make regarding that incident, and anyone enthusiastic in supporting the genuineness of the *Sayings* might equally well suggest that this was an observation of some copyist, put down as a marginal note, which has crept into the text.

There remains, then, the possibility that the *Sayings* are in the main the work of Plutarch, written by him in practically their present form, and that some of these were copied into the *Lives* rather than from the *Lives*. Plutarch himself tells us, in *Moralia* 464 F and 457 D,[a] that he was in the habit of making collections of notes of this sort, and certainly nothing could be more natural than that the author of the *Lives*, to say nothing of the *Moralia*, should get together some of his material in more accessible form, especially in view of the difficulty, in ancient times, of consulting books, which were written and kept in the form of a roll. The arrangement of the *Sayings of Kings and*

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[a] In 457 D ff. Plutarch gives some examples of the kind of anecdotes which he is wont to collect, and some of these are identical with those found in the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*.

Commanders is roughly chronological, with some retrogressions. The Greeks (and Persians) and the Romans are grouped separately. If these sayings were extracted from the *Lives* by a writer as dull-witted as many would have us believe he was, it might reasonably be expected that he would have jumbled the Greeks and the Romans together as they are alternated in the *Lives*, but such is not the case. It will be noted that the names of the Spartans whose sayings are recorded in a similar collection are arranged in alphabetical order for convenience in consultation.

In Lamprias's catalogue of Plutarch's works the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* is listed as No. 108, and Stobaeus, in his *Florilegium*, quotes from it freely. Of the large number of quotations from this work which are to be found in Stobaeus an overwhelming majority agree in language either verbatim or almost verbatim, and are not in agreement verbatim with variant versions found elsewhere in the *Lives* or the *Moralia* or in Aelian or Polyaenus. In one case Stobaeus (*Florilegium*, liv. 43 = *Moralia* 788 D and not 187 C) seems to have preferred a version found elsewhere in the *Moralia*, and in one other case (vii. 48 = Life of *Lycurgus*, chap. xx. 4, rather than *Moralia*, 190 D, or 215 D) a version found in the *Lives*. It is clear, then, that the book was in existence as an independent volume in the time of Stobaeus, and probably earlier.

Whether Plutarch ever meant that this collection should be published, or whether he himself provided the introduction addressed to the Emperor Trajan, are questions of minor importance. In ancient times, no doubt, as in later days royalty could not afford to spend too much time with books, and welcomed predigested information.

Plutarch very seldom tells the same story in the same words. Over and over again in his works we find a story repeated with minor variations in language, or in expansion or condensation, which often serve to adapt it better to its context, or, again, seem to serve no purpose except to avoid sameness ; and so with the stories in this collection : when they are repeated in other parts of Plutarch's works they almost always show the same minor variations which are so characteristic of Plutarch.[a]

It is an interesting academic study, for those to whom such studies appeal, to compare the different versions of the same story, and to try to draw conclusions as to which version is derived from the other, or the others (as has been done by Carl Schmidt, *De apophthegmatum quae sub Plutarchi nomine feruntur collectionibus*, Greifswalde, 1879),[b] but such studies are bound to be unconvincing at best.

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[a] Of the hundred or two hundred or more examples which might be cited (and which may be found by consulting the footnotes in the following pages) three or four must here suffice. One may compare the four accounts of Ada's cooks (180 A), or the three versions of Antigonus's modesty (183 C), or the remark of Lysimachus to Philippides (183 E), copied practically verbatim by Stobaeus, *Florilegium* xlix. 19, which looks like an original memorandum, while the other versions (*Moralia* 508 C and 517 B) appear to be adapted to their context; or the retort of Phocion to Antipater (188 F), six times repeated, in which the language of the retort is always essentially the same, but the setting is regularly adapted to the context.

[b] One may compare also Wilhelm Gemoll, *Das Apophthegma* (Leipzig, 1924), which is a discursive essay on the apophthegm, anecdote, novel, and romance, with relatively little reference to Plutarch.

Of many of the stories there is no variant version. Some were doubtless used in lives or essays by Plutarch which are now lost, and some were doubtless meant to be included in lives or essays which were never written.

The collection in whole or in part is probably as well known as anything that Plutarch has written, for parts of it have become proverbial, and so it is not surprising that some of the sayings have been attributed to other well-known men, both ancient and modern, or that other men both ancient and modern have given utterance to them as their own.

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ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝ

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΩΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ

B Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς, ὦ μέγιστε αὐτοκράτορ Καῖσαρ Τραϊανέ, οὐχ ἧττον οἰόμενος βασιλικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον εἶναι τοῦ μεγάλα διδόναι τὸ μικρὰ λαμβάνειν εὐμενῶς καὶ προθύμως, ἐπεί, παρελαύνοντος αὐτοῦ καθ' ὁδόν, αὐτουργὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἰδιώτης οὐδὲν ἔχων ἕτερον ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ὕδωρ ὑπολαβὼν προσήνεγκεν, ἡδέως ἐδέξατο καὶ ἐμειδίασε, τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοῦ διδόντος οὐ τῇ χρείᾳ τοῦ διδομένου τὴν χάριν μετρήσας.

C Ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος εὐτελεστάτας ἐποίησεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὰς θυσίας, ἵνα ἀεὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν ἑτοίμως δύνωνται καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων. τοιαύτῃ δή τινι γνώμῃ κἀμοῦ λιτά σοι δῶρα καὶ ξένια καὶ κοινὰς ἀπαρχὰς προσφέροντος ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας, ἅμα τῇ προθυμίᾳ καὶ τὴν χρείαν

SAYINGS OF KINGS AND COMMANDERS

PLUTARCH TO TRAJAN, SUPREME MONARCH; SUCCESS AND PROSPERITY

Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, O Trajan, Emperor Most High and Monarch Supreme, used to think that, as compared with giving large gifts, it was no less the mark of a king and a lover of his fellow-men to accept small gifts graciously and with a ready goodwill; and so, on a time when he was riding by, and a simple labourer, possessed of nothing else, took up water from the river in his two hands and offered it to the king, he accepted it pleasantly and with a cheerful smile, measuring the favour by the ready goodwill of the giver and not by the service rendered by the gift.[a]

Lycurgus made the sacrifices in Sparta very inexpensive,[b] so that people might be able always to honour the gods readily and easily from what they had at hand. And so, with some such thought in mind, I likewise offer to you trifling gifts and tokens of friendship, the common offerings of the first-fruits that come from philosophy,[c] and I beg that you will

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. v. (1013 B C), and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, i. 32.

[b] Plutarch repeats this statement in *Moralia*, 228 D, *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix. (p. 52 A), and *Commentary on Hesiod*, 26 (*Works and Days*, 336). *Cf.* also Plato, *Alcibiades II.* p. 149 A-C.

[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Protagoras*, p. 343 B.

(172) ἀπόδεξαι τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων, εἰ πρόσφορον
ἔχει τι[1] πρὸς κατανόησιν ἠθῶν καὶ προαιρέσεων
ἡγεμονικῶν, ἐμφαινομένων τοῖς λόγοις μᾶλλον ἢ
ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν. καίτοι καὶ βίους ἔχει τὸ
σύνταγμα τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων παρά τε Ῥωμαίοις
D καὶ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἡγεμόνων καὶ νομοθετῶν καὶ
αὐτοκρατόρων· ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν πράξεων αἱ πολλαὶ
τύχην ἀναμεμιγμένην ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ γιγνόμεναι
παρὰ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς τύχας ἀπο-
φάσεις καὶ ἀναφωνήσεις, ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτροις
καθαρῶς παρέχουσι τὴν ἑκάστου διάνοιαν ἀπο-
θεωρεῖν. ᾗ[2] καὶ Σειράμνης ὁ Πέρσης πρὸς τοὺς
θαυμάζοντας ὅτι τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ νοῦν ἐχόντων
αἱ πράξεις οὐ κατορθοῦνται, τῶν μὲν λόγων ἔφη
κύριος αὐτὸς εἶναι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων τὴν τύχην
μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

E Ἐκεῖ μὲν οὖν ἅμα αἱ ἀποφάσεις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς πράξεις παρακειμένας ἔχουσαι, σχολάζουσαν φιληκοΐαν περιμένουσιν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ δείγματα τῶν βίων καὶ σπέρματα συνειλεγμένους οὐδὲν οἴομαί σοι τὸν καιρὸν ἐνοχλήσειν, ἐν βραχέσι πολλῶν ἀναθεώρησιν ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων μνήμης γενομένων λαμβάνοντι.

[1] *πρόσφορον . . . τι*] *ὅρον . . . τινὰ* in nearly all MSS. Apparently the first part of *πρόσφορον* was omitted early, and *τι* was changed to correspond.

[2] *ᾗ* omitted in most MSS. which add *δὲ* after *Σειράμνης*.

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[a] Diodorus Siculus, xv. 41, represents this remark as made

be good enough to accept, in conjunction with the author's ready goodwill, the utility which may be found in these brief notes, if so be that they contain something meet for the true understanding of the characters and predilections of men in high places, which are better reflected in their words than in their actions. True it is that a work of mine comprises the lives also of the most noted rulers, lawgivers, and monarchs among the Romans and the Greeks ; but their actions, for the most part, have an admixture of chance, whereas their pronouncements and unpremeditated utterance in connexion with what they did or experienced or chanced upon afford an opportunity to observe, as in so many mirrors, the workings of the mind of each man. In keeping herewith is the remark of Seiramnes the Persian who, in answer to those who expressed surprise because, while his words showed sense, his actions were never crowned with success, said that he himself was master of his words, but chance, together with the King, was master of his actions.[a]

In the *Lives* the pronouncements of the men have the story of the men's actions adjoined in the same pages, and so must wait for the time when one has the desire to read in a leisurely way ; but here the remarks, made into a separate collection quite by themselves, serving, so to speak, as samples and primal elements of the men's lives, will not, I think, be any serious tax on your time, and you will get in brief compass an opportunity to pass in review many men who have proved themselves worthy of being remembered.

by Pharnabazus, the Persian satrap, to Iphicrates, the Athenian general.

ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ ΚΥΡΟΥ[1]

1. Πέρσαι τῶν γρυπῶν ἐρῶσι[2] διὰ τὸ Κῦρον ἀγαπηθέντα μάλιστα τῶν βασιλέων γεγονέναι γρυπὸν τὸ εἶδος.

2. Ἔλεγε δὲ Κῦρος ἑτέροις ἀναγκάζεσθαι τἀγαθὰ πορίζειν τοὺς αὑτοῖς μὴ θέλοντας· ἄρχειν δὲ μηδενὶ προσήκειν, ὃς οὐ κρείττων ἐστὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων.

F 3. Βουλομένους δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀντὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν οὔσης ὀρεινῆς καὶ τραχείας πεδιάδα καὶ μαλακὴν χώραν λαβεῖν οὐκ εἴασεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ βίοι ταῖς χώραις συνεξομοιοῦνται.

ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

1. Δαρεῖος ὁ Ξέρξου πατὴρ ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζων ἔλεγεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ γίγνεσθαι φρονιμώτερος.

2. Τοὺς δὲ φόρους τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τάξας μετεπέμψατο τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν φόρων ἠρώτησε, μὴ βαρεῖς εἰσι· φησάντων δὲ μετρίως ἔχειν ἐκέλευσε τελεῖν τοὺς ἡμίσεις
173 ἕκαστον.

[1] These headings are regularly omitted in the MSS.

[2] ἐρῶσι] ἐρῶσι καὶ καλλίστους ὑπολαμβάνουσι in many MSS.

CYRUS[a]

1. The Persians are enamoured of hook-nosed persons, because of the fact that Cyrus, the best loved of their kings, had a nose of that shape.[b]

2. Cyrus said that those who are unwilling to procure good things for themselves must of necessity procure them for others. He also said that no man has any right to rule who is not better than the people over whom he rules.[c]

3. When the Persians wished to acquire a level and tractable land in place of their own, which was mountainous and rugged, Cyrus would not allow them to do so, saying that both the seeds of plants and the lives of men are bound to be like the land of their origin.[d]

DARIUS[e]

1. Darius, the father of Xerxes, said in praise of himself that in battles and in the face of formidable dangers he became more cool and collected.[f]

2. After fixing the amount of the taxes which his subjects were to pay, he sent for the leading men of the provinces, and asked them if the taxes were not perhaps heavy; and when the men said that the taxes were moderate, he ordered that each should pay only half as much.[g]

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[a] The elder Cyrus (†529 B.C.), founder of the Persian empire.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 821 E.

[c] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, i. 6. 8, and vii. 5. 83. The sentiment is not novel, and may be found in other writers.

[d] Plutarch probably took this from Herodotus, ix. 122, who in turn may have drawn upon Hippocrates; *cf. Airs, Waters, and Places*, chap. xxiv. (Hippocrates in L.C.L.; pp. 132–136). *Cf.* also Plato, *Laws*, p. 695 A; Livy, xxix. 25. The idea is not novel, and may be found in other writers. It was again repeated in 1926 by Calvin Coolidge in regard to the rugged hills of Vermont.

[e] Darius I., king of Persia 521–485 B.C.

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 792 C.

[g] The same story with variations may be found in Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 11. 3. Nothing to this effect is to be found in Herodotus's account of Darius's taxation, iii. 86-95.

(173) 3. Ῥοιὰν δὲ μεγάλην ἀνοίξας, πυθομένου τινὸς τί ἂν ἔχειν βούλοιτο τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐστὶ τῶν κόκκων τὸ πλῆθος, εἶπε, "Ζωπύρους"· ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ φίλος ὁ Ζώπυρος.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν αἰκισάμενος ὁ Ζώπυρος καὶ τὴν ῥῖνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα περικόψας ἐξηπάτησε Βαβυλωνίους καὶ πιστευθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρέδωκε Δαρείῳ τὴν πόλιν, πολλάκις ὁ Δαρεῖος εἶπεν οὐκ ἂν ἐθελῆσαι λαβεῖν ἑκατὸν Βαβυλῶνας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ Ζώπυρον ἔχειν ὁλόκληρον.

ΣΕΜΙΡΑΜΙΔΟΣ

Σεμίραμις δὲ ἑαυτῇ κατασκευάσασα τάφον B ἐπέγραψεν, "ὅστις ἂν χρημάτων δεηθῇ βασιλεύς, διελόντα τὸ μνημεῖον ὅσα βούλεται λαβεῖν." Δαρεῖος οὖν διελὼν χρήματα μὲν οὐχ εὗρε, γράμμασι δὲ ἑτέροις ἐνέτυχε τάδε φράζουσιν, "εἰ μὴ κακὸς ἦσθ'[1] ἀνὴρ καὶ χρημάτων ἄπληστος, οὐκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἐκίνεις."

ΞΕΡΞΟΥ

1. Ξέρξῃ τῷ Δαρείου περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀμφισβητῶν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀριαμένης κατέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς· ἔπεμψεν οὖν αὐτῷ δῶρα, φράσαι κελεύσας τοὺς διδόντας, "τούτοις σε τιμᾷ νῦν C Ξέρξης ὁ ἀδελφός· ἐὰν δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθῇ,

[1] ἦσθ'] ἦς Stobaeus, *Flor.* x. 53.

3. As Darius was opening a big pomegranate, someone inquired what there was of which he would like to have as many in number as the multitude of seeds in the pomegranate, and he replied, "Men like Zopyrus."[a] Zopyrus was a brave man and a friend of his.

4. Zopyrus, by disfiguring himself with his own hands and cutting off his nose and ears, tricked the Babylonians, and by winning their confidence succeeded in handing over the city to Darius. Many a time Darius said that he would not take an hundred Babylons as the price of not having Zopyrus unscathed.[b]

SEMIRAMIS

Semiramis[c] caused a great tomb to be prepared for herself, and on it this inscription : "Whatsoever king finds himself in need of money may break into this monument and take as much as he wishes." Darius accordingly broke into it, but found no money ; he did, however, come upon another inscription reading as follows : "If you were not a wicked man with an insatiate greed for money, you would not be disturbing the places where the dead are laid."

XERXES[d]

1. Ariamenes, the brother of Xerxes son of Darius, was on his way down from the Bactrian country to contest Xerxes' right to the kingdom. Xerxes accordingly sent him gifts, bidding those who offered them to say, "With these gifts Xerxes your brother now honours you ; and if he be proclaimed king, you

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[a] The same story is found in Herodotus, iv. 143, but with the name of Megabazus instead of Zopyrus.

[b] Herodotus, iii. 154-160 ; *cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 13.

[c] Herodotus, i. 187, says that Nitocris built the tomb above the gates of Babylon. Stobaeus, x. 53, copies Plutarch word for word.

[d] King of Persia, 485–465 B.C.

(173) πάντων ἔσῃ παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστος." ἀποδειχθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ξέρξου βασιλέως, ὁ μὲν Ἀριαμένης εὐθὺς προσεκύνησε καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιέθηκεν, ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης ἐκείνῳ τὴν δευτέραν μεθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔδωκε τάξιν.

2. Ὀργισθεὶς δὲ Βαβυλωνίοις ἀποστᾶσι καὶ κρατήσας προσέταξεν ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν, ἀλλὰ ψάλλειν καὶ αὐλεῖν καὶ πορνοβοσκεῖν καὶ καπηλεύειν καὶ φορεῖν κολπωτοὺς χιτῶνας.

3. Ἀττικὰς δὲ ἰσχάδας οὐκ ἂν ἔφη φαγεῖν ὠνίους κομισθείσας, ἀλλ' ὅταν τὴν φέρουσαν κτήσηται χώραν.

4. Ἕλληνας δὲ κατασκόπους ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λαβὼν οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀδεῶς
D ἐπιδεῖν κελεύσας ἀφῆκεν.

ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΟΥ

1. Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξου, ὁ μακρόχειρ προσαγορευθεὶς διὰ τὸ τὴν ἑτέραν χεῖρα μακροτέραν ἔχειν, ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ προσθεῖναι τοῦ ἀφελεῖν βασιλικώτερόν ἐστι.

2. Πρῶτος δὲ πρωτοβολεῖν ἐκέλευσε τῶν συγκυνηγετούντων τοὺς δυναμένους καὶ βουλομένους.

3. Πρῶτος δὲ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι τῶν ἡγεμονι-

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[a] Plutarch tells the story with more details in *Moralia*, 488 D-F. The tradition which Plutarch follows is quite different from that of Herodotus, vii. 1-4.

[b] The usual tradition is that Babylon revolted from Darius; Herodotus, iii. 150.

[c] Cyrus is said to have employed this device against the Lydians; Herodotus, i. 156; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 6. 4; Justin, *Hist. Philip*, i. 7. For two other instances *cf.* the scholia on Sophocles, *Oedipus Col.* 329, and Dionysius Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* vii. 9.

shall be the highest at his court." When Xerxes was designated as the king, Ariamenes at once paid homage to him, and placed the crown upon his brother's head, and Xerxes gave him a rank second only to himself.[a]

2. Angered at the Babylonians, who had revolted,[b] he overpowered them, and then ordained that henceforth they should not bear arms, but should play the lyre and flute, keep public prostitutes, engage in petty trade, and wear long flowing garments.[c]

3. He said he would not eat figs from Attica which had been imported for sale, but would eat them when he had obtained possession of the land that bore them.[d]

4. When he caught Greek spies in his camp, he did them no injury, but, after bidding them observe his army freely, let them go.[e]

ARTAXERXES[f]

1. Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, called 'Longhand,' because of his having one hand longer than the other,[g] used to say that it is more kingly to give to one who has than to take away.

2. He was the first to issue an order that any of his companions in the hunt who could and would might throw their spears without waiting for him to throw first.[h]

3. He was the first to ordain this form of punishment for those of the ruling class who offended:

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[d] *Cf.* Athenaeus, p. 652 B.

[e] The story is told in Herodotus, vii. 146-147.

[f] King of Persia, 465–425 B.C.

[g] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. i. (1011 E).

[h] Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*, i. 4. 14) attributes this innovation to the elder Cyrus; but *cf.* Ctesias, *Persica*, frag. 40.

(173) κῶν τιμωρίαν ἔταξεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ σῶμα μαστιγοῦν καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτίλλειν,[1] μαστιγοῦσθαι μὲν ἀποδυσαμένων τὰ ἱμάτια τίλλεσθαι δὲ τὴν τιάραν ἀποθεμένων.

E 4. Σατιβαρζάνην δὲ τὸν κατακοιμιστὴν αἰτούμενόν τι παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν μὴ δικαίων αἰσθόμενος ἐπὶ τρισμυρίοις δαρεικοῖς τοῦτο ποιοῦντα, προσέταξε τῷ ταμίᾳ τρισμυρίους δαρεικοὺς κομίσαι· καὶ διδοὺς[2] αὐτῷ, "λάβε," εἶπεν, "ὦ Σατιβαρζάνη· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ δοὺς οὐκ[3] ἔσομαι πενέστερος, ἐκεῖνα δὲ πράξας ἀδικώτερος."

ΚΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ

Κῦρος ὁ νεώτερος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους συμμαχεῖν αὐτῷ παρακαλῶν ἔλεγε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καρδίαν ἔχειν βαρυτέραν καὶ πλείονα πίνειν ἄκρατον αὐτοῦ καὶ φέρειν βέλτιον· ἐκεῖνον δὲ μόλις ἐν ταῖς θήραις F ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων μένειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δεινοῖς μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. παρεκάλει δὲ ἀποστέλλειν ἄνδρας πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος τοῖς μὲν πεζοῖς ἵππους δώσειν, τοῖς δὲ ἵππους ἔχουσιν ἅρματα, τοῖς δὲ χωρία κεκτημένοις κώμας, τοὺς δὲ κώμας ἔχοντας πόλεων κυρίους ποιήσειν· ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ χρυσίου οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἀλλὰ σταθμὸν ἔσεσθαι.

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[1] ἀποτίλλειν F.C.B.: ἀποτίλλεσθαι. Some MSS. give a slightly abbreviated version, but the sense is quite clear, and is confirmed by *Moral.* 565 A.

[2] διδοὺς] διαδοὺς in most MSS.

[3] Hartman would omit οὐκ.

Instead of having their bodies scourged and the hair plucked from their heads, they took off their outer garments and these were scourged, and put off their head-dress and this was plucked.[a]

4. Satibarzanes, his chamberlain, made a dishonourable request of him, and it came to his knowledge that the man was doing this for thirty thousand pounds; whereupon he directed his treasurer to bring him thirty thousand pounds, and, as he gave the money to his chamberlain, he said, "Take this, Satibarzanes; for if I make you this gift I shall not be poorer, but if I do that deed I shall be more dishonourable!"

CYRUS THE YOUNGER[b]

Cyrus the younger, in urging the Spartans to ally themselves with him, said that he had a stouter heart than his brother, and that he could drink more strong wine than his brother could and carry it better; moreover, that at hunts his brother could hardly stay on his horse, and at a time of terror not even on his throne. Cyrus urged the Spartans to send him men, promising to give horses to the foot-soldiers, chariots to those who had horses, villages to those who owned farms, and to make those who had villages the masters of cities; and as for gold and silver there should be no counting, but weighing instead.[c]

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 35 E and 565 A, and Wyttenbach's note on the latter passage.

[b] † 401 B.C.

[c] The content of the passage agrees, in the main, with that of Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. vi. (1013 F); but there he says, οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἀλλὰ μέτρον, "not counting but measuring out."

ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΝΗΜΟΝΟΣ

1. Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ τούτου μὲν ἀδελφὸς Μνήμων δὲ καλούμενος, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἑαυτὸν ἀνέδην παρεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν γνησίαν ἐκέλευσε τῆς ἁρμαμάξης τὰς αὐλαίας περιελεῖν, ὅπως οἱ δεόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐντυγχάνωσι.

174 2. Πένητος δὲ ἀνθρώπου μῆλον ὑπερφυὲς μεγέθει προσενέγκαντος αὐτῷ δεξάμενος ἡδέως, "νὴ τὸν Μίθραν," εἶπεν, "οὗτός μοι δοκεῖ καὶ πόλιν ἂν ἐκ μικρᾶς μεγάλην πιστευθεὶς ἀπεργάσασθαι."

3. Ἐν δὲ φυγῇ τινι τῆς ἀποσκευῆς αὐτοῦ διαρπαγείσης, ξηρὰ σῦκα φαγὼν καὶ κρίθινον ἄρτον, "οἵας," εἶπεν, "ἡδονῆς ἄπειρος ἤμην."

ΠΑΡΥΣΑΤΙΔΟΣ

Παρύσατις ἡ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου μήτηρ ἐκέλευε τὸν βασιλεῖ μέλλοντα μετὰ παρρησίας διαλέγεσθαι βυσσίνοις χρῆσθαι ῥήμασι.

B

ΟΡΟΝΤΟΥ

Ὀρόντης, ὁ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου γαμβρός, ἀτιμίᾳ περιπεσὼν διὰ κατηγορίαν[1] καὶ καταγνωσθεὶς ἔφη, "καθάπερ οἱ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν δάκτυλοι νῦν μὲν μυριάδας νῦν δὲ μονάδας τιθέναι[2] δύνανται, τὸ

[1] διὰ κατηγορίαν F.C.B. from Diodorus, xv. 10: δι' ὀργήν.
[2] τιθέναι] Cobet would omit.

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[a] King of Persia, 404–359 B.C.
[b] Because of his good memory.
[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. v. (1013 D-E).

ARTAXERXES MNEMON[a]

1. Artaxerxes, Cyrus's brother, called Mnemon,[b] not only granted audience freely to those who wished to speak with him, but also bade his wife draw aside the curtains from her carriage so that those who desired might speak with her on the road.[c]

2. A poor man brought to him an apple of extraordinary size which he accepted with pleasure, and at the same time he remarked, "By Mithras I swear it seems to me that this man would make a big city out of a small one if it were entrusted to his charge."[d]

3. Once in a precipitate retreat his baggage was plundered, and as he ate dry figs and barley-bread he exclaimed, "What a pleasure is this which has never been mine before!"[e]

PARYSATIS

Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, advised that he who was intending to talk frankly with the king should use words of softest texture.

ORONTES

Orontes, the son-in-law of King Artaxerxes, became involved in disgrace because of an accusation,[f] and, when the decision was given against him, he said that, as mathematicians' fingers are able to represent tens of thousands at one time, and at another

[d] *Ibid.* chap. iv. (1013 B).
[e] *Ibid.* chap. xii. (1017 B) is a similar story regarding stale water.
[f] Against Tiribazus according to Diodorus, xv. 10-11, where the story is told at length.

(174) αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς τῶν βασιλέων φίλους, νῦν μὲν τὸ πᾶν δύνασθαι νῦν δὲ τοὐλάχιστον."

ΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ

Μέμνων, ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολεμῶν ὑπὲρ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως, μισθοφόρον τινὰ πολλὰ βλάσφημα καὶ ἀσελγῆ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγοντα τῇ λόγχῃ C πατάξας, "ἐγώ σε," εἶπε, "τρέφω μαχούμενον, ἀλλ' οὐ λοιδορησόμενον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ."

ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΕΘΟΣ

Οἱ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖς κατὰ νόμον ἑαυτῶν τοὺς δικαστὰς ἐξώρκιζον ὅτι κἂν βασιλεύς τι προστάξῃ κρῖναι τῶν μὴ δικαίων, οὐ κρινοῦσι.

ΠΟΛΤΥΟΣ

Πόλτυς ὁ Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ πολέμῳ πρεσβευσαμένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅμα τῶν Τρώων καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποδόντα τὴν Ἑλένην δύο παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καλὰς γυναῖκας.

D

ΤΗΡΟΥ

Τήρης ὁ Σιτάλκου πατὴρ ἔλεγεν ὁπότε σχολάζοι καὶ μὴ στρατεύοιτο, τῶν ἱπποκόμων οἴεσθαι μηδὲν διαφέρειν.

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[a] *Cf.* Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, ii. p. 1068.

[b] A similar remark is attributed to Solon by Diogenes Laertius, i. 59.

[c] *Circa* 333 B.C.

[d] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 71.

time only units,[a] so it was the same with the friends of kings: at one time they are omnipotent and at another time almost impotent.[b]

MEMNON

Memnon, who was waging war against Alexander on the side of King Darius,[c] when one of his mercenary soldiers said many libellous and indecent things of Alexander, struck the man with his spear, saying, "I pay you to fight Alexander, not to malign him."

A CUSTOM OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT

The kings of the Egyptians, in accordance with a rule of their own, used to require their judges to swear that, even if the king should direct them to decide any case unfairly, they would not do so.[d]

POLTYS

Poltys, king of the Thracians at the time of the Trojan war, when once both the Trojans and the Greeks sent deputations to him at the same time, bade Alexander restore Helen and accept a couple of beautiful women from him.

TERES[e]

Teres, the father of Sitalces, used to say that whenever he had nothing to do and was not in the field with his army he felt that there was no difference between himself and his grooms.[f]

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[e] King of the Odrysae in Thrace in the earlier part of the fifth century B.C.

[f] In *Moralia*, 792 C, this remark is attributed to Ateas, king of the Scythians.

(174)

ΚΟΤΥΟΣ

Κότυς τῷ δωρησαμένῳ πάρδαλιν ἀντεδωρήσατο λέοντα. φύσει δὲ ὢν ὀξὺς εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ πικρὸς τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων ἐν ταῖς διακονίαις κολαστής, σκεύη ποτὲ κεραμεᾶ ξένου κομίσαντος εὔθραυστα καὶ λεπτά, πιθανῶς δὲ καὶ περιττῶς εἰργασμένα γλυφαῖς τισι καὶ τορείαις, τῷ μὲν ξένῳ ἔδωκε δῶρα, τὰ δὲ σκεύη πάντα συνέτριψεν, "ὅπως," E εἶπε, "μὴ δι' ὀργὴν πικρότερον κολάζω τοὺς συντρίβοντας."

ΙΔΑΝΘΥΡΣΟΥ

Ἰδάνθυρσος[1] ὁ Σκυθῶν βασιλεύς, ἐφ' ὃν διέβη Δαρεῖος, ἔπειθε τοὺς Ἰώνων τυράννους τὸ τοῦ Ἴστρου ζεῦγμα λύσαντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· μὴ βουληθέντας δὲ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δαρεῖον πίστιν, ἀνδράποδα χρηστὰ καὶ ἄδραστα ἐκάλει.

ΑΤΕΟΥ

Ἀτέας ἔγραφε πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, "σὺ μὲν ἄρχεις Μακεδόνων ἀνθρώποις μεμαθηκότων πολεμεῖν· F ἐγὼ δὲ Σκυθῶν, οἳ καὶ λιμῷ καὶ δίψει μάχεσθαι δύνανται."

Τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις τοῦ Φιλίππου ψήχων τὸν ἵππον ἠρώτησεν, "εἰ τοῦτο ποιεῖ Φίλιππος."

Ἰσμηνίαν δὲ τὸν ἄριστον αὐλητὴν λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον ἐκέλευσεν αὐλῆσαι· θαυμαζόντων δὲ τῶν

[1] Ἰδάνθυρσος as in the mss. of Herodotus: ἰδάθυρσος.

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[a] King of Thrace, 382–358 B.C.

[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, iv. 142.

COTYS[a]

Cotys was once presented with a leopard, and he presented the donor with a lion in return. He was by nature very irascible and prone to punish severely any lapses in service. On a time when a friend from abroad brought him some vessels of earthenware, very fragile and delicate, wrought with figures in relief in a realistic and highly artistic manner, he gave presents to the friend, but broke all the vessels in pieces, "so that I," as he said, "may not in anger punish too severely those that break them."

IDANTHYRSUS

Idanthyrsus, the king of the Scythians, against whom Darius crossed the Danube, tried to persuade the despots of the Ionians to break up the bridge that spanned the river, and then withdraw. But when they were not willing to do so because of their plighted word to Darius, he called them good slaves who would never run away.[b]

ATEAS

Ateas wrote to Philip: "You are the ruler of the Macedonians who have learned to fight against men; but I am ruler of the Scythians who are able to fight against both hunger and thirst."

While he was engaged in currying his horse he asked the ambassadors who had come from Philip whether Philip did this.

Having captured in battle Ismenias, the very best of flute-players, he bade him play a tune. Everybody else was filled with admiration, but Ateas swore

ἄλλων, αὐτὸς ὤμοσεν ἥδιον ἀκούειν τοῦ ἵππου χρεμετίζοντος.

ΣΚΙΛΟΥΡΟΥ

Σκίλουρος ὀγδοήκόντα[1] παῖδας ἄρρενας ἀπολιπών, ἐπεὶ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε, δέσμην ἀκοντίων ἑκάστῳ προτείνων ἐκέλευε καταθραῦσαι· πάντων δὲ ἀπαγορευσάντων, καθ' ἓν αὐτὸς ἐξελὼν ἀκόντιον ἅπαντα ῥᾳδίως συνέκλασε, διδάσκων ἐκείνους, ὅτι συνεστῶτες ἰσχυροὶ διαμενοῦσιν, ἀσθενεῖς δ' ἔσονται διαλυθέντες καὶ στασιάσαντες.

ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ

175 1. Γέλων ὁ τύραννος, ὅτε Καρχηδονίους πρὸς Ἱμέρᾳ κατεπολέμησεν, εἰρήνην ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκασεν ἐγγράψαι ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ὅτι καὶ τὰ τέκνα παύσονται τῷ Κρόνῳ καταθύοντες.

2. Ἐξῆγε δὲ τοὺς Συρακουσίους πολλάκις ὡς ἐπὶ στρατείαν κατὰ[2] φυτείαν, ὅπως ἥ τε χώρα βελτίων γένηται γεωργουμένη καὶ μὴ χείρονες αὐτοὶ σχολάζοντες.

3. Αἰτῶν δὲ χρήματα τοὺς πολίτας, ἐπεὶ ἐθορύβησαν, αἰτεῖν εἶπεν ὡς ἀποδώσων, καὶ ἀπέδωκε μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον.

B 4. Ἐν δὲ συμποσίῳ λύρας περιφερομένης, ἁρμο-

[1] ὀγδοήκοντα] ὁ ὀγδοήκοντα van Herwerden.
[2] κατὰ F.C.B., *cf.* for example 337 D: καὶ.

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[a] The story is repeated in nearly the same words in *Moralia*, 334 B and 1095 F. The fame of Ismenias is several times referred to by ancient writers. It may suffice to mention Plutarch, *Moralia*, 632 C.

that it gave him more pleasure to hear his horse neigh.[a]

SCILURUS[b]

Scilurus, who left eighty sons surviving him, when he was at the point of death handed a bundle of javelins to each son in turn and bade him break it. After they had all given up, he took out the javelins one by one and easily broke them all, thereby teaching the young men that, if they stood together, they would continue strong, but that they would be weak if they fell out and quarrelled.[c]

GELON[d]

1. Gelon, the despot, after vanquishing the Carthaginians off Himera, forced them, when he made peace with them, to include in the treaty an agreement to stop sacrificing their children to Cronus.[e]

2. He often led out the Syracusans to plant their fields, as if it had been for a campaign, so that the land should be improved by being worked, and the men should not deteriorate by being idle.

3. He asked for money from the citizens, and, when they began to murmur, he said that he was asking for it with the intent to repay, and he did repay it when the war was over.

4. At a party a lyre was passed around, and the

[b] King of the Scythians, second or first century B.C.
[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 511 C.
[d] Ruler of Gela, 491–483, and of Syracuse, 485–478 B.C.
[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 171 (and the note), and 552 A. According to Diodorus, xx. 14, the practice was revived in 310 B.C., even if it had not persisted during the intervening years. *Cf.* G. F. Moore in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xvi. (1897), p. 161. Cronus is the Semitic El, Moloch, or Baal.

(175) ζομένων τῶν ἄλλων ἐφεξῆς καὶ ᾀδόντων, αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον εἰσαγαγεῖν κελεύσας ἐλαφρῶς καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπ' αὐτόν.

ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ

1. Ἱέρων ὁ μετὰ Γέλωνα τύραννος ἔλεγε μηδένα τῶν παρρησιαζομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄκαιρον εἶναι.

2. Τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρρητον λόγον ἐκφέροντας ἀδικεῖν ᾤετο καὶ τοὺς πρὸς οὓς ἐκφέρουσι· μισοῦμεν γὰρ οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐκφέροντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀκούσαντας ἃ μὴ βουλόμεθα.

3. Λοιδορηθεὶς δὲ ὑπό τινος εἰς τὴν δυσωδίαν τοῦ στόματος, ᾐτιᾶτο τὴν αὑτοῦ γυναῖκα μηδέποτε
C περὶ τούτου φράσασαν· ἡ δὲ εἶπεν, "ᾤμην γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἅπαντας τοὺς ἄνδρας ὄζειν."

4. Πρὸς δὲ Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον εἰπόντα μόλις οἰκέτας δύο τρέφειν, "ἀλλ' Ὅμηρος," εἶπεν, "ὃν σὺ διασύρεις, πλείονας ἢ μυρίους τρέφει τεθνηκώς."

5. Ἐπίχαρμον δὲ τὸν κωμῳδιοποιόν,[1] ὅτι τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ παρούσης εἶπέ τι τῶν ἀπρεπῶν, ἐζημίωσε.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Διονύσιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος, κληρουμένων κατὰ
D γράμμα τῶν δημηγορούντων, ὡς ἔλαχε τὸ Μ, πρὸς

[1] *κωμῳδιοποιόν* (the preferred form) Bernardakis: *κωμῳδοποιόν*.

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[a] *Cf.* Themistocles' boast, to which he resorted in self-defence under similarly embarrassing circumstances, in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. ii. (112 c).

others, one after the other, tuned it and sang, but the king ordered his horse to be led in, and nimbly and easily leapt upon its back.[a]

HIERO[b]

1. Hiero, who succeeded Gelo as despot, used to say that not one of the persons who spoke frankly to him chose the wrong time.

2. He felt that those who divulged a secret committed a serious offence also against those to whom they divulged it; for we hate, not only those who divulge such things, but also those who hear what we do not wish them to hear.

3. On being reviled by someone for his offensive breath, he blamed his wife for never having told him about this; but she said, "I supposed that all men smelled so."[c]

4. In answer to Xenophanes of Colophon, who had said that he could hardly maintain two servants, Hiero said, "But Homer, whom you disparage, maintains more than ten thousand, although he is dead."

5. He caused Epicharmus the comic poet to be punished because he made an indecent remark in the presence of his wife.

DIONYSIUS THE ELDER[d]

1. Dionysius the Elder, when the speakers who were to address the people were drawing by lot the letters of the alphabet to determine their order of speaking, drew the letter M; and in answer to the man who

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[b] Ruler of Gela and Syracuse, 478–467 B.C.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 90 B, and Lucian, *Hermotimus*, 34. Aristotle tells the same story of Gelon according to Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, v. 83.

[d] Ruler of Syracuse, 405–367 B.C.

(175) τὸν εἰπόντα, " μωρολογεῖς,[1] Διονύσιε ". " μοναρχήσω μὲν οὖν," εἶπε, καὶ δημηγορήσας εὐθὺς ᾑρέθη στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακουσίων.

2. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐπολιορκεῖτο, συστάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτῶν, οἱ μὲν φίλοι συνεβούλευον ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ μὴ βούλεται κρατηθεὶς ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ βοῦν ἰδὼν σφαττόμενον ὑπὸ μαγείρου καὶ πίπτοντα ταχέως, " εἶτα οὐκ ἀηδές[2] ἐστιν," εἶπεν, " οὕτω βραχὺν ὄντα τὸν θάνατον φοβηθέντας ἡμᾶς ἀρχὴν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τηλικαύτην;"

3. Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αἰσθόμενος, ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπο-
E λιπεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἀνδρὸς ἐλευθέρου διαφθείραντα γύναιον, ἠρώτησε μετ' ὀργῆς, τί τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου, " σὺ γὰρ οὐκ εἶχες πατέρα τύραννον," " οὐδὲ σύ," εἶπεν, " υἱὸν ἕξεις, ἐὰν μὴ παύσῃ ταῦτα ποιῶν."

4. Πάλιν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος ἐκπωμάτων χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν πλῆθος ἀνεβόησεν, " οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν σοὶ τύραννος, ὃς ἀφ' ὧν λαμβάνεις ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ποτηρίων τοσούτων φίλον οὐδένα σεαυτῷ πεποίηκας."

5. Χρήματα δὲ εἰσπράττων τοὺς Συρακουσίους, εἶτα ὁρῶν ὀδυρομένους καὶ δεομένους καὶ λέγοντας
F ὡς οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἕτερα πράττειν, καὶ δὶς ἢ τρὶς τοῦτο ἐποίησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προστάξας πλείονα γελᾶν ἤκουσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ σκώπτειν ἐν ἀγορᾷ

[1] μωρολογεῖς] μωρολογήσεις Kronenberg.
[2] ἀηδές] εὐηθές Wyttenbach: ἀειδές Parmentier.

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[a] *Cf.* Diodorus, xiii. 91-92.

[b] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 783 c-d; Diodorus, xiv. 8; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iv. 8; Polyaenus, v. 7.

said, "Muddle-head you are, Dionysius," he replied, " No! Monarch I am to be," and after he had addressed the people he was at once chosen general by the Syracusans.[a]

2. When, at the beginning of his rule, he was being besieged as the result of a conspiracy against him among the citizens, his friends advised him to abdicate unless he wished to be overpowered and put to death. But, on seeing that an ox slaughtered by a cook fell instantly, he said, " Is it not then distasteful that we, for fear of death which is so momentary, should forsake such a mighty sovereignty ? "[b]

3. Learning that his son, to whom he was intending to bequeath his empire, had debauched the wife of a free citizen, he asked the young man, with some heat, what act of his father's he knew of like that! And when the youth answered, " None, for you did not have a despot for a father." " Nor will you have a son," was the reply, " unless you stop doing this sort of thing."

4. At another time he went into his son's house, and, observing a vast number of gold and silver drinking-cups, he exclaimed, " There is no despot in you, for with all the drinking-cups which you are always getting from me you have not made for yourself a single friend."

5. He levied money on the Syracusans, and later, when he saw them lamenting and begging and protesting that they had none, he ordered a second levy, and this he did twice or thrice.[c] But when, after calling for still more, he heard that they laughed and jeered as they went about in the market-place, he

[c] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Politics*, v. ii., and the Aristotelian *Oeconomica*, ii. 20, and Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, v. 19.

περιιόντας, ἐκέλευσε παύσασθαι· "νῦν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν," εἶπεν, "ὅτε καταφρονοῦσιν ἡμῶν."

6. Τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ παρήλικος μὲν οὔσης δοθῆναι δὲ ἀνδρὶ βουλομένης, ἔφη τοὺς μὲν τῆς πόλεως βιάσασθαι νόμους δύνασθαι, τοὺς δὲ τῆς φύσεως μὴ δύνασθαι.

7. Πικρῶς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους κακούργους κολάζων, ἐφείδετο τῶν λωποδυτῶν, ὅπως παύσωνται οἱ Συρακούσιοι τοῦ δειπνεῖν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι μετ' ἀλλήλων.

8. Ξένου δέ τινος ἰδίᾳ φράσειν φάσκοντος αὐτῷ καὶ διδάξειν ὅπως προειδήσει τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας, 176 ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προσελθών, "δός," εἶπε, "μοι τάλαντον, ἵνα δόξῃς ἀκηκοέναι τὰ σημεῖα τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων," ἔδωκε προσποιούμενος ἀκηκοέναι καὶ θαυμάζων[1] τὴν μέθοδον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

9. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν πυθόμενον εἰ σχολάζοι, "μηδέποτε," εἶπεν, "ἐμοὶ τοῦτο συμβαίη."

10. Δύο δὲ ἀκούσας νεανίσκους πολλὰ βλάσφημα περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος εἰρηκέναι παρὰ πότον, ἀμφοτέρους ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον· ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν μὲν παροινοῦντα καὶ ληροῦντα πολλά, τὸν δὲ σπανίως καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας ταῖς πόσεσι B χρώμενον, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀπέλυσεν ὡς φύσει παροινήσαντα καὶ διὰ μέθην κακολογήσαντα, τοῦτον δὲ ἀνεῖλεν ὡς δύσνουν καὶ πολέμιον ἐκ προαιρέσεως.

11. Αἰτιωμένων δέ τινων, ὅτι τιμᾷ καὶ προ-

[1] θαυμάζων Stobaeus, *Flor.* iii. 65: θαυμάζειν.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Solon*, chap. xx. (89 D).

[b] *Cf.* Polyaenus, v. 2. 3, and Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, iii. 65.

[c] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 792 C.

ordered a halt in the proceeding; "For now they really have nothing," said he, "since they hold us in contempt."

6. When his mother, who was well on in years, wanted to get married, he said that he had the power to violate the laws of the State, but not the laws of Nature.[a]

7. While he punished relentlessly all other malefactors, he was very lenient with the footpads, so that the Syracusans should stop their dining and drinking together.

8. A stranger professed that he would tell him privately and instruct him how to know beforehand those who were plotting against him, and Dionysius bade him speak; whereupon the stranger came close to him and said, "Hand me a talent that you may give the impression that you have heard about the plotters' secret signs;" and Dionysius gave it, pretending that he had heard, and marvelling at the man's clever tactics.[b]

9. To the man who inquired if he were at leisure he said, "I hope that may never happen to me!"[c]

10. Hearing that two young men at a drinking party had said much that was slanderous about him and his rule, he invited them both to dinner. And when he saw that the one drank much and talked freely, and the other indulged in drink sparingly and with great circumspection, he let the former go free, holding him to be by nature a hard drinker and a slanderous talker when in his cups, but the latter he caused to be put to death, holding that this man was disaffected and hostile as the result of deliberate choice.

11. When some blamed him for honouring and

(176) ἄγεται πονηρὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ δυσχεραινόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, “ ἀλλὰ καὶ βούλομαι,” εἶπεν, “ εἶναι τὸν ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον μισούμενον.”

12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορινθίων πρέσβεις δῶρα διδόντος αὐτοῦ παρῃτοῦντο διὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃς οὐκ εἴα δῶρα λαμβάνειν παρὰ δυνάστου πρεσβεύοντας, δεινόν ἔφη πρᾶγμα ποιεῖν αὐτούς, ὃ μόνον αἱ τυραννίδες ἀγαθὸν ἔχουσιν ἀναιροῦντας καὶ διδάσκοντας ὅτι καὶ τὸ εὖ παθεῖν ὑπὸ τυράννου φοβερόν ἐστιν.

13. Ἀκούσας δέ τινα τῶν πολιτῶν χρυσίον
C ἔχειν οἴκοι κατορωρυγμένον ἐκέλευσεν ἐνεγκεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρακλέψας ὀλίγον ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ μεταστὰς εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἐωνήσατο χωρίον, μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε πᾶν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἠργμένον χρῆσθαι τῷ πλούτῳ καὶ μηκέτι ποιοῦντα τὸ χρήσιμον ἄχρηστον.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Διονύσιος ἔλεγε πολλοὺς τρέφειν σοφιστάς, οὐ θαυμάζων ἐκείνους ἀλλὰ δι’ ἐκείνων θαυμάζεσθαι βουλόμενος.

2. Πολυξένου δὲ τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ φήσαντος αὐτὸν
D ἐξελέγχειν, “ ἀμέλει τοῖς λόγοις,” εἶπεν, “ ἐγὼ δέ σε τοῖς ἔργοις ἐλέγχω· τὰ γὰρ σεαυτοῦ καταλιπὼν ἐμὲ καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ θεραπεύεις.”

3. Ἐκπεσὼν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς, πρὸς μὲν τὸν εἰπόντα, “ τί σε Πλάτων καὶ φιλοσοφία ὠφέλησε; ”

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[a] *Cf.* Diodorus, xv. 70.

[b] Ruler of Syracuse, 367–343 B.C.

advancing a bad man who was loathed by the citizens, he said, “ But it is my wish that there shall be somebody more hated than myself.”

12. When ambassadors from Corinth[a] declined his proffered gifts because of the law, which did not allow members of an embassy to receive gifts from a potentate, he said that they were playing a scurvy trick in taking away the only advantage possessed by despotism, and teaching that even a favour from a despot is a thing to be feared.

13. Hearing that one of the citizens had some gold buried at his house he ordered the man to bring it to him. But when the man succeeded in keeping back a part of it, and later removed to another city and bought a farm, Dionysius sent for him, and bade him take the whole amount belonging to him, since he had now begun to use his wealth, and was no longer making a useful thing useless.

DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER[b]

1. The Younger Dionysius used to say that he gave bed and board to many learned men, not because he felt any admiration for them, but because he wished through them to gain admiration for himself.

2. When Polyxenus,[c] who was skilled in argumentation, asserted that he had confuted the king, the latter said, “ Yes, very likely by your words, but by your deeds I confute you ; for you forsake your own affairs, and pay court to me and mine.”

3. He was compelled to abdicate, and when a man said to him, “ What help have Plato and philosophy

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[c] *Cf.* Plato's *Letters*, ii. p. 314 c.

(176) “τὸ τηλικαύτην,” ἔφη, “τύχης μεταβολὴν ῥᾳδίως ὑπομένειν.”

4. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πῶς ὁ μὲν πατὴρ αὐτοῦ πένης ὢν καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐκτήσατο τὴν Συρακουσίων ἀρχήν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων καὶ τυράννου παῖς ὢν πῶς ἀπέβαλεν· “ὁ μὲν πατήρ,” ἔφη, “μισουμένης δημοκρατίας ἐνέπεσε[1] τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ φθονουμένης τυραννίδος.”

E 5. Ὑπὸ ἄλλου δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐρωτηθείς, “ὁ πατήρ,” ἔφη, “μοι τὴν τυραννίδα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατέλιπεν, οὐ τὴν τύχην.”

ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

1. Ἀγαθοκλῆς υἱὸς ἦν κεραμέως· γενόμενος δὲ κύριος Σικελίας καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθεὶς εἰώθει κεραμεᾶ ποτήρια τιθέναι παρὰ τὰ χρυσᾶ, καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἐπιδεικνύμενος λέγειν ὅτι τοιαῦτα ποιῶν πρότερον νῦν τοιαῦτα ποιεῖ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν.

2. Πολιορκοῦντος δὲ πόλιν αὐτοῦ, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τινὲς ἐλοιδοροῦντο λέγοντες ὅτι, “ὦ F κεραμεῦ, τὸν μισθὸν πῶς ἀποδώσεις τοῖς στρατιώταις;” ὁ δὲ πρᾶος καὶ μειδιῶν εἶπεν, “αἴκα ταύταν ἕλω.” λαβὼν δὲ κατὰ κράτος ἐπίπρασκε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ ἔλεγεν, “ἐάν με πάλιν λοιδορῆτε, πρὸς τοὺς κυρίους ὑμῶν ἔσται μοι ὁ λόγος.”

[1] ἐνέπεσε] ἐπέστη some MSS.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Timoleon*, chap. xv. (243 A).

[b] By Philip of Macedon, according to Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 60.

given to you?” his answer was: “The power to submit to so great a change of fortune without repining.”[a]

4. On being asked how his father, who was a poor man and a private citizen, had gained control over the Syracusans, and how he, who held control, and was the son of a despot, had come to lose it, he said, “My father embarked upon his venture at a time when democracy was hated, but I at a time when despotism was odious.”

5. Being asked this same question by another man,[b] he said, “My father bequeathed to me his kingdom, but not his luck.”

AGATHOCLES[c]

1. Agathocles was the son of a potter. After he had made himself master of Sicily, and had been proclaimed king, he used to have drinking-cups of pottery placed beside those of gold, and as he pointed these out to the young men he would say, “That is the sort of thing which I used to do formerly, but this is what I do now because of my diligence and fortitude.”[d]

2. When he was besieging a city, some of the people on the wall reviled him, saying, “Potter, how are you going to pay your soldiers’ wages?” But he, unruffled and smiling, said, “If I take this town.” And after he had taken it by storm he sold the captives as slaves, and said, “If you revile me again, what I have to say will be said to your masters.”[e]

[c] Ruler of Syracuse and Sicily, 318–289 B.C.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 544 B, where the story is repeated in slightly different words.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 458 F, where, however, the last remark is attributed to Antigonus the “One-eyed.”

3. Ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τοῖς ναύταις αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἰθακησίων, ὅτι τῇ νήσῳ προσβαλόντες τῶν θρεμμάτων τινὰ ἀπέσπασαν, "ὁ δὲ ὑμέτερος," ἔφη, "βασιλεὺς ἐλθὼν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐ μόνον τὰ πρόβατα λαβὼν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ποιμένα προσεκτυφλώσας ἀπῆλθε."

ΔΙΩΝΟΣ

Δίων ὁ Διονύσιον ἐκβαλὼν ἐκ τῆς τυραννίδος, ἀκούσας ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ Κάλλιππον, ᾧ μάλιστα τῶν φίλων καὶ ξένων ἐπίστευεν, οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν
177 ἐλέγξαι βέλτιον εἶναι φήσας ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φίλους φυλαττόμενον.

ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ

1. Ἀρχέλαος αἰτηθεὶς παρὰ πότον ποτήριον χρυσοῦν ὑπό τινος τῶν συνήθων οὐ μὴν ἐπιεικῶν, ἐκέλευσεν Εὐριπίδῃ τὸν παῖδα δοῦναι· θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, "σὺ μὲν γάρ," εἶπεν, "αἰτεῖν, οὗτος δὲ λαμβάνειν ἄξιός ἐστι καὶ μὴ αἰτῶν."

2. Ἀδολέσχου δὲ κουρέως ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτόν, "πῶς σε κείρω;" "σιωπῶν," ἔφη.

3. Τοῦ δὲ Εὐριπίδου τὸν καλὸν Ἀγάθωνα περιλαμβάνοντος ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ καταφιλοῦντος

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[a] The Cyclops, Homer, *Od.* ix. 375.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 557 B, where the story is repeated in fewer words.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Dion*, chap. lvi. (982 D). The

3. When the people of Ithaca complained of his sailors because they had put in at the island and had forcibly carried off some of the animals, he said, "But your king came to us, and not only took our flocks, but also blinded their shepherd,[a] and went his way."[b]

DION

When Dion, who expelled Dionysius from his kingdom, heard that a plot against him was being set on foot by Callippus, in whom he placed the greatest trust above all other friends, both those at home and those from abroad, he could not bring himself to investigate, but said, "It is better to die than to live in a state of continual watchfulness not only against one's enemies but also against one's friends."[c]

ARCHELAUS[d]

1. When Archelaus, at a convivial gathering, was asked for a golden cup by one of his acquaintances of a type not commendable for character, he bade the servant give it to Euripides; and in answer to the man's look of astonishment, he said, "It is true that you have a right to ask for it, but Euripides has a right to receive it even though he did not ask for it."

2. When a garrulous barber asked him, "How shall I cut your hair?" he said, "In silence."[e]

3. When Euripides threw his arms around the fair Agathon in the midst of an evening party and kissed

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story of the plot and the death of Dion is in chaps. liv.-lvii. *Cf.* also Valerius Maximus, iii. 8, Ext. 5.

[d] King of Macedonia, 413–399 B.C.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 509 A.

B ἤδη γενειῶντα, πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπε, "μὴ (177) θαυμάσητε· τῶν γὰρ καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον καλόν ἐστιν."

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τιμόθεος ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς ἐλπίσας πλείονα, λαβὼν δὲ ἐλάττονα, δῆλος ἦν ἐγκαλῶν αὐτῷ, καί ποτε ᾄδων τουτὶ τὸ κομμάτιον,

> "σὺ δὲ τὸν γηγενέταν ἄργυρον αἰνεῖς,"

ἀπεσήμαινεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον· ὑπέκρουσεν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος αὐτῷ

> "σὺ δέ γε αἰτεῖς."

5. Ὕδωρ δέ τινος αὐτοῦ κατασκεδάσαντος, ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων παροξυνόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, "ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμοῦ," φησίν, "ἀλλ' ἐκείνου κατεσκέδασεν ὃν ἔδοξεν ἐμὲ εἶναι."

C ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ

1. Φίλιππον τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου πατέρα Θεόφραστος ἱστόρηκεν οὐ μόνον μέγαν[1] μεταξὺ τῶν βασιλέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ μείζονα γενέσθαι καὶ μετριώτερον.[2]

2. Ἀθηναίους μὲν οὖν μακαρίζειν ἔλεγεν, εἰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν αἱρεῖσθαι δέκα στρατηγοὺς εὑρίσκουσιν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἕνα μόνον στρατηγὸν εὑρηκέναι, Παρμενίωνα.

3. Πολλῶν δὲ κατορθωμάτων αὐτῷ καὶ καλῶν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ προσαγγελθέντων, "ὦ τύχη," εἶπε,

[1] *μέγαν* added by F.C.B.

[2] *ἱστόρηκε τῶν μεταξὺ βασιλέων οὐ μόνον τῇ τύχῃ μείζονα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ γενέσθαι μετριώτερον* Wyttenbach.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. i. (192 A);

him, for all that Agathon was already bearded, Archelaus said to his friends, "Do not be astonished; for even the autumn of the fair is fair."[a]

4. When Timotheus the harp-player had hopes of receiving a goodly sum, but received less, he plainly showed that he felt resentful towards Archelaus; and, once, as he was singing this brief line:

> "Over the earth-born silver you rave."[b]

he directed it towards Archelaus; whereupon Archelaus retorted upon him with this,

> "That, however, is what you crave."

5. When somebody had thrown water upon him, and he was incited by his friends against the man, he said, "But it was not upon me that he threw it, but upon the man he thought me to be."

PHILIP THE FATHER OF ALEXANDER[c]

1. Theophrastus has recorded that Philip, the father of Alexander, was not only great among kings, but, owing to his fortune and his conduct, proved himself still greater and more moderate.[d]

2. He said that he must congratulate the Athenians on their happy fortune if they could find ten men every year to elect as generals; for he himself in many years had found only one general, Parmenio.

3. When several happy events were reported to him within a single day, he said, "O Fortune, do

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Moralia, 770 C; and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 4. In all three places the remark is attributed to Euripides.

[b] *Cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 624, Timotheus, No. 14, or Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* (in L.C.L.), iii. p. 330, No. 28. Plutarch repeats the story in *Moralia*, 334 B.

[c] Born 382 B.C.; king of Macedonia, 359–336 B.C.

[d] *Cf.* Cicero, *De Officiis*, i. 26 (90).

(177) "μικρόν τι μοι κακὸν ἀντὶ τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν ποίησον."

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νικήσαντι τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτῷ συν-
D εβούλευον ἔνιοι φρουραῖς τὰς πόλεις κατέχειν, ἔφη
μᾶλλον πολὺν χρόνον ἐθέλειν χρηστὸς ἢ δεσπότης
ὀλίγον καλεῖσθαι.

5. Τὸν δὲ λοίδορον ἐξελάσαι τῶν φίλων κελευόντων, οὐκ ἔφη ποιήσειν, ἵνα μὴ περιιὼν ἐν πλείοσι κακῶς λέγῃ.

6. Σμικύθου δὲ Νικάνορα διαβάλλοντος ὡς ἀεὶ
κακῶς λέγοντα τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων οἰο-
μένων δεῖν μεταπέμπεσθαι καὶ κολάζειν, "ἀλλὰ
μήν," ἔφη, "Νικάνωρ οὐ φαυλότατός ἐστι Μακε-
δόνων· ἐπισκεπτέον οὖν, μή τι γίνεται παρ' ἡμᾶς.[1]"
ὡς οὖν ἔγνω τὸν Νικάνορα θλιβόμενον ἰσχυρῶς
ὑπὸ πενίας ἠμελημένον δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, προσέταξε
δωρεάν τινα αὐτῷ δοθῆναι. πάλιν οὖν τοῦ Σμι-
E κύθου λέγοντος ὅτι θαυμαστὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς
ἅπαντας ἐγκώμια λέγων ὁ Νικάνωρ διατελεῖ,
"ὁρᾶτε οὖν," εἶπεν, "ὅτι παρ' ἡμᾶς αὐτούς[2] ἐστι
καὶ τὸ καλῶς καὶ τὸ κακῶς ἀκούειν."

7. Τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δημαγωγοῖς ἔφη χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι λοιδοροῦντες αὐτὸν βελτίονα ποιοῦσι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ ἤθει· "πειρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἅμα καὶ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ψευδομένους ἐλέγχειν."

8. Τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ὅσοι περὶ Χαιρώνειαν

[1] παρ' ἡμᾶς] παρ' ἡμῖν E, perhaps rightly.

[2] παρ' ἡμᾶς αὐτούς] πρὸς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν E, perhaps rightly.

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[a] Repeated in *Moralia*, 105 A and 666 A.

[b] A similar story is told of Pyrrhus in Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. viii. (387 E).

me some little ill to offset so many good things like these!"[a]

4. After his victory over the Greeks, when some were advising him to hold the Greek cities in subjection by means of garrisons, he said that he preferred to be called a good man for a long time rather than a master for a short time.

5. When his friends advised him to banish from his court a man who maligned him, he said he would not, so that the man should not go about speaking ill of him among more people.[b]

6. When Smicythus remarked maliciously of Nicanor that he was always speaking ill of Philip, and Philip's companions thought that he ought to send for Nicanor and punish him, Philip said, "But really Nicanor is not the worst of the Macedonians. We must investigate therefore whether something is not happening for which we are responsible." When he learned therefore that Nicanor was hard pressed by poverty, and had been neglected by him, he directed that a present be given to the man. So when again Smicythus said that Nicanor was continually sounding the praises of Philip to everybody in a surprising way, Philip said, "You all see that we ourselves are responsible for the good and the ill that is said of us."[c]

7. He said that he felt very grateful to the popular leaders of the Athenians, because by maligning him they made him better both in speech and in character, "For I try both by my words and by my deeds to prove that they are liars."

8. When all the Athenians who had been taken

[c] *Cf.* Themistius, *Oration* vii. 95 B, and Frontinus, *Strategemata*, iv. 7. 37.

ἑάλωσαν, ἀφεθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δίχα λύτρων, τὰ δὲ
ἱμάτια καὶ στρώματα προσαπαιτούντων καὶ τοῖς
F Μακεδόσιν ἐγκαλούντων, γελάσας ὁ Φίλιππος
εἶπεν, "οὐ δοκοῦσιν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζειν ἐν
ἀστραγάλοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν νενικῆσθαι;"

9. Τῆς δὲ κλειδὸς αὐτῷ καταγείσης ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ τοῦ θεραπεύοντος ἰατροῦ πάντως τι καθ' ἡμέραν αἰτοῦντος, "λάμβανε," ἔφη, "ὅσα βούλει· τὴν γὰρ κλεῖν ἔχεις."

10. Δυοῖν δὲ ἀδελφῶν Ἀμφοτεροῦ καὶ Ἑκατεροῦ, τὸν μὲν Ἑκατερὸν ἔμφρονα καὶ πρακτικὸν ὁρῶν, τὸν δὲ Ἀμφοτερὸν εὐήθη καὶ ἀβέλτερον ἔφη "τὸν μὲν Ἑκατερὸν ἀμφότερον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Ἀμφοτερὸν οὐδέτερον."

178 11. Τοὺς δὲ συμβουλεύοντας αὐτῷ πικρῶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀτόπους ἔλεγεν εἶναι κελεύοντας ἄνθρωπον ὑπὲρ δόξης πάντα ποιοῦντα καὶ πάσχοντα ἀποβαλεῖν τὸ τῆς δόξης θέατρον.

12. Γενόμενος δὲ κριτὴς δυοῖν πονηρῶν ἐκέλευσε τὸν μὲν φεύγειν ἐκ Μακεδονίας τὸν δὲ ἕτερον διώκειν.

13. Μέλλων δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύειν ἐν χωρίῳ καλῷ καὶ πυθόμενος ὅτι χόρτος οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις, "οἷος," εἶπεν, "ὁ βίος ἡμῶν ἐστιν, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄνων καιρὸν ὀφείλομεν ζῆν;"

14. Φρούριον δέ τι βουλόμενος λαβεῖν ὀχυρόν,
B ὡς ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ κατάσκοποι χαλεπὸν εἶναι
παντάπασι καὶ ἀνάλωτον, ἠρώτησεν εἰ χαλεπὸν

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[a] *Cf.* Polybius, v. 10, and Diodorus, xvi. 87.

[b] *Cf.* Demosthenes, *Oration* xviii. (*De Corona*), 67 (p. 247), and Aulus Gellius, ii. 27.

captive at Chaeroneia were set free by him without ransom,[a] but asked for the return of their clothing and bedding besides, and complained against the Macedonians, Philip laughed and said to his men, "Does it not seem to you that the Athenians think they have been beaten by us in a game of knucklebones?"

9. When the keybone of his shoulder had been broken in battle,[b] and the attending physician insistently demanded a fee every day, he said, "Take as much as you wish; for you have the key in your charge!"[c]

10. Of two brothers, Both and Each, he observed that Each was sensible and practical, and Both was silly and foolish, and he remarked that Each was both and Both was neither!

11. Those who counselled him to treat the Athenians harshly he said were silly in urging a man who did everything and underwent everything for the sake of repute to throw away his chance to exhibit it.

12. Being called upon to decide a suit between two knaves, he ordered the one to flee from Macedonia, and the other to pursue him.

13. When he was about to pitch his camp in an excellent place, he learned that there was no grass for the pack-animals. "What a life is ours," he said, "if we must live to suit the convenience of the asses!"[d]

14. When he was desirous of capturing a certain stronghold, his scouts reported that it was altogether difficult and quite impregnable, whereupon he asked

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[c] The pun depends on the fact that κλείς means both "key" and "collar-bone."

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 790 B; also Eunapius, Frag. 56 in Dindorf, *Historici Graeci Minores*, i. p. 249.

(178) οὕτως ἐστίν, ὥστε μηδὲ ὄνον προσελθεῖν χρυσίον κομίζοντα.

15. Τῶν δὲ περὶ Λασθένην τὸν Ὀλύνθιον ἐγκαλούντων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων, ὅτι προδότας αὐτοὺς ἔνιοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκαλοῦσι, σκαιοὺς ἔφη φύσει καὶ ἀγροίκους εἶναι Μακεδόνας καὶ τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντας.

16. Τῷ δὲ υἱῷ παρῄνει πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλεῖν τοῖς Μακεδόσι, κτώμενον ἑαυτῷ τὴν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν δύναμιν,[1] ἕως ἔξεστι βασιλεύοντος ἄλλου φιλάνθρωπον εἶναι.

C 17. Συνεβούλευε δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δυνατῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλους κτᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πονηρούς, εἶτα οἷς μὲν χρῆσθαι οἷς δ' ἀποχρῆσθαι.

18. Πρὸς δὲ Φίλωνα τὸν Θηβαῖον εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ γενόμενον καὶ ξένον, ὁπηνίκα διῆγεν ἐν Θήβαις ὁμηρεύων, ὕστερον δὲ μηδεμίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ δωρεὰν προσδεχόμενον, "μή με," εἶπεν, "ἀφαιροῦ τὸ ἀνίκητον, εὐεργεσίας καὶ χάριτος ἡττώμενον."

19. Ληφθέντων δὲ πολλῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἐπίπρασκεν αὐτοὺς ἀνεσταλμένῳ τῷ χιτῶνι καθήμενος οὐκ εὐπρεπῶς· εἷς οὖν τῶν πωλουμένων ἀνεβόησε, "φεῖσαί μου, Φίλιππε, πατρικὸς γάρ εἰμί σου φίλος"· ἐρωτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, "πόθεν, D ὦ ἄνθρωπε, γενόμενος καὶ πῶς;" "ἐγγύς," ἔφη, "φράσαι σοι βούλομαι προσελθών·" ὡς οὖν

[1] δύναμιν] εὐμένειαν or εὔνοιαν Wyttenbach.

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[a] *Cf.* Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, i. 16. 12; Diodorus, xvi. 54. [b] *Cf. Moralia*, 97 D.

[c] A reference to a line from an unknown comic poet quoted by Lucian, *Iupiter Tragoedus*, 32. *Cf.* also Lucian,

if it were so difficult that not even an ass laden with money could approach it.[a]

15. When the men associated with Lasthenes, the Olynthian, complained with indignation because some of Philip's associates called them traitors,[b] he said that the Macedonians are by nature a rough and rustic people who call a spade a spade.[c]

16. He recommended to his son that he associate with the Macedonians so as to win their favour, and thus acquire for himself influence with the masses while another was reigning and while it was possible for him to be humane.[d]

17. He also advised him that, among the men of influence in the cities, he should make friends of both the good and the bad, and that later he should use the former and abuse the latter.

18. Philon[e] the Theban had been his benefactor and host during the time he spent as a hostage in Thebes, but later would not accept any gift from him; whereupon Philip said to him, "Do not deprive me of my invincibility by letting me be outdone in benefactions and favours."

19. On a time when many prisoners had been taken, Philip was overseeing their sale, sitting with his tunic pulled up in an unseemly way. So one of the men who were being sold cried out, "Spare me, Philip, for I am a friend of your father's." And when Philip asked, "Where, sirrah, and how came you to be such?" the man said, "I wish to tell you privately, if I may come near you." And when he

Historia quomodo conscribenda sit, 41, and Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 451, Adespota no. 227.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 806 B, Cicero, *De Officiis*, ii. 14 (48).

[e] Probably the man mentioned by Demosthenes, *Oration* xix. 140 (p. 384).

(178) προσήχθη, "μικρόν," ἔφη, "κατωτέρω τὴν
χλαμύδα ποίησον, ἀσχημονεῖς γὰρ οὕτω καθήμενος·"
καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος, "ἄφετε αὐτόν," εἶπεν,
"ἀληθῶς γὰρ εὔνους ὢν καὶ φίλος ἐλάνθανεν."

20. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπό τινος ξένου κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον
ἐν ὁδῷ[1] πολλοὺς ἐπήγετο καὶ τὸν ξένον
ἑώρα θορυβούμενον, ἦν γὰρ οὐχ ἱκανὰ τὰ παρεσκευασμένα,
προπέμπων τῶν φίλων ἑκάστῳ,
E πλακοῦντι χώραν ἐκέλευεν ἀπολείπειν· οἱ δὲ
πειθόμενοι καὶ προσδοκῶντες οὐκ ἤσθιον πολλά,
καὶ πᾶσιν οὕτως ἤρκεσεν.

21. Ἱππάρχου τοῦ Εὐβοέως ἀποθανόντος, δῆλος ἦν βαρέως φέρων· εἰπόντος δέ τινος, "ἀλλὰ μὴν ὡραῖος ὢν ἐκεῖνος ἀποτέθνηκεν," "ἑαυτῷ γε," εἶπεν, "ἐμοὶ δὲ ταχέως· ἔφθη γὰρ τελευτῆσαι πρὶν ἢ παρ' ἐμοῦ χάριν ἀξίαν τῆς φιλίας ἀπολαβεῖν."

22. Πυθόμενος δ' ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον,
ὅτι παῖδας ἐκ πλειόνων ποιεῖται γυναικῶν,
"οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "πολλοὺς ἔχων περὶ τῆς βασιλείας
F ἀνταγωνιστὰς γενοῦ καλὸς κἀγαθός, ἵνα μὴ δι'
ἐμὲ τῆς βασιλείας τύχῃς ἀλλὰ διὰ σεαυτόν."
ἐκέλευε δ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλει προσέχειν καὶ
φιλοσοφεῖν, "ὅπως," ἔφη, "μὴ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα
πράξῃς, ἐφ' οἷς ἐγὼ πεπραγμένοις μεταμέλομαι."

23. Τῶν δὲ Ἀντιπάτρου φίλων τινὰ κατατάξας εἰς τοὺς δικαστάς, εἶτα τὸν πώγωνα βαπτόμενον

[1] ἐν ὁδῷ] ἐν ἀγρῷ (?), *cf.* ἐπὶ χώρας *Moralia*, 123 F and 707 B.

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[a] The story is repeated in *Moralia*, 123 F and 707 B.

[b] Hipparchus, with two others, was set up by Philip as tyrant in Eretria about 343 B.C. See Demosthenes, *Oration* ix. 58 (p. 125), and *Oration* xviii. 295 (p. 324).

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. ix. (669 A).

was brought forward, he said, "Put your cloak a little lower, for you are exposing too much of yourself as you are sitting now." And Philip said, "Let him go free, for it had escaped me that he is a truly loyal friend."

20. Once when he was on the march, and was invited to dinner by a man of the land, he took a good many persons with him; and when he saw that his host was much perturbed, since the preparations that had been made were inadequate, he sent word in advance to each of his friends, and told them to "leave room for cake." They took his advice and, expecting more to follow, did not eat much, and thus there was enough for all.[a]

21. When Hipparchus of Euboea died,[b] it was plain that Philip took it much to heart; and when somebody remarked, "But, as a matter of fact, his death has come in fullness of time," Philip said, "Yes, in fullness of time for him, it is true, but swiftly for me, for he came to his end too soon to receive from me, as he ought, favours worthy of our friendship."

22. Learning that Alexander complained against him because he was having children by other women besides his wife, he said, "Well then, if you have many competitors for the kingdom, prove yourself honourable and good, so that you may obtain the kingdom not because of me, but because of yourself." He bade Alexander give heed to Aristotle, and study philosophy, "so that," as he said, "you may not do a great many things of the sort that I am sorry to have done."[c]

23. He appointed one of Antipater's friends to the position of judge, but later, on learning that the man dyed his beard and hair, he removed him, at the same

αἰσθανόμενος καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν, ἀνέστησεν εἰπὼν τὸν ἄπιστον ἐν θριξὶ μὴ νομίζειν ἀξιόπιστον ἐν πράγμασιν.

24. Μαχαίτᾳ δέ τινα κρίνων δίκην καὶ ὑπο-
νυστάζων οὐ πάνυ προσεῖχε τοῖς δικαίοις ἀλλὰ
κατέκρινεν· ἐκείνου δὲ ἀναβοήσαντος ἐκκαλεῖσθαι
τὴν κρίσιν, διοργισθείς " ἐπὶ τίνα;" εἶπε· καὶ ὁ
Μαχαίτας, " ἐπὶ σέ, βασιλεῦ, αὐτόν, ἂν ἐγρηγορὼς
179 καὶ προσέχων ἀκούῃς." τότε μὲν οὖν ἀνέστη·
γενόμενος δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ γνοὺς ἀδικού-
μενον τὸν Μαχαίταν τὴν μὲν κρίσιν οὐκ ἔλυσε, τὸ
δὲ τίμημα τῆς δίκης αὐτὸς ἐξέτεισεν.

25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἅρπαλος ὑπὲρ συγγενοῦς καὶ οἰκείου Κράτητος ἀδικημάτων δίκην ἔχοντος ἠξίου τὴν ζημίαν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἀφεθῆναι δὲ τῆς κρίσεως, ἵνα μὴ λοιδορηθῇ, " βέλτιόν ἐστιν," εἶπε, " τοῦτον αὐτὸν[1] ἢ ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦτον κακῶς ἀκούειν."

26. Ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν φίλων, ὅτι συρίτ-
τουσιν αὐτὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις εὖ πεπονθότες οἱ
B Πελοποννήσιοι, " τί οὖν," εἶπεν, " ἐὰν κακῶς
πάθωσι;"

27. Κοιμηθεὶς δὲ πλείονα χρόνον ἐπὶ στρατείας εἶτα διαναστάς, " ἀσφαλῶς," εἶπεν, " ἐκάθευδον· Ἀντίπατρος γὰρ ἐγρηγόρει."

28. Πάλιν δὲ ἡμέρας καθεύδοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν

[1] αὐτὸν] δι' αὐτὸν Pantazides.

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[a] The sentiment is attributed to Archidamus regarding a man from Chios, in Aelian, *Varia Historia*, vii. 20; *cf.* Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xii. 20.

[b] Of an old woman in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xiii. 29 (quoted from Serenus) and Valerius Maximus, vi. 2, ext. 1; in the latter place is the more familiar appeal from " Philip drunk to Philip sober."

time remarking that he did not believe that a man who was untrustworthy in the matter of hair was fit to be trusted in actions.[a]

24. While he was hearing the case of Machaetas, he was near falling asleep, and did not give full attention to the rights of the case, but decided against Machaetas. And when Machaetas exclaimed that he appealed from the decision, Philip, thoroughly enraged, said, "To whom?" And Machaetas replied, "To you yourself, Your Majesty, if you will listen awake and attentive." At the time Philip merely ended the sitting, but when he had gained more control of himself and realized that Machaetas was treated unfairly, he did not reverse his decision, but satisfied the judgement with his own money.[b]

25. When Harpalus, acting in behalf of his kinsman and intimate friend Crates, who was under condemnation for wrongdoing, proposed as a fair solution that Crates should pay the fine, but be absolved from the adverse judgement so that he should not be subject to reproach, Philip said, " It is better that the man himself, rather than that we because of him, should be ill spoken of."

26. When his friends were indignant because the people of the Peloponnesus hissed him at the Olympic games, although they had been treated well, he said, " Well, what if they should be treated ill!"[c]

27. Once on a campaign he slept for an unusually long time, and later, when he arose, he said, " I slept safely, for Antipater was awake."[d]

28. On another occasion when he was asleep in the

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 143 F and 457 F. A similar remark of Pausanias is quoted in *Moralia*, 230 D.

[d] *Cf.* Athenaeus, p. 435 D.

(179) ἠθροισμένων ἐπὶ θύραις Ἑλλήνων ἀγανακτούντων καὶ ἐγκαλούντων, ὁ Παρμενίων, "μὴ θαυμάσητε," εἶπεν, "εἰ καθεύδει νῦν Φίλιππος· ὅτε γὰρ ἐκαθεύδετε ὑμεῖς, οὗτος ἐγρηγόρει."

29. Ψάλτην δέ τινα βουλομένου παρὰ δεῖπνον ἐπανορθοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ λαλεῖν περὶ κρουμάτων, ὁ ψάλτης, "μὴ γένοιτό σοι," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, κακῶς οὕτως, ἵνα ταῦτα ἐμοῦ βέλτιον εἰδῇς."

C 30. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διενεχθέντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἧκε Δημάρατος ὁ Κορίνθιος, ἐπυνθάνετο πῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχουσιν[1] οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ ὁ Δημάρατος, "πάνυ γοῦν," ἔφη, "σοὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμονοίας ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, οὕτω πρὸς σὲ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐχόντων." ὁ δὲ συμφρονήσας ἐπαύσατο τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ διηλλάγη πρὸς αὐτούς.

31. Πρεσβύτιδος δὲ πενιχρᾶς ἀξιούσης ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κριθῆναι καὶ πολλάκις ἐνοχλούσης, ἔφη μὴ σχολάζειν· ἡ δὲ πρεσβῦτις ἐκκραγοῦσα, "καὶ μὴ D βασίλευε," εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὸ ῥηθὲν οὐ μόνον ἐκείνης ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐθὺς διήκουσεν.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

1. Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι παῖς ὤν, πολλὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου κατορθοῦντος, οὐκ ἔχαιρεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς συν-

[1] ἔχουσιν] Hatzidakis would add ὁμονοίας from *Moralia*, 70 c, and *Life of Alexander*, chap. ix., but it is not absolutely necessary.

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[a] Something remotely like this is told of Alexander in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxxi. (683 E).

[b] The story is found also in *Moralia*, 67 F, 334 D, and 634 D.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 70 B (which omits the conclusion) and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. ix. (669 c).

daytime, and the Greeks who had gathered at his doors were indignant and complaining, Parmenio said, "Do not be astonished that Philip is asleep now; for while you were asleep he was awake."[a]

29. When he desired to correct a harp-player at dinner, and to discuss the playing of this instrument, the harp-player said, "God forbid, Your Majesty, that you should ever fall so low as to have a better knowledge of these matters than I."[b]

30. At a time when he was at odds with Olympias, his wife, and with his son, Demaratus of Corinth arrived, and Philip inquired of him how the Greeks were feeling towards one another. And Demaratus said, "Much right have you to talk about the harmony of the Greeks when the dearest of your own household feel so towards you!" Philip, taking the thought to heart, ceased from his anger, and became reconciled with them.[c]

31. When a poor old woman insisted that her case should be heard before him, and often caused him annoyance, he said he had no time to spare, whereupon she burst out, "Then give up being king." Philip, amazed at her words, proceeded at once to hear not only her case but those of the others.[d]

ALEXANDER[e]

1. While Alexander was still a boy and Philip was winning many successes, he was not glad, but said to

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[d] The story is told also in Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xlii. (909 c). Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xiii. 28, quotes Serenus, who states that a peasant made this remark to Antipater.

[e] Alexander the Great, born 356, king of Macedon 336–323 B.C.

(179) τρεφομένους ἔλεγε παῖδας, "ἐμοὶ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ οὐδὲν ἀπολείψει." τῶν δὲ παίδων λεγόντων ὅτι "σοὶ ταῦτα κτᾶται"· "τί δὲ ὄφελος," εἶπεν, "ἐὰν ἔχω μὲν πολλὰ πράξω δὲ μηδέν;"

2. Ἐλαφρὸς δὲ ὢν καὶ ποδώκης καὶ παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ὀλύμπια δραμεῖν στάδιον, "εἴγε," ἔφη, "βασιλεῖς ἕξειν ἔμελλον ἀνταγωνιστάς."

E 3. Ἀχθείσης δὲ παιδίσκης πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς συναναπαυσομένης περὶ ἑσπέραν βαθεῖαν, ἠρώτησεν ὅ τι τηνικαῦτα; τῆς δὲ εἰπούσης, "περιέμενον γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα κατακλῖναι,[1]" πικρῶς ἐπετίμησε τοῖς παισὶν ὡς μικροῦ δι' αὐτοὺς μοιχὸς γενόμενος.

4. Ἐπιθυμιῶντι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀφειδῶς αὐτῷ καὶ πολλάκις ἐπιδραττομένῳ τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ, παρὼν Λεωνίδης ὁ παιδαγωγός, "οὕτως," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ, δαψιλῶς ἐπιθυμιάσεις, ὅταν τῆς λιβανωτοφόρου κρατήσῃς." ὡς οὖν ἐκράτησεν, ἔπεμψεν
F ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτόν· "ἀπέσταλκά σοι τάλαντα ἑκατὸν[2] λιβανωτοῦ καὶ κασίας, ἵνα μηκέτι μικρολογῇ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἀρωματοφόρου κρατοῦμεν."

5. Μέλλων δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ μάχην μάχεσθαι παρεκάλει τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀφθόνως δειπνεῖν καὶ πάντα φέρειν εἰς μέσον, ὡς αὔριον δειπνήσοντας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων.

[1] κατακλῖναι] κατακλινῆναι van Herwerden.

[2] ἑκατὸν omitted in nearly all MSS. but is in the *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxv.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. v. (666 F). Many of the stories about Alexander are repeated in Zonaras, *Epitome of History*, iv. 8-15.

his playmates, "My father will leave nothing for me to do." "But," said the boys, "he is acquiring all this for you." "But what good is it," said Alexander, "if I possess much and accomplish nothing?"[a]

2. Being nimble and swift of foot, he was urged by his father to run in the foot-race at the Olympic games. "Yes, I would run," said he, "if I were to have kings as competitors."[b]

3. A girl was brought to him late in the evening with the intent that she should spend the night with him, and he asked her, "Why at this time?" She replied, "I had to wait to get my husband to go to bed"; whereupon Alexander bitterly rebuked his servants, since, owing to them, he had so narrowly escaped becoming an adulterer.

4. On a time when he was offering incense to the gods with lavish hand, and often taking up handfuls of the frankincense, Leonidas, who had been his attendant in boyhood, happening to be present, said, "My boy, you may offer incense thus lavishly when you have made yourself master of the land that bears it." And so, when Alexander had become master of it, he sent a letter to Leonidas: "I have sent to you a half-ton of frankincense and cassia, so that you may never again count any petty cost in dealing with the gods, since you know that we are now masters of the land that bears these fragrant things."[c]

5. Just before he fought the battle at Granicus he urged the Macedonians to eat without stint, and to bring out all they had, since on the morrow they should dine from the enemy's stores.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 331 B, and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. iv. (666 D).

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxv. (679 C); Pliny, *Natural History*, xii. 32 (62).

6. Περίλλου δέ τινος τῶν φίλων αἰτήσαντος προῖκα τοῖς θυγατρίοις, ἐκέλευσε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα λαβεῖν· αὐτοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ἱκανὰ εἶναι δέκα, " σοί γε," ἔφη, " λαβεῖν, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐχ ἱκανὰ δοῦναι."

7. Ἀναξάρχῳ δὲ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ δοῦναι τὸν διοικητὴν ἐκέλευσεν ὅσον ἂν αἰτήσῃ· τοῦ δὲ διοικητοῦ φήσαντος ὡς ἑκατὸν αἰτεῖ τάλαντα, " καλῶς," 180 ἔφη, " ποιεῖ γινώσκων ὅτι φίλον ἔχει καὶ δυνάμενον τηλικαῦτα δωρεῖσθαι καὶ βουλόμενον."

8. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Μιλήτῳ πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἀθλητῶν θεασάμενος Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια νενικηκότων, " καὶ ποῦ τὰ τηλικαῦτα," ἔφη, " ἦν σώματα, ὅτε οἱ βάρβαροι ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐπολιόρκουν; "

9. Τῆς δὲ τῶν Καρῶν βασιλίσσης Ἄδας ὄψα καὶ πέμματα παρεσκευασμένα περιττῶς διὰ δημιουργῶν καὶ μαγείρων φιλοτιμουμένης ἀεὶ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἔφη κρείττονας ἔχειν αὐτὸς ὀψοποιούς, πρὸς μὲν ἄριστον τὴν νυκτοπορίαν πρὸς δὲ δεῖπνον τὴν ὀλιγαριστίαν.

10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκευασμένων πάντων πρὸς B μάχην, ἠρώτησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ μή τι πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερον; " οὐδέν," εἶπεν, " ἢ ξυρᾶν τὰ γένεια τῶν Μακεδόνων· " θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, " οὐκ οἶδας," εἶπεν, " ὅτι βελτίων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν μάχαις λαβὴ πώγωνος; "

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[a] Stories of this type about kings have long been popular and often repeated.

[b] Xenocrates seems to have been the lucky recipient, while Anaxarchus received high esteem, according to *Moralia*, 331 E, and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. viii. (668 E).

[c] *Cf.* in Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1003, and Athenaeus, 523 F, the proverb, " Once were the Milesians stout and strong."

6. When Perillus, one of his friends, asked him for dowry for his girls, Alexander bade him accept ten thousand pounds. He said that two thousand would be enough ; but Alexander said, " Enough for you to accept, but not enough for me to give." [a]

7. He bade his manager give to Anaxarchus, the philosopher, as much as he asked for ; and when the manager said that he asked for twenty thousand pounds, Alexander said, " He does well, for he knows that he has a friend who is both able and willing to make such presents." [b]

8. When he saw in Miletus many statues of athletes who had won victories in the Olympic and the Pythian games, he said, " Where were the men with bodies like these when the barbarians were besieging your city ? " [c]

9. Ada, queen of the Carians, made it a point of honour to be always sending to him fancy dishes and sweetmeats prepared in unusual ways by the hands of artists and chefs, but he said he had better fancy cooks—his night marches for his breakfast, and for his dinner his frugal breakfast.[d]

10. Once, when all preparations had been made for battle, his generals asked him whether there was anything else in addition to what they had done. " Nothing," said he, " except to shave the Macedonians' beards." And as Parmenio expressed his surprise, Alexander said, " Don't you know that in battles there is nothing handier to grasp than a beard ? " [e]

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[d] This story with slight variations is found also in *Moralia*, 127 B, 1099 C, and the *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxii. (677 B).

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*, chap. iii. (3 A); Athenaeus, 565 A.

(180) **11.** Δαρείου δὲ διδόντος[1] αὐτῷ μύρια τάλαντα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν νείμασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπίσης, καὶ Παρμενίωνος εἰπόντος, “ἔλαβον ἂν εἰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤμην,” “κἀγὼ νὴ Δία,” εἶπεν, “εἰ Παρμενίων ἤμην.” ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ Δαρείῳ μήτε τὴν γῆν ἡλίους δύο μήτε τὴν Ἀσίαν δύο βασιλεῖς ὑπομένειν.

C 12. Μέλλοντι δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐν Ἀρβήλοις κινδυνεύειν πρὸς ἑκατὸν μυριάδας ἀντιτεταγμένας προσῆεσαν οἱ φίλοι, τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατηγοροῦντες ὡς ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς διαλαλούντων καὶ συντιθεμένων, ὅπως μηδὲν τῶν λαφύρων εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀνοίσουσιν ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ κερδανοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας, “ἀγαθά,” φησίν, “ἀγγέλλετε· νικᾶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν οὐ φεύγειν παρεσκευασμένων ἀκούω διαλογισμούς.” καὶ προσιόντες αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔλεγον “ὦ βασιλεῦ, θάρρει καὶ μὴ φοβοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτὸν γὰρ ἡμῶν τὸν γράσον οὐχ ὑπομενοῦσι.”

13. Παραταττομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἰδὼν D τινα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ ἀκόντιον ἐναγκυλούμενον ἐξέωσε τῆς φάλαγγος ὡς ἄχρηστον, ὃς παρασκευάζεται δὴ νῦν, ὅτε χρῆσθαι δεῖ τοῖς ὅπλοις.

14. Ἐπιστολὴν δὲ παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἀναγινώσκων ἀπορρήτους κατ' Ἀντιπάτρου διαβολὰς ἔχουσαν, ἅμα τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ὥσπερ εἰώθει συναναγινώσκοντος, οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν· ὡς δὲ ἀνέγνω, τὸν δακτύλιον ἀφελόμενος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τῷ στόματι τῷ ἐκείνου τὴν σφραγῖδα ἐπέθηκεν.

[1] δὲ διδόντος Bernardakis: διδόντος or δὲ δόντος.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxix. (681 F): Arrian, *Anabasis*, ii. 25; Diodorus, xvii. 54; Longinus, *De sublimitate*, ix. 4; Valerius Maximus, vi. 4, ext. 3.

11. When Darius offered him two million pounds, and also offered to share Asia equally with him, Parmenio said, “I would take it if I were Alexander.” “And so indeed would I,” said Alexander, “if I were Parmenio.” But he made answer to Darius that the earth could not tolerate two suns, nor Asia two kings.[a]

12. When he was about to risk everything at Arbela against a million men arrayed against him, his friends came to him and accused the soldiers of talking together and making agreements in their tents that they would hand over none of the spoil to the royal treasury, but would keep everything for themselves. And he smiling said, “You bring good news; for I hear in this the talk of men prepared to conquer and not to flee.” And many of the soldiers came to him and said, “Be of good cheer, Sire, and do not fear the great numbers of the enemy; for they will not be able to stand the very smell of goat that clings to us.”

13. As the army was being drawn up for battle, he saw one of the soldiers fitting the thong to his javelin, and he shoved him out of the line as a useless man who was making ready at this time when he ought to be using his weapons.

14. As he was reading a letter from his mother, which contained secret slanders against Antipater, Hephaestion, as usual, was reading it with him. Alexander did not prevent Hephaestion from reading it, but, when he had finished the reading, he took off his ring, and placed the seal on Hephaestion's lips.[b]

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 332 F and 340 A, and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxxix. (688 A).

(180) 15. Ἐν δὲ Ἄμμωνος ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου παῖς Διὸς προσαγορευθεὶς "οὐδέν γε," ἔφη, "θαυμαστόν, πάντων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς φύσει πατήρ ἐστιν, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ ποιεῖται τοὺς ἀρίστους."

E 16. Τοξεύματι δὲ πληγεὶς εἰς τὸ σκέλος, ὡς πολλοὶ συνέδραμον τῶν πολλάκις εἰωθότων αὐτὸν θεὸν προσαγορεύειν, διαχυθεὶς τῷ προσώπῳ, "τουτὶ μὲν αἷμα," εἶπεν, "ὡς ὁρᾶτε, καὶ οὐκ

> ἰχώρ, οἷόσπέρ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν."

17. Ἐπαινούντων δὲ ἐνίων τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν εὐτέλειαν ὡς ἀθρύπτως διαιτωμένου καὶ αὐστηρῶς, "ἔξωθεν," εἶπεν, "Ἀντίπατρος λευκοπάρυφός ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ὁλοπόρφυρος."

18. Ἐν δὲ χειμῶνι καὶ ψύχει τῶν φίλων τινὸς ἑστιῶντος αὐτόν, ἐσχάραν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ πῦρ ὀλίγον εἰσενέγκαντος, ἢ ξύλα ἢ λιβανωτὸν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἐκέλευσεν.

F 19. Ἀντιπατρίδου δὲ καλὴν ψάλτριαν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀγαγόντος, κινηθεὶς τῇ ὄψει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἠρώτησε τὸν Ἀντιπατρίδην, μή τι τυγχάνοι τῆς γυναικὸς ἐρῶν· ἐκείνου δὲ ὁμολογήσαντος, "ὦ μιαρέ," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἀπάξεις εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου τὴν γυναῖκα;"

20. Πάλιν δὲ Πύθωνα τὸν Εὐίου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ ἐρώμενον Κάσανδρος ἐβιάζετο φιλῆσαι· τὸν οὖν Εὔιον ὁρῶν ἀχθόμενον ἀνεπήδησε μετ' ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κάσανδρον, κεκραγώς, "ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐρασθῆναί τινος ἔξεστι δι' ὑμᾶς."

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxvii. (680 F).

[b] The story is often repeated: *cf.* for example, *Moralia*, 341 B; Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxviii. (681 B);

15. In the shrine of Ammon he was hailed by the prophetic priest as the son of Zeus. "That is nothing surprising," said he; "for Zeus is by nature the father of all, and he makes the noblest his own." [a]

16. When he was hit in the leg by an arrow, and many of those who were oftentimes wont to hail him as a god hurried up to him, he, relaxing his countenance, said, "This is blood, as you see, and not

> Ichor, like that which flows from the wounds of the blessed Immortals." [b]

17. When some commended the frugality of Antipater, who, they said, lived a plain and simple life, he remarked, "Outwardly Antipater is plain white, but within he is all purple." [c]

18. When one of his friends was entertaining him in the cold of winter, and brought in a small brazier with a little fire in it, Alexander bade him bring in either firewood or incense.

19. When Antipatrides brought to dinner a beautiful harp-player, Alexander, stirred to love at the sight of her, asked Antipatrides whether he happened to be at all in love with the girl; and when he admitted that he was, Alexander said, "You abominable wretch! Please take her away from here at once."

20. On another occasion Casander forced Python, beloved by Evius the flute-player,[d] to kiss him, and Alexander, seeing that Evius was vexed, leapt up in anger against Casander, exclaiming "It isn't allowable even to fall in love with anybody, because of you and people like you."

Diogenes Laertius, ix. 60; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* xliv. (p. 498); Seneca, *Epistulae Moral.* vi. 7. 12.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxix. (754 E).

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Eumenes*, chap. ii. (583 D).

21. Ἀποστέλλοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων
181 τοὺς νοσώδεις καὶ ἀναπήρους ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐνεδείχθη
τις εἰς τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀπογεγραμμένος
ἑαυτὸν οὐ νοσῶν. ἐπεὶ οὖν εἰς ὄψιν ἀχθεὶς καὶ
ἀνακρινόμενος ὡμολόγησε προφασίζεσθαι δι' ἔρωτα
Τελεσίππας ἀπιούσης ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἠρώτησεν ὁ
Ἀλέξανδρος, " πρὸς τίνα δεῖ περὶ τῆς Τελεσίππας
διαλέγεσθαι·" πυθόμενος δὲ ἐλευθέραν οὖσαν,
" οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, " ὦ Ἀντιγένη, πείθωμεν τὴν
Τελεσίππαν, ἵνα μείνῃ μεθ' ἡμῶν· βιάζεσθαι γὰρ
ἐλευθέραν οὖσαν οὐχ ἡμέτερον."

22. Τῶν δὲ μισθοφορούντων Ἑλλήνων παρὰ τοῖς
πολεμίοις ὑποχειρίων γενομένων, τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους
B ἐκέλευσεν ἐν πέδαις φυλάττειν ὅτι τροφὴν
ἔχοντες ἐκ δημοσίου μισθοφοροῦσι καὶ τοὺς
Θετταλοὺς ὅτι γῆν[1] ἀρίστην κεκτημένοι οὐ γεωργοῦσι·
τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους ἀφῆκεν εἰπὼν ὅτι μόνοις
τούτοις οὔτε πόλις οὔτε χώρα δι' ἡμᾶς ἀπολέλειπται.

23. Τῶν δὲ Ἰνδῶν τὸν ἄριστα τοξεύειν δοκοῦντα καὶ λεγόμενον διὰ δακτυλίου τὸν οἰστὸν ἀφιέναι λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον ἐκέλευσεν ἐπιδείξασθαι, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον ὀργισθεὶς ἀνελεῖν προσέταξε· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγόμενος[2] ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς ἄγοντας, ὅτι πολλῶν ἡμερῶν οὐ μεμελέτηκε καὶ ἐφοβήθη διαπεσεῖν, ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐθαύμασε καὶ

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[1] γῆν Hatzidakis and Kronenberg: τήν.

[2] ἀγόμενος] ἀπαγόμενος Maximus et Antonius, *Sententiae*, p. 569.

21. When he was sending away to the sea those of the Macedonians who were sick or incapacitated, a man was reported to have put down his name in the list of the sick although there was nothing the matter with him. When therefore the man was brought before Alexander and examined, he admitted that he had employed this ruse because of love for Telesippa, who was departing for the sea ; and Alexander asked, " With whom must one talk concerning Telesippa ? " And when he learned that she was not a slave, he said, " Then let us, Antigenes, try to persuade Telesippa to stay with us ; for to coerce her, a free woman, is not within our right." [a]

22. When Greek mercenaries serving on the enemy's side came into his hands, he would order the Athenians among them to be kept in chains, because, while they could live at the expense of the State, they were serving as mercenaries, and so also the Thessalians, because, although they owned the very best land, they did not till it. But the Thebans he let go free, saying that these alone, because of us, have neither city nor land left to them.

23. When he had taken captive the man who had the greatest repute for marksmanship among the Indians, of whom it was said that he could send an arrow through a finger-ring, Alexander bade him show his skill, and when he would not, the king in anger decreed his execution. The man, as he was being led away, said to those who were taking him that he had not practised for many days, and was afraid of failing ; and when this came to the ears of Alexander, he marvelled and let the man go with

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 339 c, and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xli. (689 B).

(181) ἀπέλυσε μετὰ δώρων αὐτόν, ὅτι μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν ὑπέμεινεν ἢ τῆς δόξης ἀνάξιος φανῆναι.

C 24. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ταξίλης, εἷς τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς ὤν, ἀπαντήσας προεκαλεῖτο μὴ μάχεσθαι μηδὲ πολεμεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μέν ἐστιν ἥττων, εὖ πάσχειν, εἰ δὲ βελτίων, εὖ ποιεῖν, ἀπεκρίνατο περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου μαχετέον εἶναι, πότερος εὖ ποιῶν περιγένηται.

25. Περὶ δὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἀόρνου πέτρας ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἀκούσας ὅτι τὸ μὲν χωρίον δυσάλωτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ ἔχων αὐτὸ δειλός ἐστι, "νῦν," ἔφη, "τὸ χωρίον εὐάλωτόν ἐστιν."

26. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλος ἔχων πέτραν ἄληπτον δοκοῦσαν εἶναι ἐνεχείρισεν ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τῆς πέτρας τῷ D Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκέλευσεν ἄρχειν καὶ προσέθηκε χώραν, εἰπὼν ὅτι φρονεῖν μοι δοκεῖ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀνδρὶ μᾶλλον ἀγαθῷ πιστεύσας ἑαυτὸν ἢ ὀχυρῷ τόπῳ.

27. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς πέτρας ἅλωσιν τῶν φίλων λεγόντων ὑπερβεβληκέναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα ταῖς πράξεσιν, "ἀλλ᾽ ἐγώ," εἶπε, "τὰς ἐμὰς πράξεις μετὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἑνὸς οὐ νομίζω ῥήματος[1] ἀνταξίας εἶναι τοῦ Ἡρακλέους."

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[1] ῥήματος] πράγματος (?); Heracles was not noted for his words! γράμματος E. Capps.

many gifts because he preferred to suffer himself to be put to death rather than to show himself unworthy of his reputation.

24. When Taxiles, king of the Indians, met Alexander, he charged him not to fight or make war, but, if he were inferior, to accept favours, and, if he were superior, to bestow them. To this Alexander replied that this was the very issue between them, to determine which could outdo the other in bestowing favours.[a]

25. When he was told concerning the 'Birdless Rock,'[b] as it is called, in India, that the place was extremely difficult to capture, but that the man who held it was a coward, he said, "In that case it is easy to capture."[c]

26. When another man who held a seemingly impregnable rock surrendered himself together with his stronghold to Alexander, Alexander bade him to continue to rule, and gave him additional country to govern, saying that "this person seems to me to show sense in trusting himself to a good man rather than to a strong place."

27. After the capture of the rock his friends were saying that he had surpassed Heracles in his deeds, but he remarked, "No, I do not feel that my deeds, with my position as commander, are to be weighed against one word of Heracles."[d]

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. lix. (698 B).

[b] *Cf.* Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, i. pp. 58 ff.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. lviii. (697 E); Arrian, *Anabasis*, iv. 28; Diodorus, xvii. 85; Quintus Curtius, *Hist. Alexandri*, viii. 11.

[d] Arrian, *Anabasis*, v. 26. 5, represents Alexander as boasting over the capture of the rock, which Heracles had failed to capture.

(181) 28. Τῶν δὲ φίλων τινὰς αἰσθόμενος ἐν τῷ κυβεύειν οὐ παίζοντας[1] ἐζημίωσε.

29. Τῶν δὲ πρώτων φίλων καὶ κρατίστων τιμᾶν μὲν ἐδόκει Κρατερὸν μάλιστα πάντων, φιλεῖν δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνα. " Κρατερὸς μὲν γάρ," ἔφη, " φιλοβασιλεύς ἐστιν, Ἡφαιστίων δὲ φιλαλέξανδρος."

E 30. Ξενοκράτει δὲ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα πέμψας, ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξατο μὴ δεῖσθαι φήσας, ἠρώτησεν εἰ μηδὲ φίλον ἔχει Ξενοκράτης· " ἐμοὶ μὲν γάρ," ἔφη, " μόλις ὁ Δαρείου πλοῦτος εἰς τοὺς φίλους ἤρκεσεν."

31. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πῶρος ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν μάχην, " πῶς σοι χρήσωμαι;" " βασιλικῶς," εἶπε, καὶ προσερωτηθείς, " καὶ μή τι ἄλλο;" " πάντα," εἶπεν, " ἐν τῷ ' βασιλικῶς ' ἔνεστι"· θαυμάσας καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν πλείονα χώραν ἧς πρότερον εἶχε προσέθηκε.

F 32. Πυθόμενος δὲ ὑπό τινος λοιδορεῖσθαι, " βασιλικόν," ἔφη, " ἐστὶν εὖ ποιοῦντα κακῶς ἀκούειν."

33. Ἀποθνῄσκων δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους ἀπιδὼν ἔφη, " μέγαν ὁρῶ μου τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἐσόμενον."

[1] οὐ παίζοντας] συμπαίζοντας Bernardakis. The question is, of course, whether they played professionally or would not play at all; ⟨σπ⟩ου⟨δῇ⟩, a not uncommon attendant of παίζω, would make the first alternative unequivocal, and οὐ συμπαίζοντας (E. Capps) would do the same for the second.

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[a] Alexander himself, when he was ill, spent the whole day in throwing dice with Medius, according to Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, chap. lxxvi (706 D).

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xlvii. (691 F), and Diodorus, xvii. 114.

[c] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 331 E and 333 B, and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. viii. (668 E).

[d] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 332 E and 458 B; Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. lx. (699 C); Arrian, *Anabasis*, v. 19. 2.

28. Learning that in gambling with dice some of his friends did not enter into the game as a sport, he punished them.[a]

29. Of his foremost and most influential friends he seems to have honoured Craterus most and to have loved Hephaestion best. " For," said he, " Craterus is fond of the king, but Hephaestion is fond of Alexander." [b]

30. He sent ten thousand pounds to Xenocrates the philosopher, but when Xenocrates would not accept them, and said he had no need of them, Alexander asked whether Xenocrates had not a single friend. " For, in my case," said he, " the wealth of Darius was hardly enough for my friends." [c]

31. Porus, after the battle, was asked by Alexander, " How shall I treat you ? " " Like a king," said he. Asked again if there were nothing else, he said, " Everything is included in those words." Marvelling at his sagacity and manliness, Alexander added to his kingdom more land than he had possessed before.[d]

32. Learning that he was being maligned by a certain man, he said, " It is kingly to be ill spoken of for doing good." [e]

33. As he was dying, he said, looking towards his companions, " I see that my funeral rites will be imposing." [f]

[e] An oft-repeated aphorism; *cf.* for example, Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xli. (688 E); *Pro Nobilitate*, 19 (Bernardakis ed. vii. p. 268); Diogenes Laertius, vi. 3; Epictetus, *Discourses*, iv. 6; Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, vii. 36; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* xlvii., last sentence.

[f] *Cf.* Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii. 26. 3; Diodorus, xvii. 117. 4; Quintus Curtius, *Hist. Alexandri*, x. 5. 5; Justinus, *Historiae Phillippicae*, xii. 15.

34. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Δημάδης ὁ ῥήτωρ ὅμοιον ἔφη διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν ὁρᾶσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκτετυφλωμένῳ τῷ Κύκλωπι.

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΓΟΥ

Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου τὰ πολλὰ παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδείπνει καὶ ἐκάθευδεν· εἰ δέ ποτε δειπνίζοι, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχρῆτο μεταπεμπόμενος ἐκπώματα καὶ στρώματα καὶ τραπέζας· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐκέκτητο πλείω τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πλουτεῖν ἔλεγε τὸ πλουτίζειν εἶναι βασιλικώτερον.

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ

182 1. Ἀντίγονος εἰσέπραττε χρήματα συντόνως· εἰπόντος δέ τινος, "ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν τοιοῦτος," "εἰκότως," εἶπεν, "ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἐθέριζε τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐγὼ δὲ καλαμῶμαι."

2. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἰδών τινας ἐν τοῖς θώραξι καὶ τοῖς κράνεσι σφαιρίζοντας ἥσθη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν μετεπέμπετο ἐπαινέσαι βουλόμενος· ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὅτι πίνουσιν, τὰς ἐκείνων ἡγεμονίας τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκε.

3. Θαυμαζόντων δὲ πάντων ὅτι γέρων γενόμενος
B ἠπίως ἐχρῆτο καὶ πράως τοῖς πράγμασι, "πρότερον μὲν γάρ," εἶπε, "δυνάμεως ἐδεόμην, νῦν δὲ δόξης καὶ εὐνοίας."

4. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Φίλιππον πυθόμενον πλειό-

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Galba*, chap. i. (1053 c), which also gives Demades as the author; but in *Moralia*, 336 F, the saying is attributed to Leosthenes. *Cf.* also Demetrius Phalereus, *De elocutione*, 284.

34. When he had come to his end, Demades the orator said that the army of the Macedonians, because of its lack of leadership, looked like the Cyclops after his eye had been put out.[a]

PTOLEMY, SON OF LAGUS[b]

Ptolemy, son of Lagus, used, as a rule, to dine and sleep at his friends' houses; and if ever he gave a dinner, he would send for their dishes and linen and tables, and use them for the occasion. He himself owned no more than were required for everyday use; and he used to say that it was more kingly to enrich than to be rich.[c]

ANTIGONUS[d]

1. Antigonus was persistent in his demands for money, and when somebody said, "But Alexander was not like this," he replied, "Very naturally; for he reaped Asia, and I am picking up the straws."

2. Seeing some of his soldiers playing ball in their breastplates and helmets, he was much pleased and sent for their officers, wishing to commend them. But when he heard that they were engaged in drinking, he gave their positions to their soldiers.

3. When all were astonished because, after he had grown old, he handled matters with mildness and gentleness, he said, "Time was when I craved power, but now I crave repute and goodwill among men."

4. To his son Philip, who inquired in the presence

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[b] Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, 323–285 (or † 283) B.C.

[c] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 13.

[d] The "One-eyed"; one of Alexander's generals; ruler in Asia Minor, 323–301 B.C.

(182) νων παρόντων, “ πότε μέλλομεν ἀναζευγνύναι; ”
“ τί δέδοικας; ” εἶπε, “ μὴ μόνος τῆς σάλπιγγος
οὐκ ἀκούσῃς[1]; ”
5. Σπουδάσαντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου λαβεῖν κατάλυσιν
παρὰ γυναικὶ χήρᾳ τρεῖς ἐχούσῃ θυγατέρας
εὐπρεπεῖς, καλέσας τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ξενίων εἶπεν, “ οὐκ
ἐξάξεις μου τὸν υἱὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στενοχωρίας; ”
6. Νοσήσας δὲ μακρὰν νόσον ὡς ἀνέρρωσεν,
“ οὐδέν,” ἔφη, “ χεῖρον· ὑπέμνησε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἡ
νόσος μὴ μέγα φρονεῖν ὡς ὄντας θνητούς.”
C 7. Ἑρμοδότου δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν Ἡλίου
παῖδα γράψαντος, “ οὐ ταῦτά μοι,” ἔφη, “ σύνοιδεν
ὁ λασανοφόρος.”
8. Εἰπόντος δέ τινος ὅτι πάντα καλὰ καὶ δίκαια
τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, “ ναὶ μὰ Δία,” εἶπε, “ τοῖς τῶν
βαρβάρων· ἡμῖν δὲ μόνα καλὰ τὰ καλὰ καὶ μόνα
δίκαια τὰ δίκαια.”
9. Μαρσύου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ δίκην ἔχοντος, ἀξιοῦντος
δὲ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι κατ᾽ οἰκίαν,
“ ἔσται μὲν οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ πάντων
ἀκουόντων εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦμεν.”
10. Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε χειμῶνος ἐν τόποις σπανίζουσι
τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἠνάγκασε καταζεῦξαι καὶ τῶν
στρατιωτῶν τινες ἐλοιδόρουν αὐτὸν ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι
D πλησίον ἐστίν, τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν σκηνὴν διαστείλας

[1] ἀκούσῃς *Moralia*, 506 D: ἀκούσῃ.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 506 C; Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xxviii. (902 C), when the remark is addressed to Demetrius. The same remark is attributed to Crassus by Frontinus, *Strategemata*, i. 1. 13.

[b] Repeated by Plutarch in his *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xxiii. (899 C), and more fully by Frontinus, *Strategemata*, iv. 1. 10.

of numerous persons, “ When are we going to break camp ? ” he said, “ What are you afraid of ? That you alone may not hear the bugle ? ”[a]

5. When the young man was determined to take up his quarters at the house of a widow who had three handsome daughters, he called the quartermaster and said, “ Will you not get my son out of his crowded quarters ? ”[b]

6. He suffered a long illness, and when he had recovered his strength he said, “ 'Twas nothing so very bad ; for the illness has reminded us not to feel too proud, since we are but mortal.”[c]

7. When Hermodotus in his poems wrote of him as “ The Offspring of the Sun,” he said, “ The slave who attends to my chamber-pot is not conscious of that ! ”[d]

8. When somebody remarked that all things are honourable and righteous for kings, he said, “ Yes indeed, for kings of the barbarians ; but for me only the honourable things are honourable and the righteous righteous.”

9. When Marsyas his brother had a lawsuit, and claimed the right to have the trial held at his house, Antigonus said, “ It shall be in the Forum and with everybody listening to see whether we do any injustice.”

10. Once upon a time in the winter when he had forced a halt in regions lacking provisions, and some of the soldiers were cursing him, not knowing that he was near, he poked open his tent with his stick,

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[c] Attributed to Alexander by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xxi. 15.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 360 C.

(182) “ *οἰμώξετε,*” *εἶπεν,* “ *εἰ μὴ μακρότερον ἀποστάντες λοιδορήσετε ἡμᾶς.*”

11. *Ἀριστοδήμου δὲ τῶν φίλων τινὸς ἐκ μαγείρου γεγονέναι δοκοῦντος, συμβουλεύοντος δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν ἀφαιρεῖν,* “ *οἱ λόγοι σου,*” *εἶπεν,* “ *ὦ Ἀριστόδημε, περιζώματος ὄζουσιν.*”

12. *Ἀθηναίων δὲ δοῦλον αὐτοῦ τιμώμενον*[1] *εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ὡς ἐλεύθερον ἐγγραψάντων,* “ *οὐκ ἄν,*” *εἶπεν,* “ *ἐβουλόμην ἕνα Ἀθηναῖον ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ μαστιγοῦσθαι.*[2] ”

13. *Νεανίσκου δέ τινος τῶν Ἀναξιμένους τοῦ ῥήτορος μαθητῶν λόγον ἐσκεμμένον ἐκ παρασκευῆς*
E *εἰπόντος ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, βουλόμενός τι μαθεῖν ἠρώτησεν· ἀποσιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου,* “ *τί λέγεις;*” *εἶπεν,* “ *ἢ*

ταῦτ’ ἐστὶ τὰν δέλτοισιν ἐγγεγραμμένα;”

14. *Ἑτέρου δὲ ῥήτορος ἀκούων λέγοντος ὅτι χιονοβόλος ἡ ὥρα γενομένη λιποβοτανεῖν*[3] *ἐποίησε τὴν χώραν,* “ *οὐ παύσῃ μοι,*” *εἶπεν,* “ *ὡς ὄχλῳ χρώμενος;*”

15. *Θρασύλλου δὲ τοῦ κυνικοῦ δραχμὴν αἰτήσαντος αὐτόν,* “ *ἀλλ’ οὐ βασιλικόν,*” *ἔφη,* “ *τὸ δόμα*”· *τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος,* “ *οὐκοῦν τάλαντον δός μοι,*” “ *ἀλλ’ οὐ κυνικόν,*” *ἔφη,* “ *τὸ λῆμμα.*”

16. *Πέμπων δὲ Δημήτριον τὸν υἱὸν μετὰ νεῶν*

[1] *τιμώμενον*] *γενόμενον* Cobet.

[2] *μαστιγοῦσθαι*] *μεμαστιγῶσθαι* Pantazides and S. A. Naber, but *μαστιγοῦσθαι* can be defended as an “ imperfect infinitive.”

[3] *λιποβοτανεῖν* Bernardakis: *λειποβοτανεῖν*.

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[a] Repeated in *Moralia*, 457 E, and Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 22. 2.

[b] Possibly the son of Eutropion, *Moralia*, 11 A.

and said, “ You'll be sorry if you don't go farther off to curse me.” [a]

11. When Aristodemus,[b] one of his friends, who, it was whispered, was the son of a cook, advised him to curtail his expenditures and his giving of presents, he said, “ Aristodemus, your words have the stink of a kitchen apron.”

12. When the Athenians admitted to citizenship a slave of his, held in much esteem, and enrolled him as a free man, he said, “ I could wish that one Athenian had not been flogged by me ! ”

13. A young man, one of the pupils of Anaximenes the orator, pronounced before him a very carefully prepared oration, and he, wishing to gain some further information, asked a question. But when the young man relapsed into silence, he remarked, “ What is your answer ? Or

Is this the content of the written page ?” [c]

14. Hearing another orator say that the season had been snowy,[d] and so had caused a lack of herbage in the land, he said, “ Please stop treating me as you treat a common crowd.”

15. When Thrasyllus the Cynic asked him for a shilling, he said “ That is not a fit gift for a king to give.” And when Thrasyllus said, “ Then give me two hundred pounds,” he retorted, “ But that is not a fit gift for a Cynic to receive.” [e]

16. When he sent Demetrius his son, with many

[c] Euripides, *Iphigeneia among the Taurians*, 787.

[d] This could hardly refer (as some think) to the unseasonably cold weather in the spring (of 307 B.C. ?) recorded in Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xii. (894 C).

[e] The story is told more fully in *Moralia*, 551 E, and by Seneca, *De beneficiis*, ii. 17. 1.

πολλῶν καὶ δυνάμεων ἐλευθερώσοντα τοὺς Ἕλληνας
F ἔλεγε τὴν δόξαν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην πυρσεύεσθαι.

17. Ἀνταγόρου δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ γόγγρον ἕψοντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν λοπάδα σείοντος, ἐπιστὰς ἐξόπισθεν, "οἴει," φησί, "τὸν Ὅμηρον, ὦ Ἀνταγόρα, γόγγρον ἕψειν τὰς τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος γράφοντα πράξεις;" καὶ ὁ Ἀνταγόρας, "σὺ δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα νομίζεις πράττοντα τὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας πολυπραγμονεῖν, εἴ τις ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ γόγγρον ἕψει;"

183 18. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὄναρ ἰδὼν χρυσοῦν θέρος ἐξαμῶντα Μιθριδάτην ἐβουλεύσατο κτεῖναι, καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ υἱῷ φράσας ὥρκωσε σιωπήσειν,[1] παραλαβὼν[2] τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ συμπεριπατῶν παρὰ θάλατταν ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ κατέγραψε τῷ σαυρωτῆρι τοῦ δόρατος, "φεῦγε, Μιθριδᾶτα." ἐκεῖνος δὲ νοήσας ἔφυγεν εἰς Πόντον κἀκεῖ βασιλεύων διετέλεσε.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ

1. Ῥοδίους δὲ πολιορκῶν ὁ Δημήτριος ἔλαβεν ἔν τινι προαστείῳ πίνακα Πρωτογένους τοῦ

[1] σιωπήσειν, *Life of Demetrius*, chap. iv. is probably right: σιωπῆσαι.

[2] παραλαβὼν F.C.B.: ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν. Some slight change is required to make the sentence grammatical. Bernardakis accomplishes the same result by omitting Ἐπεὶ δ' and ὁ Δημήτριος.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. viii. (892 B), where the phraseology is slightly different.

ships and forces, to make the Greeks a free people, he said that his repute, kindled in Greece as on a lofty height, would spread like beacon-fires throughout the inhabited world.[a]

17. While Antagoras the poet was cooking a conger-eel, and was shaking the skillet with his own hand, Antigonus stepped up behind him and said, "Antagoras, do you imagine that Homer cooked a conger while he was writing of the exploits of Agamemnon?" To which Antagoras retorted, "And do you, Your Majesty, believe that Agamemnon, while he was performing those exploits, was overmuch concerned if anybody in the army cooked a conger?"[b]

18. In a dream he saw Mithradates reaping a golden harvest, and thereupon planned to kill him. He told Demetrius his son, and bound him by an oath to silence. But Demetrius took Mithridates to walk with him beside the sea, and with the butt of his spear wrote in the sand, "Flee, Mithridates." And Mithridates, understanding the purport, fled to Pontus and reigned there until his end.[c]

DEMETRIUS[d]

1. When Demetrius was besieging the Rhodians[e] he seized in one of the suburbs a painting of the

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[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 668 C, and Athenaeus, 340 F, who quotes as his authority Hegesander.

[c] Plutarch tells the story at length in his *Life of Demetrius*, chap. iv. (890 C); *cf.* also Appian, *Roman History*, *Mithridatic Wars*, 9. Mithridates became the founder of the line of Pontic kings, which lasted until 63 B.C., when Mithridates VI. was conquered by Pompey.

[d] Son of Antigonus, known as Demetrius Poliorcetes (the Besieger).

[e] In 305–304 B.C.

B ζωγράφου τὸν Ἰάλυσον γράφοντος· ἐπικηρυκευσα-
(183) μένων δὲ τῶν Ῥοδίων καὶ φείσασθαι τοῦ πίνακος
παρακαλούντων, ἔφη “ μᾶλλον ἂν[1] τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς
εἰκόνας ἢ τὴν γραφὴν ἐκείνην διαφθεῖραι.” σπει-
σάμενος δὲ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις τὴν ἑλέπολιν ἀπέλιπε
παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὑπόδειγμα τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλουργίας
ἐκείνων δὲ ἀνδρείας ἐσομένην.

2. Ἀποστάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἑλὼν τὴν
πόλιν ἤδη κακῶς ὑπὸ σιτοδείας ἔχουσαν, εὐθὺς
ἐκκλησίας αὐτῷ συναχθείσης, ἐπέδωκε δωρεὰν
σῖτον αὐτοῖς· δημηγορῶν δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐβαρ-
C βάρισε· τῶν δὲ καθημένων τινὸς ὡς ἔδει τὸ ῥῆμα
λεχθῆναι παραφωνήσαντος, “ οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη, “ καὶ
τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως ταύτης ἄλλους ὑμῖν πεντακισ-
χιλίους ἐπιδίδωμι μεδίμνους.”

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Ἀντίγονος ὁ δεύτερος, Δημητρίου τοῦ πατρὸς ἁλόντος καὶ πέμψαντός τινα τῶν φίλων καὶ κελεύοντος μὴ προσέχειν, ἄν τι γράφῃ βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ Σελεύκου, μηδὲ παραχωρεῖν τῶν πόλεων, αὐτὸς ἔγραψε πρὸς Σέλευκον ἐξιστάμενος αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἁπάσης καὶ παραδιδοὺς ὅμηρον ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν πατέρα Δημήτριον ἀπολυθῆναι.

[1] ἂν added by Bernardakis.

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[a] The painting was seen by Cicero (*Orator*, 2 (5)) at Rhodes; later it was carried to Rome and placed in the temple of Peace (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 36 (102)).

[b] This engine is described by Diodorus, xx. 48, and Plutarch, *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xxi. (898 B).

[c] The story is told by Plutarch in his *Life of Demetrius*,

artist Protogenes in which he portrayed Ialysus. The Rhodians sent a herald to him and besought him to spare the painting. He replied that he would sooner destroy the statues and portraits of his father than that painting.[a] And coming to terms with the Rhodians, he left his great siege-engine, the City-taker,[b] with them to serve as a token of his prowess and of their courage.[c]

2. The Athenians revolted, and when he had taken their city, which was already in serious straits from lack of food, an assembly of the people was immediately summoned by him, and he made them a present of grain.[d] In speaking about this before them he lapsed into a barbarism. One of those sitting there repeated the phrase as it should have been spoken, and he said, “ For this correction, then, I give you eight thousand bushels more.”

ANTIGONUS THE SECOND[e]

1. When Demetrius, the father of Antigonus the Second, had been taken captive, he sent one of his friends and urged Antigonus to pay no attention if he should write anything under compulsion of Seleucus, and not to withdraw from the cities; but Antigonus of his own accord wrote to Seleucus resigning to him his whole kingdom and offering to surrender himself as a hostage on condition that his father Demetrius be released.[f]

chap. xxii. (898 E); Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 36 (105); and Aulus Gellius, xv. 31.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xxxiv. (905 B).

[e] Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia, 283–239 B.C.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. li. (914 D).

(183) 2. Μέλλων δὲ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Πτολεμαίου D στρατηγούς, εἰπόντος τοῦ κυβερνήτου πολὺ πλείονας εἶναι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς, "ἐμὲ δέ," ἔφη, "αὐτὸν παρόντα πρὸς πόσας ἀντιτάττεις;"

3. Ὑποχωρῶν δέ ποτε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπερχομένοις οὐκ ἔφη φεύγειν, ἀλλὰ διώκειν τὸ συμφέρον ὀπίσω κείμενον.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νεανίσκος ἀνδρείου πατρός, αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ πάνυ δοκῶν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι στρατιώτης ἠξίου τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς λαμβάνειν ἀποφοράς, "ἀλλ' ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "ὦ μειράκιον, ἀνδραγαθίας οὐ πατραγαθίας μισθοὺς καὶ δωρεὰς δίδωμι."

5. Ζήνωνος δὲ τοῦ Κιτιέως ἀποθανόντος, ὃν μάλιστα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐθαύμασεν, ἔλεγε τὸ θέατρον αὐτοῦ τῶν πράξεων ἀνῃρῆσθαι.

E

ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ

1. Λυσίμαχος ἐν Θρᾴκῃ κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ Δρομιχαίτου καὶ διὰ δίψαν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα παραδούς, ὡς ἔπιεν αἰχμάλωτος γενόμενος, "ὦ θεοί," εἶπεν, "ὡς μικρᾶς ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα δοῦλον ἐμαυτὸν ἐκ βασιλέως πεποίηκα."

2. Πρὸς δὲ Φιλιππίδην τὸν κωμῳδιοποιὸν[1] φίλον ὄντα καὶ συνήθη, "τίνος σοι," εἶπε, "τῶν ἐμῶν

[1] κωμῳδιοποιὸν, the preferred form, Bernardakis: κωμῳδοποιόν.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 545 B, and Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ii. (278 D), both showing variation in wording and details; also Athenaeus, 209 E, and Gulick's note in the L.C.L., vol. ii. p. 447.

[b] *Cf.* Diogenes Laertius, vii. 15.

2. When Antigonus was about to engage in a naval battle against Ptolemy's generals, the pilot said that the ships of the enemy far outnumbered their own. "But," said Antigonus, "how many ships do you think my own presence here is equivalent to?"[a]

3. Once when he was withdrawing before the advance of the enemy, he said that he was not fleeing, but was following up his advantage, which lay in the rear.

4. When a young man, son of a brave father, but not himself having any reputation for being a good soldier, suggested the propriety of his receiving his father's emoluments, Antigonus said, "My boy, I give pay and presents for the excellence of a man, not for the excellence of his father."

5. When Zeno of Citium died, whom he admired most among the philosophers, he said that the audience to hear of his exploits had been taken away.[b]

LYSIMACHUS[c]

1. Lysimachus was overpowered by Dromichaetas in Thrace, and because of thirst surrendered himself and his army[d]; and when he drank after he had been made a prisoner, he said, "My God, for what a little pleasure have I made myself a slave from being a king!"[e]

2. To Philippides the comic poet who was his friend and intimate he said, "What of mine shall I share

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[c] One of Alexander's generals; later king of Thrace.

[d] In 292 B.C.

[e] The story is repeated with slight variations in *Moralia*, 126 E and 555 D; the capture of Lysimachus is recorded in Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xxxix. (908 B); Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 25; Diodorus, xxi. 12.

μεταδῶ;" κἀκεῖνος, "οὗ βούλει, πλὴν τῶν ἀπορρήτων."

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ

F 1. Ἀντίπατρος ἀκούσας τὴν Παρμενίωνος ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν, "εἰ μὲν ἐπεβούλευσεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Παρμενίων," εἶπε, "τίνι πιστευτέον; εἰ δὲ μή, τί πρακτέον;"

2. Δημάδου δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἤδη πρεσβύτου γεγονότος ἔφη καθάπερ ἱερείου διαπεπραγμένου καταλείπεσθαι μόνην τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ

1. Ἀντίοχος ὁ τρίτος ἔγραψε ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἄν τι γράψῃ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους κελεύων γενέσθαι, μὴ προσέχειν ὡς ἠγνοηκότι.

2. Τὴν δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱέρειαν ἰδὼν ὑπερβολῇ καλὴν φανεῖσαν εὐθὺς ἀνέζευξεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου, φοβούμενος μὴ παρὰ γνώμην ἐκβιασθῇ πρᾶξαί τι τῶν οὐχ ὁσίων.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΚΟΣ

Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Ἱέραξ ἐπολέμει περὶ τῆς
184 βασιλείας πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σέλευκον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ
Σέλευκος ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς

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[a] Repeated with slight variations in *Moralia*, 508 c and 517 b.

[b] Trusted general of Philip and Alexander.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 525 c and Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. i. (741 e). Pytheas (quoted in Athenaeus, 44 f) speaks of Demades' protruding belly and ranting tongue.

with you?" And the other replied, "What you will, except your secrets."[a]

ANTIPATER[b]

1. Antipater, hearing of the death of Parmenio at the hands of Alexander, said, "If Parmenio plotted against Alexander, who is to be trusted? And if he did not, what is to be done?"

2. Of Demades the orator, who had already become an old man, he said that he was like an animal which had been eaten at a sacrificial feast; there was left only the belly and the tongue.[c]

ANTIOCHUS THE THIRD[d]

1. Antiochus the Third wrote to the cities that, if he should write ordering anything to be done contrary to the laws, they should pay no attention, assuming that he had acted in ignorance.

2. Seeing the priestess of Artemis surpassingly beautiful in her appearance, he straightway marched forth from Ephesus,[e] for fear that even against his determination he might be constrained to commit some unholy act.

ANTIOCHUS THE HAWK

Antiochus who was nicknamed the Hawk was warring against his brother Seleucus for the kingdom.[f] But when Seleucus, vanquished by the Galatians, could nowhere be found, but, to all appearances, had

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[d] Antiochus the Great presumably, king of Syria, 223–187 b.c.

[e] In 196 b.c. presumably, when he wintered in Ephesus (Livy, xxxiii. 38).

[f] In 246 b.c.

(184) ἦν ἀλλ’ ἐδόκει κατακεκόφθαι, θεὶς τὴν πορφύραν ὁ Ἀντίοχος φαιὸν ἱμάτιον ἀνέλαβε. μετ’ ὀλίγον δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν σῴζεσθαι, εὐαγγέλια τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσε καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ[1] στεφανηφορεῖν ἐποίησεν.

ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ

Εὐμένης ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Περσέως ἔδοξε τεθνάναι· τῆς δὲ φήμης εἰς Πέργαμον κομισθείσης, B Ἄτταλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ περιθέμενος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα γήμας ἐβασίλευσε· πυθόμενος δὲ προσιόντα ζῶντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπήντησεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει μετὰ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων δοράτιον ἔχων· ὁ δὲ Εὐμένης φιλοφρόνως ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὖς εἰπών,

“μὴ σπεῦδε γῆμαι πρὶν τελευτήσαντ’ ἴδῃς,”

οὐδὲν ἄλλο παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον οὔτ’ εἶπεν ὕποπτον οὔτε ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκείνῳ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπέλιπεν. ἀνθ’ ὧν ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τέκνον ἔθρεψε, πολλῶν γενομένων, ἀλλὰ τῷ Εὐμένους υἱῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτι ζῶν ἐνηλίκῳ γενομένῳ παρέδωκε.

C

ΠΥΡΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΠΕΙΡΩΤΟΥ

1. Πύρρον οἱ υἱοὶ παῖδες ὄντες ἠρώτων, τίνι

[1] ἑαυτῷ (*cf.* 211 A) Hatzidakis: ἑαυτὸν or ἑαυτοῦ.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 489 A.

[b] Eumenes II., king of Pergamum, 197–159 B.C.

[c] Apparently a parody of a line of Sophocles adapted to

been cut down in battle, Antiochus laid aside his purple and assumed a dark robe. But after a little time, learning that his brother was safe and sound, he offered sacrifices to the gods to celebrate the good tidings, and made the people in the cities under him to wear garlands.[a]

EUMENES[b]

Eumenes, plotted against by Perseus, was reputed to be dead. When the story was brought to Pergamum, Attalus his brother put on the crown, married his wife, and assumed the rule. But upon learning that his brother was approaching alive, he went to meet him, attended, as was his wont, by his bodyguards, and holding a short spear. Eumenes greeted him kindly and whispered in his ear,

“Haste not to marry ere you see him dead,”[c]

and neither said nor did anything else during his whole lifetime to arouse suspicion, but when he died he left to Attalus his wife and his kingdom. As a requital, Attalus reared no child of his own, although many were born, but while still living he transferred the kingdom to Eumenes’ son when the boy became of age.[d]

PYRRHUS OF EPEIRUS[e]

1. The sons of Pyrrhus, when they were children

fit the situation (μήπω μέγ’ εἴπῃς, κτλ.). See Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Sophocles, No. 601.

[d] The story is told also in *Moralia*, 489 E. *Cf.* also W. S. Ferguson, “The Premature Deification of Eumenes II.,” in *Classical Philology*, i. p. 231.

[e] King of Epeirus *circa* 307–272 B.C.

(184) καταλείψει τὴν βασιλείαν· καὶ ὁ Πύρρος εἶπεν, "ὃς ἂν ὑμῶν ὀξυτέραν[1] ἔχῃ τὴν μάχαιραν."

2. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πότερον Πύθων ἢ Καφισίας[2] αὐλητὴς ἀμείνων, "Πολυσπέρχων,[3]" ἔφη, "στρατηγός."

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβαλὼν Ῥωμαίοις δὶς ἐνίκησε πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀπολέσας, "ἂν ἔτι," ἔφη, "μίαν μάχην Ῥωμαίους νικήσωμεν, ἀπολώλαμεν."

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σικελίας ἀποτυχὼν ἐξέπλει, μεταστραφεὶς ὀπίσω πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, "οἵαν," ἔφη, D "Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἀπολείπομεν παλαίστραν."

5. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν Ἀετὸν αὐτὸν προσαγορευόντων, "τί γάρ," εἶπεν, "οὐ μέλλω, τοῖς ὑμετέροις ὅπλοις ὥσπερ ὠκυπτέροις αἱρόμενος;"

6. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι νεανίσκοι πολλὰ βλάσφημα περὶ αὐτοῦ πίνοντες εἰρήκασιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι μεθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅπαντας· ἀχθέντων δέ, τὸν πρῶτον ἠρώτησεν εἰ ταῦτα εἰρήκασι περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, "ταῦτα," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ· πλείονα δ' ἂν τούτων εἰρήκειμεν, εἰ πλείονα οἶνον εἴχομεν."

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[1] ὀξυτέραν] ὀξυτάτην Blass.

[2] Καφισίας, the reading of the mss. of other authors who mention him. Also the name of a sculptor is so spelled in an inscription: καφίσιος.

[3] Πολυσπέρχων Xylander, from the *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. viii. as well as other writers: πολυπέρχων or πολυσπέρχης.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. ix. (388 A).

asked their father to whom he intended to leave the kingdom; and he said, "To that one of you who keeps his sword sharper." [a]

2. Being asked whether Python or Caphisias were the better flute-player he said, "Polysperchon is the better general." [b]

3. When he was twice victorious in conflict with the Romans, but lost many of his friends and commanders, he said, "If we are victorious over the Romans in one more battle, we are lost!" [c]

4. As he was sailing away from Sicily after his failure there,[d] he turned to look back, and said to his friends, "What a field of conflict are we leaving behind us for the Romans and Carthaginians to wrestle in!" [e]

5. When the soldiers addressed him as 'Eagle,' he said, "Why not an eagle, when I am borne aloft on the swift wings of your weapons?" [f]

6. Hearing that some young men had made many defamatory remarks about him while in their cups, he ordered that they should all be brought before him the next day. When they were brought, he asked the first whether they had said these things about him. And the young man replied, "Yes, Your Majesty; and we should have said more than that if we had had more wine." [g]

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[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. viii. (387 D).

[c] The details may be found *ibid.* chap. xxii. (397 B). The "Pyrrhic victory" is like the "Cadmean victory," *Moralia*, 10 A.

[d] In 276 B.C.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. xxiii. (398 F).

[f] *Ibid.* chap. x. (388 B).

[g] Told with more details by Plutarch in his *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. viii. (387 F), and Valerius Maximus, v. 1, ext. 3. *Cf.* also Quintilian, vi. 3. 10.

(184)

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

1. Ἀντίοχος ὁ στρατεύσας δεύτερον ἐπὶ Πάρθους, ἔν τινι κυνηγεσίῳ καὶ διωγμῷ τῶν φίλων καὶ E θεραπόντων ἀποπλανηθείς, εἰς ἔπαυλιν πενήτων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοούμενος εἰσῆλθε· καὶ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐμβαλὼν λόγον περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἤκουσεν, ὅτι τἄλλα χρηστός ἐστιν, φίλοις δὲ μοχθηροῖς ἐπιτρέπων τὰ πλεῖστα παρορᾷ καὶ πολλάκις ἀμελεῖ τῶν ἀναγκαίων διὰ τὸ λίαν φιλόθηρος εἶναι. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐσιώπησεν· ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν δορυφόρων παραγενομένων ἐπὶ τὴν ἔπαυλιν φανερὸς γενόμενος, προσφερομένης τῆς πορφύρας αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ διαδήματος, "ἀλλὰ ἀφ' ἧς," εἶπεν, "ἡμέρας ὑμᾶς ἀνείληφα, πρῶτον ἐχθὲς ἀληθινῶν λόγων ἤκουσα περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ."

F 2. Τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων, πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἑορτὴν αἰτησαμένων ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ἀνοχάς, οὐ μόνον ἔδωκε ταύτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύρους χρυσόκερως παρασκευασάμενος καὶ θυμιαμάτων καὶ ἀρωμάτων πλῆθος ἄχρι τῶν πυλῶν ἐπόμπευσε· καὶ παραδοὺς τοῖς ἐκείνων ἱερεῦσι τὴν θυσίαν αὐτὸς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι θαυμάσαντες εὐθὺς ἑαυτοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐνεχείρισαν.

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

1. Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν ἐν πότοις ἐκυλινδεῖτο καὶ γυναιξίν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Μιλτιάδης στρατηγῶν

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[a] Antiochus VII., king of Syria, 137–128 B.C.

[b] The first campaign was against Jerusalem in 133 B.C.

[c] The same facts are narrated by Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, xiii. 8. 2.

ANTIOCHUS[a]

1. Antiochus, who made his next[b] campaign against the Parthians, in a hunt and chase wandered away from his friends and servants, and unrecognized entered the hut of some poor people. At dinner he brought in the subject of the king, and heard that, in general, he was a decent man, but that he entrusted most matters to friends who were scurvy fellows, and overlooked and often disregarded matters that were imperative through being too fond of hunting. At the time he said nothing; but at daybreak some of his bodyguards arrived at the hut, and his identity was disclosed when the purple and the crown were brought to him. "Howbeit," said he, "since the day when I donned you, yesterday was the first time that I heard true words about myself."

2. The Jews, when he was besieging Jerusalem, asked for an armistice of seven days for their most important festival, and he not only granted this, but he also made ready bulls with gilded horns, and a great quantity of incense and spices, and brought all these in solemn procession as far as the gates. Then, having transferred the offering to the hands of their priests, he returned to his camp. The Jews were amazed, and immediately after the festival placed themselves in his hands.[c]

THEMISTOCLES[d]

1. Themistocles while yet in his youth abandoned himself to wine and women.[e] But after Miltiades,

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[d] Leader of the Athenians against the Persians in 480 B.C.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 552 B; Athenaeus, pp. 533 D and 576 C.

185 ἐνίκησεν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τοὺς βαρβάρους, οὐκέτι ἦν ἐντυχεῖν ἀτακτοῦντι Θεμιστοκλεῖ· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας τὴν μεταβολὴν ἔλεγεν ὡς “ οὐκ ἐᾷ με καθεύδειν οὐδὲ ῥᾳθυμεῖν τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον.”

2. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πότερον Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐβούλετ' ἂν ἢ Ὅμηρος εἶναι, “ σὺ δ' αὐτός,” ἔφη, “ πότερον ἤθελες ὁ νικῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν[1] ἢ ὁ κηρύττων τοὺς νικῶντας εἶναι; ”

3. Ξέρξου δὲ καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, φοβηθεὶς Ἐπικύδην τὸν δημαγωγὸν αἰσχροκερδῆ καὶ δειλὸν ὄντα μὴ στρατηγὸς γενόμενος ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἔπεισεν ἀργυρίῳ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀποστῆναι.

4. Ἀδειμάντου δὲ ναυμαχεῖν μὴ τολμῶντος, εἰ-
B πόντος πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρα-
καλοῦντα καὶ προτρέποντα, “ ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις,
τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι προεξανισταμένους μαστιγοῦ-
σιν ἀεί,[2] ” “ ναί,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, τοὺς
δὲ λειπομένους οὐ στεφανοῦσιν.”

5. Ἐπαραμένου δὲ τοῦ Εὐρυβιάδου τὴν βακτηρίαν ὡς πατάξοντος, “ πάταξον μὲν οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ ἄκουσον δέ.”

[1] Ὀλυμπίασιν Bernardakis: ἐν ὀλυμπιάσιν.

[2] ἀεί] Wyttenbach would omit, but the embellishment does not seem out of place.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. iii. (113 B); *Moralia*, 84 B, 92 C, 800 B; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, iv. 19 (44); and Valerius Maximus, viii. 14, ext. 1.

[b] The remark is attributed to Alexander by Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* ii. (22 M., 79 R.).

commanding the Athenian army, had overcome the barbarians at Marathon, never again was it possible to encounter Themistocles misconducting himself. To those who expressed their amazement at the change in him, he said that “ the trophy of Miltiades does not allow me to sleep or to be indolent.” [a]

2. Being asked whether he would rather have been Achilles or Homer, he said, “ How about you yourself? Would you rather be the victor at the Olympic games or the announcer of the victor? ” [b]

3. When Xerxes was descending upon Greece with his mighty armament, Themistocles was afraid of Epicydes the popular leader, unscrupulous and cowardly, lest possibly he might, by being elected general, bring about the ruin of the State; and so he bribed Epicydes to withdraw from his attempt to gain the command.[c]

4. When Adeimantus lacked the courage to risk a naval battle, and said to Themistocles, who was exhorting and urging on the Greeks, “ Themistocles, in the games they always scourge the runners who start before the signal is given,” Themistocles replied, “ Yes, Adeimantus, but they do not crown those who are left behind in the race.” [d]

5. When Eurybiades lifted his cane as though to strike him, he said, “ Strike but listen.” [e]

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[c] The story is told more fully in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. vi. (114 D).

[d] Adeimantus is the speaker here, as in Herodotus, viii. 59; but in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xi. (117 D), the remark is attributed not to the Corinthian Adeimantus, but to Eurybiades the Spartan, who was in command of the fleet.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xi. (117 E); Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 40: Diogenes Laertius, vi. 21.

(185) 6. Μὴ πείθων δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ναυμαχῆσαι, κρύφα πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἔπεμψε παραινῶν μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποδιδράσκοντας· ἐπεὶ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἐκεῖνος ἡττήθη ναυμαχήσας ὅπου συνέφερε τοῖς Ἕλλησι, πάλιν C ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν κελεύων φεύγειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τὴν ταχίστην ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων διανοουμένων λύειν τὴν γέφυραν, ἵνα σῴζων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκεῖνον δοκῇ σῴζειν.

7. Τοῦ δὲ Σεριφίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, ὡς οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔνδοξός ἐστιν, "ἀληθῆ λέγεις," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ Σερίφιος ὢν ἐγενόμην ἔνδοξος οὔτε σὺ Ἀθηναῖος."

8. Ἀντιφάτου δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ πρότερον μὲν ἐρῶντα τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φεύγοντος καὶ καταφρονοῦντος, ἐπεὶ δὲ δόξαν ἔσχε μεγάλην καὶ δύναμιν, προσερχομένου καὶ κολακεύοντος, "ὦ μειράκιον," εἶπεν, "ὀψὲ μὲν ἀμφότεροι ἀλλὰ[1] νοῦν ἐσχήκαμεν."

D 9. Πρὸς δὲ Σιμωνίδην ἐξαιτούμενόν τινα κρίσιν οὐ δικαίαν ἔφη μήτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνον γενέσθαι ποιητὴν ἀγαθὸν ᾄδοντα παρὰ μέλος μήτ' αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα χρηστὸν δικάζοντα παρὰ τὸν νόμον.

[1] ἀλλὰ] δ' ἅμα, *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii., is preferred here by some editors.

6. Unable to persuade Eurybiades to engage the enemy's ships in the narrows, he sent a secret message to the barbarian telling him not to be afraid of the Greeks, who were running away. And when the barbarian, by taking this advice, was vanquished in the battle because he fought where the Greeks had the advantage, Themistocles again sent a message to him, bidding him flee to the Hellespont by the speediest route, since the Greeks were minded to destroy the bridge. In this his purpose was, while saving the Greeks, to give the king the impression that he was saving him.[a]

7. When the man from Seriphus said to him that it was not because of himself but because of his country that he was famous, Themistocles remarked, "What you say is true enough; but if I were from Seriphus, I should not have become famous, nor would you if you were from Athens." [b]

8. Antiphates, the handsome youth of whom Themistocles was enamoured, avoided him in the earlier days, and looked down upon him, but, after Themistocles had acquired great repute and power, kept coming to him and trying to flatter him. "My boy," said Themistocles, "it has taken time, but now we have both come to have sense." [c]

9. To Simonides, who petitioned for a legal decision which was not just, he said that Simonides would not be a good poet if he sang out of tune, nor should he himself be a useful official if he gave a decision out of tune with the law.[d]

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[a] The details may be found in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chaps. xii.-xvi. (118 B-120 C). The story comes from Herodotus, viii. 75 and 110. *Cf.* also Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, i. 30. 3 and 4.

[b] In almost the same words in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. (121 B), but the story goes back to Herodotus, viii. 125, where Timodemus is the speaker, and Themistocles names the island of Belbina. The man from Seriphus is found first in Plato, *Republic*, 329 E and persists thereafter, as in Plutarch and in Cicero, *De senectute*, 3 (8), and in Origen, *Against Celsus*, i. 29 (347 E).

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. (121 A).

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 534 E and 807 B.

(185) 10. Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἐντρυφῶντα τῇ μητρὶ πλεῖστον Ἑλλήνων ἔλεγε δύνασθαι· τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἄρχειν Ἀθηναίους, Ἀθηναίων δ' ἑαυτόν, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἐκεῖνον.

E 11. Τῶν δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα μνωμένων αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπιεικῆ τοῦ πλουσίου προτιμήσας ἄνδρα ἔφη ζητεῖν χρημάτων δεόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα ἀνδρός.

12. Χωρίον δὲ πωλῶν ἐκέλευσε κηρύττειν ὅτι καὶ γείτονα χρηστὸν ἔχει.

13. Τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν προπηλακιζόντων, "τί κοπιᾶτε," εἶπεν, "ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις εὐχρηστούμενοι;" καὶ ταῖς πλατάνοις ἀπείκαζεν αὑτόν, αἷς ὑποτρέχουσι χειμαζόμενοι, γενομένης δὲ εὐδίας τίλλουσι παρερχόμενοι καὶ κολούουσιν.[1]

14. Τοὺς δὲ Ἐρετριεῖς ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγεν ὥσπερ τευθίδας μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχειν καρδίαν δὲ μὴ ἔχειν.

15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξέπεσε τῶν Ἀθηνῶν[2] τὸ πρῶτον,
εἶτα καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀναβὰς πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ
κελευόμενος λέγειν ἔφη τὸν λόγον ἐοικέναι τοῖς
ποικίλοις στρώμασιν· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, καὶ τοῦτον
F ἐκτεινόμενον μὲν ἐπιδεικνύναι τὰ εἴδη, συστελλό-

[1] κολούουσιν] λοιδοροῦσι in some MSS. and editions; but the passages cited in note *d* support κολούουσιν.

[2] Ἀθηνῶν Cobet: ἀθηναίων.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 1 c; Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. (121 B); and *Life of Cato Major*, chap. viii. (340 B).

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. (121 c): Cicero, *De officiis*, ii. 20 (71); Valerius Maximus, vii. 2, ext. 9. A somewhat similar remark is attributed to Pericles by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lxx. 17, and to a Spartan (on the authority of Serenus), lxxii. 15.

10. Of his son, who was pert towards his mother, he said that the boy wielded more power than anybody else in Greece; for the Athenians ruled the Greeks, he himself ruled the Athenians, the boy's mother ruled himself, and the boy ruled the mother.[a]

11. Of the suitors for his daughter's hand he esteemed the man of promise higher than the man of wealth, saying that he was looking for a man that was in need of money rather than for money that was in need of a man.[b]

12. When he offered a plot of land for sale, he ordered the announcement to be made that it also had a good neighbour.[c]

13. When the Athenians treated him with contumely, he said, "Why do you grow tired of being well served many times by the same men?" He also likened himself to the plane-trees, beneath which men hasten when overtaken by a storm, but, when fair weather comes, they pluck the leaves as they pass by and break off the branches.[d]

14. The Eretrians, he said humorously, were like cuttle-fish in having a sword[e] but no heart.[f]

15. After his banishment from Athens first, and later from Greece, he went to the Persian king, and, when he was bidden to speak, he said that speech is like rugs woven with patterns and figures; for speech, like the rugs, when it is extended, displays its figures, but, when it is rolled into a small compass,

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. (121 c).

[d] *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. (121 A), and chap. xxii. (123 A); *cf.* also Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ix. 18.

[e] The "bone" of the cuttle-fish; *cf.* Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, iv. 1. 12.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xi. (118 A).

μενον δὲ κρύπτειν καὶ διαφθείρειν. (16) *ἠτήσατο δὲ καὶ χρόνον ὅπως τὴν Περσικὴν διάλεκτον καταμαθὼν δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μὴ δι' ἑτέρου ποιήσαιτο τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔντευξιν.*[1]

17. *Πολλῶν δὲ δωρεῶν ἀξιωθεὶς καὶ ταχὺ πλούσιος γενόμενος πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας εἶπεν, " ὦ παῖδες, ἀπωλόμεθ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλώλειμεν."*

ΜΥΡΩΝΙΔΟΥ

Μυρωνίδης παρήγγειλεν ἔξοδον 'Αθηναίοις ἐπὶ
Βοιωτοὺς στρατεύων· ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ὥρας καὶ
τῶν λοχαγῶν λεγόντων μηδέπω πάντας παρεῖναι,
186 *" πάρεισιν," εἶπεν, " οἱ μέλλοντες μάχεσθαι "·*
καὶ χρησάμενος αὐτοῖς προθύμοις ἐνίκησε τοὺς
πολεμίους.

ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΥ

1. *'Αριστείδης δὲ ὁ δίκαιος ἀεὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐπολιτεύετο καὶ τὰς ἑταιρείας ἔφευγεν, ὡς τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων δυνάμεως ἀδικεῖν ἐπαιρούσης.*

2. *'Επεὶ δὲ τῶν 'Αθηναίων ὁρμωμένων ἐπὶ τὸν*
ἐξοστρακισμὸν ἄνθρωπος ἀγράμματος καὶ ἄγροικος
ὄστρακον ἔχων προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ κελεύων ἐγ-
γράψαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ 'Αριστείδου, " γιγνώσκεις
B *γάρ," ἔφη, " τὸν 'Αριστείδην;" τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου*

[1] *ἔντευξιν*] *ἔνδειξεν* some MSS.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xxix. (126 c); Thucydides, i. 137.

[b] *Cf. ibid.* i. 138.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 328 F and 602 A; Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xxix. (p. 126 F); Polybius, xxxix. 11 (=xl. 5).

[d] Noted Athenian general in the fifth century B.C.

[e] At Oenophyta in Boeotia, 457 (?) B.C. (Thucydides,

it conceals and spoils them. (16) He asked for time so that, when he should have learned the Persian tongue, he might conduct his interview through his own self and not through another.[a]

17. Being held deserving of many gifts, and speedily becoming rich,[b] he said to his sons, " Boys, we should be ruined now if we had not been ruined before ! " [c]

MYRONIDES [d]

Myronides, conducting a campaign against the Boeotians, gave orders to the Athenians for an invasion of the enemy's territory. When the hour was near, and the captains said that not all were present as yet, he said, " All are present that intend to fight." And, leading them into battle before their ardour had cooled, he won a victory over the enemy.[e]

ARISTEIDES [f]

1. Aristeides the Just was always an independent in politics, and avoided political parties, on the ground that influence derived from friends encourages wrongdoing.[g]

2. At one time when the Athenians had impetuously determined to vote on ostracism, an ignorant country fellow, holding his potsherd, approached him and bade him write on it the name of Aristeides. " Why," said he, " do you know Aristeides ? " And

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i. 108). *Cf.* also *Moralia*, 345 D; Diodorus, xi. 31. A similar remark is attributed to Leonidas by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 225 D, and to Timotheus by Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, iii. 10. 3.

[f] Athenian statesman, sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

[g] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aristeides*, chap. ii. (319 F).

(186) γιγνώσκειν μὲν οὐ φήσαντος, ἄχθεσθαι δὲ τῇ τοῦ δικαίου προσηγορίᾳ, σιωπήσας ἐνέγραψε τὸ ὄνομα τῷ ὀστράκῳ καὶ ἀπέδωκεν.

3. Ἐχθρὸς δὲ ὢν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ πρεσβευτὴς ἐκπεμφθεὶς σὺν αὐτῷ, " βούλει," φησίν, " ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων τὴν ἔχθραν ἀπολίπωμεν; ἂν γὰρ δοκῇ, πάλιν αὐτὴν ἐπανιόντες ληψόμεθα."

4. Τάξας δὲ τοὺς φόρους τοῖς Ἕλλησι τοσούτῳ πτωχότερος ἐπανῆλθεν ὅσον εἰς τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἀνήλωσεν.

5. Αἰσχύλου δὲ ποιήσαντος εἰς Ἀμφιάραον,

> οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος[1] ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει,
> βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,
> C ἐξ[2] ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα·

καὶ λεγομένων τούτων, πάντες εἰς Ἀριστείδην ἀπέβλεψαν.

ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

1. Περικλῆς, ὁπότε μέλλοι στρατηγεῖν, ἀναλαμβάνων τὴν χλαμύδα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε, " πρόσεχε,

[1] ἄριστος] δίκαιος, *Life of Aristeides*, chap. iii.

[2] ἐξ] ἀφ' in some MSS.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aristeides*, chap. vii (323 A); Cornelius Nepos, *Aristeides*, i. 3.

[b] Herodotus, viii. 79; Plutarch's *Life of Aristeides*, chap. viii. (323 C).

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 809 B; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, i. 31; and the following (from a newspaper in 1929): "Paying a tribute to Senator Robinson, the Democratic member of the conference delegation, Senator Reed said; 'I can say for him that when his ship sails from New York he quits being a Democrat, just as I quit becoming a Republican, leaving politics behind us at the American shore.'"

when the man said that he did not know him, but was irritated at his being called 'the Just,' Aristeides said never a word more, but wrote the name on the potsherd, and gave it back to him.[a]

3. He was hostile to Themistocles,[b] and once, when he was sent as ambassador in his company, he said, "Are you willing, Themistocles, that we should leave our hostility behind us at the boundaries? And then, if it be agreeable, we will take it up again on our return." [c]

4. When he had fixed the contributions that the Greeks were to pay, he returned poorer by exactly as much as he spent on his journey.[d]

5. Aeschylus [e] wrote referring to Amphiaraus,

> His wish is not to seem, but be, the best,[f]
> Reaping the deep-sown furrow of his mind
> In which all goodly counsels have their root.

And as these words were spoken all looked towards Aristeides.

PERICLES [g]

1. Whenever Pericles was about to take command of the army, as he was donning his general's cloak, he used to say to himself, "Take care, Pericles; you

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[d] In 478–477 B.C. Aristeides, because of his reputation for fairness, was chosen to determine the initial contribution which each member of the confederacy of Delos should make to the common cause. *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aristeides*, chap. xxiv. (333 C); Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9.

[e] Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 592; Plutarch quotes the lines also in whole or in part in *Moralia*, 32 D, 88 B, and *Life of Aristeides*, chap. iii. (320 B).

[f] On account of the reading δίκαιος in the *Life of Aristeides* it has been thought that the actor who spoke the words may have substituted "the Just" for "the best" when he saw Aristeides in the audience.

[g] Athenian general and statesman, fifth century B.C.

(186) Περίκλεις, ἐλευθέρων μέλλεις ἄρχειν, καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἀθηναίων."

2. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν Αἴγιναν ὥσπερ λήμην ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ Πειραιῶς.

3. Πρὸς δὲ φίλον τινὰ ψευδοῦς μαρτυρίας δεόμενον, ᾗ προσῆν καὶ ὅρκος, ἔφησε μέχρι τοῦ βωμοῦ φίλος εἶναι.

D 4. Μέλλων δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐμακάριζεν ὅτι μηδεὶς Ἀθηναίων μέλαν ἱμάτιον δι' αὐτὸν ἐνεδύσατο.

ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΟΥ

1. Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔτι παῖς ὢν ἐλήφθη λαβὴν ἐν παλαίστρᾳ· καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος διαφυγεῖν ἔδακε τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ καταπαλαίοντος· εἰπόντος δὲ ἐκείνου, "δάκνεις ὡς αἱ γυναῖκες," "οὐ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ λέοντες."

2. Ἔχων δὲ κύνα πάγκαλον ἐωνημένον[1] ἑπτακισχιλίων δραχμῶν, ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐρὰν "ὅπως," ἔφη, "τοῦτο λέγωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο πολυπραγμονῶσι."

E 3. Προσελθὼν δὲ διδασκαλείῳ ῥαψῳδίαν Ἰλιά-

[1] ἐωνημένον] ἐωνημένος Hartman, possible but not imperative.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 620 c and 813 d.

[b] *Ibid.* 803 a; Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*, chap. viii. (156 d) and *Life of Demosthenes*, chap. i. (846 c): Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, iii. 10. Athenaeus (99 d) attributes the expression to Demades, an Athenian orator. The people of Aegina, who were Dorian, had been hostile towards the Athenians

are about to command free-born men who are both Greeks and Athenians."[a]

2. He bade the Athenians remove Aegina, "that sore on the eye of the Piraeus."[b]

3. To a friend who wanted him to bear false witness, which included also an oath, he answered that he was a friend as far as the altar.[c]

4. On his death-bed he accounted himself happy in that no Athenian, because of him, had ever put on a black garment.[d]

ALCIBIADES[e]

1. Alcibiades, while still a boy, was caught in a fast hold in a wrestling-school, and, not being able to get away, he bit the arm of the boy who had him down. The other boy said, "You bite like a woman." "No indeed," said Alcibiades, "but like a lion."[f]

2. He owned a very beautiful dog, for which he had paid two hundred and seventy-five pounds, and he cut off its tail, "so that," as he said, "the Athenians may tell this about me, and may not concern themselves too much with anything else."[g]

3. Coming upon a schoolroom, he asked for a book of the *Iliad*, and when the teacher said that

even before the Persian wars, and in the early years of the Peloponnesian war (431 b.c.) they were forcibly removed from the island by the Athenians.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 531 c and 808 a, and Aulus Gellius, i. 3.

[d] Given with more details in *Moralia*, 543 c, and Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*, chap. xxxviii. (173 c), and Julian, *Oration* iii. 128 d.

[e] Rich and erratic ward of Pericles.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. i. (192 c). The same story is told of a Spartan in *Moralia*, 234 e.

[g] In quite different words in Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. ix. (195 d).

(186) δος ᾔτει· τοῦ δὲ διδασκάλου μηδὲν ἔχειν Ὁμήρου φήσαντος, ἐντρίψας αὐτῷ κόνδυλον παρῆλθεν.

4. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ θύρας τοῦ Περικλέους καὶ πυθόμενος αὐτὸν μὴ σχολάζειν ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἀποδώσει λόγους Ἀθηναίοις, "οὐ βέλτιον," ἔφη, "σκοπεῖν ἦν, ὅπως οὐκ[1] ἀποδώσει;"

5. Καλούμενος δὲ ἐπὶ κρίσιν θανατικὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἔκρυψεν ἑαυτόν, εἰπὼν εὔηθες[2] εἶναι τὸν δίκην ἔχοντα ζητεῖν ἀποφυγεῖν, ἐξὸν φυγεῖν.

6. Εἰπόντος δέ τινος, "οὐ πιστεύεις τῇ πατρίδι F τὴν περὶ σεαυτοῦ κρίσιν;" "ἐγὼ μέν," ἔφη, "οὐδὲ τῇ μητρί, μή πως ἀγνοήσασα τὴν μέλαιναν βάλῃ ψῆφον ἀντὶ τῆς λευκῆς."

7. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι θάνατος αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσται καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, "δείξωμεν οὖν αὐτοῖς," εἶπεν, "ὅτι ζῶμεν"· καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους τρεψάμενος τὸν Δεκελεικὸν ἤγειρεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμον.

ΛΑΜΑΧΟΥ

Λάμαχος ἐπετίμα τινὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν ἁμαρτόντι· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος μηκέτι τοῦτο ποιήσειν, "οὐκ ἔστιν," εἶπεν, "ἐν πολέμῳ δὶς ἁμαρτεῖν."

[1] οὐκ Cobet: μὴ οὐκ.
[2] εὔηθες Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 38: εὐήθη.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. vii. (194 D), and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 38.

he had nothing of Homer's, Alcibiades hit him a blow with his fist and passed on.[a]

4. He came to Pericles' door, and upon learning that Pericles was not at liberty, but was considering how to render his accounting to the Athenians, he said, "Were it not better that he should consider how not to render it?"[b]

5. Summoned from Sicily by the Athenians to be tried for his life, he went into hiding, saying that it is silly for a man under indictment to seek a way to get off when he can get away.[c]

6. When somebody said, "Don't you trust your fatherland to decide about you?" he replied, "Not I; nor would I trust even my mother, lest in a moment of thoughtlessness she unwittingly cast a black ballot instead of a white one."[d]

7. Hearing that sentence of death had been passed upon him and his companions, he said, "Let us show them, then, that we are alive," and turning to the Spartan side he started the Decelean war against the Athenians.[e]

LAMACHUS[f]

Lamachus reprimanded one of his captains who had made a mistake, and when the man vowed he would never do it again, Lamachus said, "In war there is no room for two mistakes."

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[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. vii. (194 E); Diodorus, xii. 38; Valerius Maximus, iii. 1, ext. 1.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxi. (202 C); Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 38.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxii. (202 D) and Aelian, xiii. 38.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxii. (202 D) and Aelian, xiii. 38; *cf.* also Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, i. 40. 6.

[f] Brave Athenian general, fifth century B.C.

ΙΦΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

1. Ἰφικράτης, δοκῶν υἱὸς εἶναι σκυτοτόμου, 187 κατεφρονεῖτο· δόξαν δὲ τότε πρῶτον ἔσχεν ὅτε τραυματίας[1] πολέμιον ἄνδρα μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ζῶντα συναρπάσας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τριήρη μετήνεγκεν.

2. Ἐν δὲ φιλίᾳ καὶ συμμάχῳ χώρᾳ στρατοπεδεύων καὶ χάρακα βαλλόμενος καὶ τάφρον ὀρύττων ἐπιμελῶς πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα "τί γὰρ φοβούμεθα;" χειρίστην ἔφησε στρατηγοῦ φωνὴν εἶναι τὴν "οὐκ ἂν προσεδόκησα."

3. Παραταττόμενος δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔφη δεδιέναι μὴ τὸν Ἰφικράτην οὐκ ἴσασιν, ᾧ καταπλήττεται τοὺς ἄλλους πολεμίους.

4. Κρινόμενος δὲ θανάτου, πρὸς τὸν συκοφάν- B την, "οἷα ποιεῖς, ὦ ἄνθρωπε," εἶπε, "πολέμου περιεστῶτος, τὴν πόλιν περὶ ἐμοῦ πείθων βουλεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ μετ' ἐμοῦ."

5. Πρὸς δὲ Ἁρμόδιον τὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ Ἁρμοδίου ἀπόγονον, εἰς δυσγένειαν αὐτῷ λοιδορούμενον, ἔφη, "τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ γένος ἄρχεται, τὸ δὲ σὸν ἐν σοὶ παύεται."

6. Ῥήτορος δέ τινος ἐπερωτῶντος αὐτὸν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, "τίς ὢν μέγα φρονεῖς; πότερον ἱππεὺς

[1] τραυματίας] ναυμαχίας οὔσης or ἐν ναυμαχίᾳ is suggested by Bernardakis, but ναυμαχῶν, from Ulpian on Demosthen. *Contra Midiam*, would be simpler. Some MSS. have τραυματίαν and one τρασμένος (*i.e.* τετραυματισμένος = τραυματίας).

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[a] Famous Athenian general, early part fourth century B.C. A collection of his deeds and sayings may be found in Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, iii. 9.

IPHICRATES[a]

1. Iphicrates, who was reputed to be the son of a shoemaker, was looked down upon. The first occasion on which he won repute was when, wounded himself, he picked up one of the enemy alive, armour and all, and bore him to his own trireme.

2. Encamping in a friendly and allied country, he threw up a palisade and dug a ditch with all care, and to the man who said, "What have we to fear?" he replied that the worst words a general could utter were the familiar "I never should have thought it."[b]

3. As he was disposing his army for battle against the barbarians he said he feared that they did not know the name of Iphicrates with which he was wont to strike terror to the hearts of his other foes.[c]

4. When he was put on trial for his life[d] he said to the informer, "What are you trying to do, fellow? At a time when war is all around us, you are persuading the State to deliberate about me instead of with me."

5. In reply to Harmodius, descendant of the Harmodius of early days, who twitted him about his lowly birth, he said, "My family history begins with me, but yours ends with you."[e]

6. A certain speaker interrogated him in the Assembly: "Who are you that you are so proud? Are you cavalryman or man-at-arms or archer or

[b] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, iii. 9. 17. The saying is attributed to Scipio Africanus by Valerius Maximus, vii. 2, and to Fabius by Seneca, *De ira*, ii. 31. 4. Cicero, *De officiis*, i. 23 (81) states it as a general maxim.

[c] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, iii. 9. 25.

[d] Together with Timotheus, for thinking it best not to fight at the Hellespont in 356 B.C. (Diodorus, xvi. 21).

[e] *Cf. De nobilitate*, 21, in *Moralia*, vol. vii. p. 272 of Bernardakis's edition.

(187) ἢ ὁπλίτης[1] ἢ τοξότης ἢ πελταστής[2];" "οὐδείς," ἔφη, "τούτων, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ πᾶσι τούτοις ἐπιστάμενος ἐπιτάττειν."

ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ

1. Τιμόθεος εὐτυχὴς ἐνομίζετο στρατηγὸς εἶναι καὶ φθονοῦντες αὐτῷ τινες ἐζωγράφουν τὰς πόλεις C εἰς κύρτον αὐτομάτως ἐκείνου καθεύδοντος ἐνδυομένας· ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ Τιμόθεος, "εἰ τηλικαύτας πόλεις λαμβάνω καθεύδων, τί με οἴεσθε ποιήσειν ἐγρηγορότα;"

2. Τῶν δὲ τολμηρῶν στρατηγῶν τινος τραῦμα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δεικνύντος, "ἐγὼ δέ," εἶπεν, "ᾐσχύνθην ὅτι μου στρατηγοῦντος ὑμῶν ἐν Σάμῳ καταπελτικὸν βέλος ἐγγὺς ἔπεσε."

3. Τῶν δὲ ῥητόρων τὸν Χάρητα προαγόντων καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀξιούντων εἶναι τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγόν, "οὐ τὸν στρατηγόν," εἶπεν ὁ Τιμόθεος, "ἀλλὰ τὸν τῷ στρατηγῷ τὰ στρώματα κομίζοντα."

ΧΑΒΡΙΟΥ

D 1. Χαβρίας ἔλεγε κάλλιστα στρατηγεῖν τοὺς μάλιστα γινώσκοντας τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

2. Δίκην δὲ φεύγων προδοσίας μετὰ Ἰφικράτους, ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἰφικράτους ὅτι κινδυνεύων εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον βαδίζει καὶ τὴν εἰω-

[1] ἱππεὺς ἢ ὁπλίτης Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, liv. 52: ἱππεύς. *Cf. Moralia*, 440 B.

[2] ἢ πελταστής Bernardakis: ἢ πελταστὴς ἢ πεζός or ἢ πεζὸς ἢ πελταστής; but it is not imperative that such readings be always consistent!

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[a] The story is found also in *Moralia*, 99 E and 440 B.

[b] Athenian general, colleague of Iphicrates; numerous stories about him are recorded in Polyaenus, *Strat.* iii. 10.

targeteer?" "None of these," he replied, "but the one who understands how to direct all of them."[a]

TIMOTHEUS[b]

1. Timotheus was popularly thought to be a lucky general, and some who were jealous of him painted pictures of cities entering into a trap of their own accord while he was asleep.[c] Whereupon Timotheus said, "If I capture such cities as those while I am asleep, what do you think I shall do when I am awake?"

2. When one[d] of the foolhardy generals was exhibiting to the Athenians a wound he had received, Timotheus said, "But I was ashamed when, at the time I was commanding you in Samos,[e] a missile from a catapult fell near me."

3. When the prominent speakers brought forward Chares, and insisted that the general of the Athenians ought to be a man like him, Timotheus said, "Not the general, but the man who carries the general's bedding!"[f]

CHABRIAS[g]

1. Chabrias used to say that those men commanded an army best who best knew what the enemy were about.

2. When he was under indictment for treason along with Iphicrates,[h] Iphicrates rebuked him because, while he was in jeopardy, he went to the gymnasium,

[c] Of the many repetitions of this story it may suffice to refer to Plutarch's *Life of Sulla*, chap. vi. (454 B); *Moralia*, 856 B; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 43.

[d] Chares, according to Plutarch in his *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ii. (278 D). [e] In 366 B.C. [f] *Cf. Moralia*, 788 D.

[g] Celebrated Athenian general, early part of fourth cent. B.C.

[h] With Callistratus, rather than Iphicrates, in the year 366 B.C. *Cf.* Demosthenes, *Against Meidias*, 65.

(187) θυῖαν ὥραν ἀριστᾷ, " τοιγαροῦν," εἶπεν, " ἂν ἄλλο τι γνῶσι περὶ ἡμῶν Ἀθηναῖοι, σὲ μὲν αὐχμῶντα καὶ ἄσιτον, ἐμὲ δὲ ἠριστηκότα καὶ ἀληλιμμένον ἀποκτενοῦσιν."

3. Εἰώθει δὲ λέγειν ὅτι φοβερώτερόν ἐστιν ἐλάφων στρατόπεδον ἡγουμένου λέοντος ἢ λεόντων ἐλάφου.

ΗΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΥ

E Ἡγησίππου τοῦ Κρωβύλου προσαγορευομένου παροξύνοντος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ὑπεφώνησέ τις ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, " πόλεμον εἰσηγῇ;" " ναὶ μὰ Δία," εἶπε, " καὶ μέλανα ἱμάτια καὶ δημοσίας ἐκφορὰς καὶ λόγους ἐπιταφίους, εἰ μέλλομεν ἐλεύθεροι βιώσεσθαι καὶ μὴ ποιήσειν τὸ προσταττόμενον Μακεδόσι."

ΠΥΘΕΟΥ

Πυθέας ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν παρῆλθεν ἀντερῶν τοῖς περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου γραφομένοις ψηφίσμασιν· εἰπόντος δέ τινος, " σὺ νέος ὢν τολμᾷς λέγειν περὶ τηλικούτων;" " καὶ μὴν Ἀλέξανδρος," εἶπεν, " ὃν ψηφίζεσθε θεόν, ἐμοῦ νεώτερός ἐστι."

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[a] Ascribed to Philip by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, liv. 61.

[b] Patriotic Athenian orator, fourth century B.C., bitterly opposed to Philip of Macedon.

[c] Because of his affectation in wearing his hair in a knot on the top of his head, in the very old-fashioned manner. Aeschines the orator regularly uses this name in speaking of him. For the " crobylus " see F. Studniczka, in the Appendix to Classen's edition of Thucydides, i. 6. 3.

[d] Unprincipled Athenian orator, opponent of Demosthenes.

and spent the usual time at his luncheon. His answer was, " You may go unwashed and unfed, and I may have had my luncheon and a bath and rub-down, but you may rest assured that, if the Athenians reach any adverse decision regarding us, they will put us both to death."

3. He was wont to say that an army of deer commanded by a lion is more to be feared than an army of lions commanded by a deer.[a]

HEGESIPPUS[b]

Hegesippus, nicknamed 'Topknot,'[c] in a public address was inciting the Athenians against Philip, when someone in the Assembly commented audibly, " You are bringing on war." " Yes, by Heaven, I am," said he, " and black clothes and public funerals and orations over the graves of the dead, if we intend to live as free men, and not to do what is enjoined upon us by the Macedonians."

PYTHEAS[d]

Pytheas, while still young, came forward in the Assembly to oppose the resolutions proposed in honour of Alexander. When someone said, " Have you the audacity, young as you are, to speak about such important matters ? " he replied, " As a matter of fact, Alexander, whom your resolutions declare to be a god, is younger than I am."[e]

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 804 B. Similar derisive remarks about the deification of Alexander are attributed to other sharp-tongued Greeks. *Cf.* Diogenes Laertius, vi. 8 and vi. 63 ; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii. 19 and v. 12 ; Valerius Maximus, vii. 2, ext. 13.

ΦΩΚΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ

F 1. Φωκίων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὑπ' οὐδενὸς οὔτε γελῶν ὤφθη οὔτε δακρύων.

2. Ἐκκλησίας δὲ γενομένης πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "σκεπτομένῳ, ὦ Φωκίων, ἔοικας," "ὀρθῶς," ἔφη, "τοπάζεις· σκέπτομαι γάρ εἴ τι δύναμαι περιελεῖν ὧν μέλλω λέγειν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους."

3. Μαντείας δὲ γενομένης Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς εἷς ἀνὴρ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταῖς πάντων ἐναντιούμενος γνώμαις, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ζητεῖν κελευόντων ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ βοώντων, Φωκίων ἑαυτὸν ἔφησε τοῦτον εἶναι· μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀρέσκειν ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ πράττουσι καὶ λέγουσιν.

188 4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ λέγων ποτὲ γνώμην πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐδοκίμει καὶ πάντας ὁμαλῶς ἑώρα τὸν λόγον ἀποδεχομένους, ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν, "οὐ δήπου κακόν τι λέγων ἐμαυτὸν λέληθα;"

5. Πρὸς δὲ θυσίαν τινὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἰτούντων ἐπιδόσεις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιδιδόντων, κληθεὶς πολλάκις, "αἰσχυνοίμην ἄν," εἶπεν, "ὑμῖν ἐπιδιδούς, τούτῳ δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδούς," ἅμα δεικνύων τὸν δανειστήν.

6. Δημοσθένους δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος εἰπόντος, "ἀποκτενοῦσί σε Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐὰν μανῶσι," "ναί," εἶπεν, "ἐμὲ μὲν ἂν μανῶσι, σὲ δὲ ἂν σωφρονῶσι."

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[a] Upright Athenian general and statesman, fourth century B.C.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. iv. (743 D).

[c] *Ibid.* chap. v. (744 A).

[d] *Ibid.* chap. viii. (745 C).

[e] *Ibid.* *Cf.* similar remarks of Antisthenes, in Diogenes Laertius, vi. 5 and 8; and of Hippomachus, in Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii. 6.

PHOCION THE ATHENIAN[a]

1. Phocion the Athenian was never seen by anyone to laugh or cry.[b]

2. At a meeting of the Assembly someone said to him, "You seem to be thinking, Phocion." "You guessed right," said he, "for I am thinking whether I can leave out any part of what I am going to say to the Athenians."[c]

3. An oracle was given to the Athenians declaring that there was one man in the city opposed to the opinions of all, whereupon they ordered that search be made to find him, and were very vociferous. But Phocion said that the man was himself, for he was the only one who did not like a single thing of all that the multitude did and said.[d]

4. Once, when he expressed an opinion before the people, he won acclaim, and saw that all alike accepted the view he had expressed, whereupon he turned to his friends and said, "Does it not look as if I had unwittingly said something bad?"[e]

5. When the Athenians were asking for contributions towards a public sacrifice and feast, and all the rest were contributing, he, being importuned to give, said, "I should be ashamed to make a contribution to you and not make restitution to this man," and, as he said this, he pointed to a man who had lent him money.[f]

6. Demosthenes, the orator, said to him, "The Athenians will put you to death if they go mad." "Yes," he replied, "me if they go mad, but you if they keep their senses."[g]

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[f] Repeated in *Moralia*, 533 A and 822 E, and in Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. ix. (745 C).

[g] *Ibid.* chap. ix. (745 F). In *Moralia*, 811 A, Demades is substituted for Demosthenes.

B 7. Ἀριστογείτονος δὲ τοῦ συκοφάντου μέλλοντος
(188) ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ κατακρίτου
γεγονότος καὶ δεομένου τὸν Φωκίωνα πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἐλθεῖν, τῶν δὲ φίλων οὐκ ἐώντων πρὸς ἄνθρωπον
πονηρὸν βαδίζειν, "καὶ ποῦ τις ἄν," εἶπεν, "ἥδιον
Ἀριστογείτονι λαλήσειεν;"

8. Ὀργιζομένων δὲ τοῖς Βυζαντίοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων μὴ δεξαμένοις[1] τῇ πόλει Χάρητα πεμφθέντα μετὰ δυνάμεως βοηθὸν αὐτοῖς πρὸς Φίλιππον, εἰπὼν ὁ Φωκίων ὅτι δεῖ μὴ τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσι τῶν συμμάχων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπιστουμένοις ὀργίζεσθαι τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτὸς ᾑρέθη στρατηγός· καὶ πιστευθεὶς
C ὑπὸ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποίησε τὸν Φίλιππον ἀπελθεῖν
ἄπρακτον.

9. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἑκατὸν τάλαντα δωρεὰν αὐτῷ πέμψαντος, ἠρώτησε τοὺς κομίζοντας τί δήποτε, πολλῶν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτῷ μόνῳ ταῦτα δίδωσιν Ἀλέξανδρος· εἰπόντων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς μόνον αὐτὸν ἡγεῖται καλὸν κἀγαθὸν εἶναι, "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "ἐασάτω με καὶ δοκεῖν καὶ εἶναι τοιοῦτον."

10. Αἰτοῦντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τριήρεις, καὶ τοῦ δήμου κελεύοντος ὀνομαστὶ παριέναι τὸν Φωκίωνα καὶ συμβουλεύειν, ἀναστὰς ἔφη, "συμβουλεύω τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἢ κρατεῖν τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐτοὺς ἢ φίλους εἶναι τῶν κρατούντων."

D 11. Λόγου δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς

[1] δεξαμένοις, Hartman, is clearly right from the *Life of Phocion*, chap. xiv. (747 F οὐδὲ αἱ πόλεις ἐδέχοντο . . .): δεξαμένων.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. x. (746 E).

[b] *Ibid.* chap. xiv. (748 A); the date was 339 B.C.

7. Aristogeiton, the informer, was about to be put to death in prison, sentence having been passed upon him, and he wanted Phocion to come to him; but Phocion's friends were averse to his going to see such a wicked man. "And where," said he, "could anyone converse with Aristogeiton with greater pleasure?"[a]

8. The Athenians were enraged at the people of Byzantium because they had not received Chares in their city when he had been sent with a force to help them against Philip. But when Phocion said that they must not be enraged at those of their allies who distrusted, but at those of their own generals who were distrusted, he was himself chosen general; and he, being trusted by the people of Byzantium, made Philip withdraw without accomplishing his purpose.[b]

9. When Alexander the king sent him twenty thousand pounds as a present, he asked those who brought the money why it was that, when there were so many Athenians, Alexander offered this to him only. They replied that their king considered him only to be upright and honourable. "Then," said he, "let him suffer me both to seem and to be such."[c]

10. When Alexander made a demand for triremes, and the people called for Phocion by name to come forward and advise them, he arose and said, "Well then, I advise you either to be conquerors yourselves by force of arms, or else to be the friends of the conquerors."[d]

11. When word suddenly came, quite unauthenticated, of the death of Alexander, and the orators

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[c] *Ibid.* chap. xviii. (749 E); *cf.* also Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxi. (751 A).

(188) ἐμπεσόντος ἀδεσπότου, καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀναπηδώντων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ μὴ μέλλειν ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖν ἤδη κελευόντων, ὁ Φωκίων ἠξίου περιμεῖναι καὶ γνῶναι βεβαίως. “εἰ γὰρ τήμερον,” ἔφη, “τέθνηκε, καὶ αὔριον ἔσται καὶ εἰς τρίτην[1] τεθνηκώς.”

12. Τοῦ δὲ Λεωσθένους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμβαλόντος τὴν πόλιν ἐλπίσι λαμπραῖς πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὄνομα καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπαιρομένην, τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ταῖς κυπαρίττοις ἀπείκαζε· “καλοὶ γὰρ ὄντες” ἔφη “καὶ ὑψηλοὶ καρπὸν οὐκ ἔχουσι.” κατωρθωμένων δὲ τῶν πρώτων καὶ τῆς πόλεως εὐαγγέλια θυούσης, ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ ταῦτα E ἤθελεν αὐτῷ[2] πεπρᾶχθαι, “πεπρᾶχθαι μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα, βεβουλεῦσθαι δὲ ἐκεῖνα.”

13. Τῇ δὲ Ἀττικῇ τῶν Μακεδόνων προσβαλόντων καὶ πορθούντων τὴν παραλίαν, ἐξήγαγε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ· πολλῶν δὲ συντρεχόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ παρεγκελευομένων ἐκεῖνον τὸν λόφον καταλαβεῖν, ἐνταῦθα τάξαι τὴν δύναμιν, “ὦ Ἡράκλεις,” εἶπεν, “ὡς πολλοὺς ὁρῶ στρατηγούς, στρατιώτας δὲ ὀλίγους.” οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμβαλὼν ἐκράτησε καὶ διέφθειρε Μικίωνα[3] τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Μακεδόνων.

14. Μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ F πολέμῳ κρατηθέντες ἐδέξαντο φρουρὰν ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου· Μενύλλου δὲ τοῦ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἄρχοντος χρήματα τῷ Φωκίωνι διδόντος, ἀγανακτήσας εἶπε

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[1] εἰς τρίτην Wyttenbach from the *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxii.: εἰσέτι.

[2] αὐτῷ F.C.B. from the *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxiii.; αὐτῷ Wyttenbach: οὕτω.

[3] Μικίωνα] the *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxv.: Νικίωνα.

immediately leaped to the platform, already urgent that there be no delay, but war at once, Phocion insisted that they wait a while, and learn the facts. “For,” said he, “if Alexander is dead to-day, he will be dead to-morrow also, and the day after.”[a]

12. When Leosthenes plunged the State into war, elated as it was by brilliant hopes to aspire to the distinction of freedom and leadership, Phocion likened his words to the cypress-trees. “For,” said he, “they are beautiful and tall, but they bear no fruit.” However, the first attempts were successful, and, when the State was offering sacrifices to celebrate the good tidings, Phocion was asked whether he wished that these deeds had been done by himself. “Yes,” said he, “these deeds done, but that advice given.”[b]

13. When the Macedonians invaded Attica,[c] and were devastating the land near the sea, he led out the men of military age. Soon many were thronging about him and strongly urging him to “take possession of that hill over there,” to “draw up his forces here.” “Great Heavens,” he said, “how many generals do I see and how few soldiers!” Nevertheless, he engaged the enemy, and overcame them, and slew Micion the Macedonian commander.[d]

14. After a little time the Athenians were overcome in the war, and compelled by Antipater to submit to receiving a garrison. Menyllus, the commander of the garrison, offered money to Phocion, who said with indignation that Menyllus was no whit

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxii. (751 E), also *Moralia*, 451 F.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxiii. (752 A B); Valerius Maximus, iii. 8, ext. 2.

[c] In the Lamian war, 322 B.C.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxv. (752 E).

μήτε ἐκεῖνον Ἀλεξάνδρου βελτίονα εἶναι, καὶ χείρονα τὴν αἰτίαν ἐφ' ᾗ λήψεται νῦν τότε μὴ δεξάμενος.

15. Ἀντίπατρος δὲ ἔφη, ὡς δυοῖν αὐτῷ φίλων Ἀθήνησιν ὄντων οὔτε Φωκίωνα λαβεῖν πέπεικεν οὔτε Δημάδην διδοὺς ἐμπέπληκεν.

16. Ἀξιοῦντος δὲ Ἀντιπάτρου ποιῆσαί τι τῶν μὴ δικαίων αὐτόν, "οὐ δύνασαι," εἶπεν, "Ἀντίπατρε, καὶ φίλῳ Φωκίωνι χρῆσθαι καὶ κόλακι."

189 17. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου τελευτὴν δημοκρατίας Ἀθηναίοις γενομένης κατεγνώσθη θάνατος τοῦ Φωκίωνος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῶν φίλων· οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι κλαίοντες ἤγοντο· τῷ δὲ Φωκίωνι σιωπῇ βαδίζοντι τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις ἐνέπτυσεν ἀπαντήσας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀποβλέψας, "οὐ παύσει τις," εἶπε, "τοῦτον ἀσχημονοῦντα;"

18. Τῶν δὲ μελλόντων συναποθνῄσκειν ἑνὸς ὀδυρομένου καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντος, "οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θούδιππε, μετὰ Φωκίωνος ἀποθανούμενος;"

19. Ἤδη δὲ τῆς κύλικος αὐτῷ προσφερομένης, ἐρωτηθεὶς εἴ τι λέγει πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, "ἔγωγε,[1]"
B εἶπεν, "ἐντέλλομαι καὶ παρακαλῶ μηδὲν Ἀθηναίοις μνησικακεῖν."

[1] ἔγωγε E. Kurtz: ἐγώ σοι, suggested long ago, is preferred by Hatzidakis: ἐγώ σε. Perhaps αὐτῷ, Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 49 (*i.e.* αὐτῷ γε) is right.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxviii. (754 A), and chap. xxx. (755 A).

[b] *Ibid.* chap. xxx. (p. 755 B).

better than Alexander, and the ground for his receiving money was not so good as before, since he had not accepted it then.[a]

15. Antipater said that he had two good friends at Athens; and of the two he had never persuaded Phocion to accept a gift, nor ever sated Demades by giving.[b]

16. When Antipater required as his right that Phocion do a certain act of unrighteousness, he said, "Antipater, you cannot use Phocion as a friend and flatterer both." [c]

17. The death of Antipater was followed by a democratic government at Athens, and sentence of death was passed in Assembly on Phocion and his friends. The others were led away weeping, but Phocion was proceeding in silence when one of his enemies met him and spat in his face. He looked toward the officers and said, "Will not somebody make this man stop his bad manners?" [d]

18. When one of the men who were to die with him wept and cursed, he said, "Are you not content, Thudippus, that you are to die with Phocion?" [e]

19. When the cup of hemlock was already being handed to him, he was asked if he had any message for his son. "I charge and exhort him," said he, "not to cherish any ill feeling against the Athenians." [f]

[c] Repeated by Plutarch in *Moralia*, 64 C, 142 B, 533 A; *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxx. (755 B); *Life of Agis*, chap. ii. (795 E).

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxxvi. (758 D).

[e] *Ibid.*; *cf.* *Moralia*, 541 C, and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 41.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxxvi. (758 D); Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 49.

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ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

1. Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τύραννος, ἐπεὶ τῶν φίλων τινὲς ἀποστάντες αὐτοῦ Φυλὴν κατέλαβον, ἦλθε πρὸς αὐτοὺς στρωματόδεσμον αὐτὸς κομίζων. πυνθανομένων δὲ ἐκείνων τί βούλεται, " πείσας ὑμᾶς," εἶπεν, " ἀπαγαγεῖν ἢ μὴ πείσας μένειν μεθ' ὑμῶν, διὰ τοῦτο ἀφῖγμαι συνεσκευασμένος."

2. Διαβληθείσης δὲ τῆς μητρὸς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἐρᾷ τινος νεανίσκου καὶ κρύφα σύνεστι φοβουμένῳ καὶ παραιτουμένῳ τὰ πολλά, καλέσας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τὸν νεανίσκον ἠρώτησε δειπνήσαντα, " πῶς γέγονεν; " " ἡδέως," δὲ φήσαντος, " ταῦτά σοι," C ἔφη, " καθ' ἡμέραν ἔσται, ἐὰν τῇ μητρί μου ἀρέσκῃς."

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θρασύβουλος ἐρῶν αὐτοῦ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐφίλησεν ἀπαντήσας, παροξυνόμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, " ἂν τοὺς φιλοῦντας," εἶπε, " μισῶμεν, τί ποιήσομεν τοὺς μισοῦντας; " καὶ ἔδωκε γυναῖκα τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ τὴν παρθένον.

4. Κωμαστῶν δέ τινων περιτυχόντων αὐτοῦ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ πολλὰ πραξάντων ἀσελγῆ καὶ εἰπόντων, μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου δεομένων καὶ δακρυόντων, " ὑμεῖς μέν," ἔφη, " πειρᾶσθε σωφρονεῖν τὸ λοιπόν· ἡ δ' ἐμὴ γυνὴ τὸ παράπαν ἐχθὲς οὐδαμῇ προῆλθε."

D 5. Τῶν δὲ παίδων, αὐτοῦ γαμεῖν ἑτέραν γυναῖκα μέλλοντος, διαπυνθανομένων μή τι μεμφόμενος αὐτοὺς εἴη, " ἥκιστα," εἶπεν, " ἀλλ' ἐπαινῶν

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[a] Ruler of Athens, at times between 560 and 528 B.C.

[b] *Cf.* Valerius Maximus, v. 1, ext. 2. Plutarch also refers to the incident in *Moralia*, 457 F.

PEISISTRATUS [a]

1. Peisistratus, the despot of the Athenians, on a time when some of his friends had revolted and taken possession of Phyle, came to them carrying a bundle of bedding. When they asked what he meant by this, he said, " To persuade you and get you away from here, or, if I cannot persuade you, to stay with you ; that is why I have come prepared."

2. It was whispered to him regarding his mother that she was in love with a certain young man, and had secret meetings with him, but that the young man was afraid and generally asked to be excused. Whereupon Peisistratus invited him to dinner, and after he had dined asked him, " How was it ? " And when the young man said, " Very pleasant," Peisistratus said, " You shall have this pleasure every day if you are agreeable to my mother."

3. When Thrasybulus, who was in love with the daughter of Peisistratus, kissed her one day on meeting her, Peisistratus, when incited by his wife against the man, said, " If we hate them that love us, what shall we do to them that hate us ? " And thereupon he gave the maiden as wife to Thrasybulus.[b]

4. Some revellers fell in with his wife, and did and said a good many ribald things. The next day when they besought Peisistratus with many tears, he said, " As for you, do you try to conduct yourselves in a seemly manner hereafter, but as for my wife, she did not go out at all yesterday." [c]

5. When he was bent on marrying a second wife, his children inquired whether he had any fault to find with them. " By no means," he said, " but only

[c] Musonius in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xix. 16, records a similar action on the part of Phocion.

(189) καὶ βουλόμενος ἑτέρους μοι παῖδας τοιούτους γενέσθαι."

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΑΛΗΡΕΩΣ

Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρῄνει τὰ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας βιβλία κτᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν· "ἃ γὰρ οἱ φίλοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐ θαρροῦσι παραινεῖν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις γέγραπται."

E

ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΥ

1. Λυκοῦργος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος εἴθισε τοὺς πολίτας κομᾶν λέγων ὅτι τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς ἡ κόμη εὐπρεπεστέρους ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσχροὺς φοβερωτέρους.

2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν κελεύοντα ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει δημοκρατίαν "σὺ πρῶτος," εἶπεν. "ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου ποίησον δημοκρατίαν."

3. Ἐκέλευε δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ποιεῖν ἀπὸ πρίονος καὶ πελέκεως μόνον· αἰσχύνεσθαι[1] γὰρ εἰς οἰκίας λιτὰς ἐκπώματα καὶ στρώματα καὶ τραπέζας πολυτελεῖς εἰσφέροντας.

4. Πυγμὴν δὲ καὶ παγκράτιον ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐκώλυσεν, ἵνα μηδὲ παίζοντες ἀπαυδᾶν ἐθίζωνται.

[1] αἰσχύνεσθαι] αἰσχυνεῖσθαι Hartman and S. A. Naber; but the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiii. suggests that the present is right.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 480 D. Plutarch in his *Life of Cato Major*, chap. xxiv. (351 B), says that Cato as well as Peisistratus made his remark.

[b] Governor of Athens under the Macedonians, 317–307 B.C.

[c] Early lawgiver of the Spartans.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 228 F, *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxii. (53 D) and *Life of Lysander*, chap. i. (434 A). The Spartan custom of wearing the hair long is often referred to; for example, *Moralia*, 189 F and 230 B, *infra*, Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, xi. 3.

praise—and the desire to have other children like you." [a]

DEMETRIUS OF PHALERUM [b]

Demetrius of Phalerum recommended to Ptolemy the king to buy and read the books dealing with the office of king and ruler. "For," as he said, "those things which the kings' friends are not bold enough to recommend to them are written in the books."

LYCURGUS [c]

1. Lycurgus, the Spartan, introduced the custom among his citizens of wearing their hair long, saying that it made the beautiful more comely and the ugly more frightful.[d]

2. To the man who urged him to create a democracy in the State his answer was, "Do you first create a democracy in your own house." [e]

3. He ordered that the people build their houses with saw and axe only; for he knew that men are ashamed to bring into simple houses costly vessels, rugs, and tables.[f]

4. He prohibited boxing and prize-fighting so that the people might not even in sport get the habit of crying off.[g]

[e] Repeated in *Moralia*, 155 D, 228 D, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix. (52 A).

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 227 B, *infra*, and *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiii. (47 B).

[g] See *Moralia*, 228 D, *infra*, and *cf. Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix. (52 A), and Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, v. 3.

F 5. Στρατεύειν δὲ πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυσεν, ὅπως μὴ ποιῶσι μαχιμωτέρους. ὕστερον γοῦν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τρωθέντος, ὁ Ἀνταλκίδας εἶπεν καλὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θηβαίων λαμβάνειν αὐτὸν ἐθίσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα πολεμεῖν ἄκοντας.

ΧΑΡΙΛΛΟΥ

1. Χάριλλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί νόμους ὀλίγους οὕτω Λυκοῦργος ἔθηκεν, ἀπεκρίνατο τοὺς χρωμένους ὀλίγοις λόγοις μὴ δεῖσθαι νόμων πολλῶν.

2. Τῶν δὲ εἱλώτων τινὸς θρασύτερον αὐτῷ προσφερομένου, “ναὶ[1] τὼ σιώ,” εἶπε, “κατέκτανον ἄν τυ, αἰ[2] μὴ ὠργιζόμαν.”

3. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί κομῶσιν εἶπεν ὅτι τῶν κόσμων ἀδαπανώτατος οὗτός ἐστι.

ΤΗΛΕΚΛΟΥ

190 Τήλεκλος ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα τοῖς πολίταις ὡς ἀγνωμονέστερον αὐτῷ προσφερομένοις ἢ ἐκείνῳ, “σὺ γάρ,” εἶπεν, “οὐκ οἶδας ἀδικεῖσθαι.”

[1] *ναὶ* Cobet: *νή*.
[2] *ἄν τυ, αἰ* Cobet: *τεῦ εἰ*.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 213 F, 217 E, 227 C, *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiii. (47 D); *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xv. (285 D); *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxvi. (610 D); Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, i. 16. 2.

[b] An early king of Sparta.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 232 B, *infra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 D).

5. He prohibited making war upon the same people many times, so that they should not make their opponents too belligerent. And it is a fact that years later, when Agesilaus was wounded, Antalcidas said of him that he was getting a beautiful return from the Thebans for the lessons he had taught them in habituating and teaching them to make war against their will.[a]

CHARILLUS [b]

1. Charillus the king, being asked why Lycurgus enacted so few laws, replied that people who used few words had no need of many laws.[c]

2. When one of the helots conducted himself rather boldly towards him, he said, “By Heaven, I would kill you if I were not angry.”[d]

3. In answer to the man who inquired why he and the rest wore their hair long, he said that of all ornaments this was the least expensive.[e]

TELECLUS [f]

Teleclus the king answered his brother, who complained against the citizens because they conducted themselves with less consideration towards him than towards the king, by saying, “The reason is that you do not know how to submit to injustice.”[g]

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 232 D, *infra*.

[e] Attributed to Nicander, *Moralia*, 230 B, and to Agesilaus by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lxv. 10.

[f] King of Sparta, eighth century B.C.

[g] Repeated in *Moralia*, 232 B, *infra*; *cf.* also the similar remark of Chilon reported in Diogenes Laertius, i. 68, and the general statement in Menander's *Farmer*, Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 29, Menander no. 95; or Allinson's Menander in L.C.L., p. 338.

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ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΥ

Θεόπομπος ἔν τινι πόλει πρὸς τὸν ἐπιδεικνύμενον τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῷ καὶ πυνθανόμενον, εἰ δοκεῖ καλὸν καὶ ὑψηλὸν εἶναι, "οὐ δὴ γυναικών;"[1] εἶπεν.

ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΥ

Ἀρχίδαμος, ἐν τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ τῶν συμμάχων ἀξιούντων ὁρίσαι τοὺς φόρους αὐτοῖς, εἶπεν, "ὁ πόλεμος οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται."

B

ΒΡΑΣΙΔΟΥ[2]

1. Βρασίδας ἐν ἰσχάσι συλλαβὼν μῦν καὶ δηχθεὶς ἀφῆκεν· εἶτα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, "οὐδὲν οὕτως," ἔφη, "μικρόν ἐστιν, ὃ μὴ σῴζεται τολμῶν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας."

2. Ἐν δὲ μάχῃ διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἀκοντισθεὶς καὶ τὸ δόρυ τοῦ τραύματος ἐξελκύσας[3] αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸν πολέμιον ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ πῶς ἐτρώθη, "προδούσης με τῆς ἀσπίδος," εἶπεν.

3. Ἐπειδὴ συνέβη πεσεῖν αὐτὸν ἐλευθεροῦντα

[1] *οὐ δὴ γυναικών* F.C.B. from *Moralia*, 212 E, 215 D, 230 C (*γυναικών* also S. A. Naber): *οὐ δεῖ*, or *οὐδ' εἰ*, *γυναικῶν*.

[2] Probably the genitive of all these Doric names should end in *α*, but the MSS. do not show any consistency or uniformity which might serve as a guide.

[3] *ἐξελκύσας* *Moralia* 219 C: *ἑλκύσας*.

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[a] King of Sparta, eighth century B.C.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 221 F. The remark in varied form is attributed to Agesilaus in *Moralia*, 212 E; to Agis in *Moralia*, 215 D; and to Panthoidas in *Moralia*, 230 C; and to an unnamed Spartan by Valerius Maximus, iii. 7, ext. 8.

[c] Archidamus II., king of Sparta, 469–427 B.C.

THEOPOMPUS[a]

When Theopompus was in a certain city, a man pointed out the wall to him and inquired if it seemed to him to be beautiful and high, and he replied, "It isn't a dwelling-place for women, is it?"[b]

ARCHIDAMUS[c]

When the allies said in the Peloponnesian war it was only right that Archidamus set a limit to their contributions, he said, "War does not feed on fixed rations."[d]

BRASIDAS[e]

1. Brasidas caught a mouse among some dry figs, and, getting bitten, let it go. Then, turning to those who were present, he said, "There is nothing so small that it cannot save its life, if it has the courage to defend itself against those who would lay hand on it."[f]

2. In a battle he was wounded by a spear which pierced his shield, and, pulling the weapon out of the wound, with this very spear he slew his foe. Asked how he got his wound, he said, "'Twas when my shield turned traitor."[g]

3. When it came to pass that he fell while trying

[d] Repeated in *Moralia*, 219 A, and in Plutarch's *Life of Crassus*, chap. ii. (544 B); and *Life of Cleomenes*, chap. xxvii. (817 E). In his *Life of Demosthenes*, chap. xvii. (853 E), the saying is put in the mouth of "Crobylus" (*i.e.* Hegisippus the Athenian orator). See the note on *Moralia*, 187 E, *supra*.

[e] Spartan general in the Peloponnesian war.

[f] Repeated in *Moralia*, 79 E and 219 C, and with some variation, 208 F.

[g] *Cf. Moralia*, 219 C, *infra*, and 548 B.

(190) τοὺς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Ἕλληνας, οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις τῇ μητρὶ προσῆλθον αὐτοῦ, C πρῶτον μὲν ἠρώτησεν εἰ καλῶς ὁ Βρασίδας ἀπέθανεν· ἐγκωμιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λεγόντων ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἔσται τοιοῦτος, "ἀγνοεῖτε," εἶπεν, "ὦ ξένοι· Βρασίδας μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ἁ δὲ Λακεδαίμων πολλὼς ἔχει τήνω κάρρονας."

ΑΓΙΔΟΣ

1. Ἆγις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐρωτᾶν πόσοι εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ πολέμιοι.

2. Ἐν δὲ Μαντινείᾳ κωλυόμενος διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις πλείοσιν οὖσιν, εἶπεν, "ἀνάγκη πολλοῖς μάχεσθαι τὸν ἄρχειν πολλῶν βουλόμενον."

3. Ἐπαινουμένων δὲ τῶν Ἠλείων ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ Ὀλύμπια καλῶς ἄγειν, "τί δέ," εἶπε, "ποιοῦσι θαυμαστόν, εἰ δι' ἐτῶν τεττάρων μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ D χρῶνται τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ;" ἐπιμενόντων δὲ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἔφη, "τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ πράγματι καλῷ καλῶς χρῶνται, τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ;"

4. Πρὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπον πονηρὸν ἐρωτῶντα πολλάκις τίς ἄριστος εἴη Σπαρτιατῶν, εἶπεν, "ὁ τὶν[1] ἀνομοιότατος."

5. Ἑτέρου δὲ πυνθανομένου πόσοι εἰσὶν οἱ[2]

[1] τὶν Cobet: τύνη.

[2] οἱ (not in the MSS.) is found in the other quotations of the passage.

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[a] Argileonis (*Moralia*, 219 D, 270 C, *infra*).

[b] Repeated in *Moralia*, 219 D and 240 C, and in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxv. (55 D).

[c] Son of Archidamus. There were two kings of Sparta

to win independence for the Greeks who were living within the borders of Thrace, and the envoys sent to Sparta approached his mother,[a] her first question was whether Brasidas had died honourably. And when the Thracians spoke of him in the highest terms, and said that there would never be another like him, she said, "Ye ken naught aboot it, being from abraid; for Brasidas was e'en a guid mon, but Sparta has mony a better mon than him."[b]

AGIS[c]

1. Agis the king said that the Spartans do not ask how many are the enemy, but where are they.[d]

2. At Mantineia, when efforts were made to dissuade him from risking a battle with the enemy who outnumbered his own men, he said, "He who would rule over many must fight with many."[e]

3. When the Eleans were commended for conducting the Olympic games honourably, he said, "What wonderful feat is it if they practise justice on one day in four years?" And when these same persons were persistent in their commendation, he said, "What wonder if they practise honourably an honourable thing, that is, justice?"[f]

4. To a base man, who asked him many times who was the best of the Spartans, he replied, "The one most unlike you."[g]

5. When another man inquired about the number

of this name: Agis II., 427–401 B.C., and Agis III., 338–331 B.C., and there is some confusion as to which said which! *Cf. Moralia*, 215 C ff., *infra*.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 215 D, *infra*.

[e] *Ibid.*

[f] *Ibid.* 215 F, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 C).

[g] *Life of Lycurgus* and *Moralia*, 216 C.

(190) Λακεδαιμόνιοι, “ὅσοι,” εἶπεν, “ἱκανοὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἀπείργειν.”

6 Καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἑτέρου πυνθανομένου, “πολλοί σοι,” ἔφη, “δόξουσιν εἶναι, ἐὰν αὐτοὺς ἴδῃς μαχομένους.”

ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ

E 1. Λύσανδρος, Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου πέμψαντος ἱμάτια ταῖς θυγατράσιν αὐτοῦ τῶν πολυτελῶν, οὐκ ἔλαβεν, εἰπὼν δεδιέναι μὴ διὰ ταῦτα μᾶλλον αἰσχραὶ φανῶσιν.

2. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ψέγοντας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δι’ ἀπάτης τὰ πολλὰ πράττειν ὡς ἀνάξιον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἔλεγεν ὅπου μὴ ἐφικνεῖται ἡ λεοντῆ, προσραπτέον εἶναι τὴν ἀλωπεκῆν.

3. Πρὸς δὲ Ἀργείους δικαιότερα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων λέγειν περὶ τῆς ἀμφισβητουμένης χώρας δοκοῦντας, σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν, “ὁ ταύτης,[1]” ἔφη, “κρατῶν βέλτιστα περὶ γῆς ὅρων διαλέγεται.”

4. Τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ὁρῶν ὀκνοῦντας
προσμάχεσθαι τοῖς τείχεσι τῶν Κορινθίων, ὡς
εἶδε λαγὼν ἐξαλλόμενον ἐκ τῆς τάφρου, “τοιού-
F τους,” ἔφη, “φοβεῖσθε πολεμίους, ὧν οἱ λαγοὶ δι’
ἀργίαν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐγκαθεύδουσιν;”

5. Μεγαρέως δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐν κοινῷ συλλόγῳ παρ-

[1] ταύτης] ταύτῃ Pantazides.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 215 D; (5) *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 D).

[b] Spartan general at the time of the Peloponnesian war.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 141 D, 229 A, and Plutarch's *Life of Lysander*, chap. ii. (434 C). The same story is told of Archidamus in *Moralia*, 218 E.

of the Spartans, he said, “Enough to keep away all bad men.” [a]

6. When another asked the same question, he said, “You will think they are many, if you see them fight.”

LYSANDER [b]

1. When Dionysius, the despot, sent garments of a very costly kind for Lysander's daughters, Lysander would not accept them, saying that he was afraid that the girls would appear more ugly because of them.[c]

2. To those who found fault with him for accomplishing most things through deception (a procedure which they asserted was unworthy of Heracles) he used to say in reply that where the lion's skin does not reach it must be pieced out with the skin of the fox.[d]

3. When the Argives seemed to make out a better case than the Spartans about the territory in dispute, he drew his sword, and said to them, “He who is master of this talks best about boundaries of land.’ [e]

4. Seeing that the Spartans were reluctant to carry on the battle against the walls of the Corinthians, he said, as he saw a hare leap out of the moat, “Are you afraid of such enemies as these, in whose walls hares go to sleep because of the men's inaction?” [f]

5. When a man from Megara used frank speech

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[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 229 B; Plutarch's *Life of Lysander*, chap. vii. (437 A), Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, i. p. 30.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 229 C; *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxii. (445 D).

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 229 D; *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxii. (445 D).

ρησίᾳ χρησαμένου πρὸς αὐτόν, "οἱ λόγοι σου," εἶπε, "πόλεως δέονται."

ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΥ

1. Ἀγησίλαος ἔλεγε τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντας ἐλευθέρους μὲν κακοὺς εἶναι, δούλους δὲ ἀγαθούς.

2. Εἰθισμένων δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα μέγαν προσαγορεύειν, "τί δαὶ[1] ἐκεῖνος," εἶπεν, "ἐμοῦ μείζων, εἰ μὴ δικαιότερος καὶ σωφρονέστερος;"

3. Περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐρωτηθεὶς πότερα βελτίων, "οὐδὲν ἀνδρείας," ἔφη, "χρῄζομεν, ἐὰν πάντες ὦμεν δίκαιοι."

191 4. Νυκτὸς δὲ μέλλων κατὰ τάχος ἀναζευγνύειν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας καὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον ὁρῶν ἀπολειπόμενον δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ δακρύοντα, "χαλεπόν," εἶπεν, "ἅμα ἐλεεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν."

5. Μενεκράτους δὲ τοῦ ἰατροῦ Διὸς προσαγορευομένου, γράψαντος ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτόν, "Μενεκράτης Ζεὺς βασιλεῖ Ἀγησιλάῳ χαίρειν," ἀντέγραψεν, "βασιλεὺς Ἀγησίλαος Μενεκράτει ὑγιαίνειν."

[1] δαὶ (*cf. Moralia* 213 c) Hatzidakis: δὲ.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 71 E and 229 C; *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxii. (445 D). A similar remark is attributed to Agesilaus in *Moralia*, 212 E.

[b] King of Sparta, 398–360 B.C.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 213 C *infra*. The remark is attributed to Callicratidas, *Moralia*, 222 E, *infra*. *Cf.* also the similar sentiment recorded in Herodotus, iv. 142.

towards him in the general council, he said, "Your words need a country to back them." [a]

AGESILAUS [b]

1. Agesilaus used to say that the inhabitants of Asia Minor were poor freemen, but good slaves.[c]

2. Regarding their custom of calling the king of the Persians the Great King, he said, "In what respect is he greater than I, unless he is more upright and self-restrained?" [d]

3. When he was questioned about bravery and uprightness and asked which was the better, he said, "We have no need of bravery if we are all upright." [e]

4. When he was about to break camp in haste by night to leave the enemy's country, and saw his favourite youth, owing to illness, being left behind all in tears, he said, "It is hard to be merciful and sensible at the same time." [f]

5. Menecrates the physician, who was addressed by the title of 'Zeus,' wrote in a letter to him: "Menecrates Zeus to King Agesilaus, health and happiness." Agesilaus wrote in reply: "King Agesilaus to Menecrates, health and sanity!" [g]

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[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 78 D, 213 C, 545 A; Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxiii. (608 F); also Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 8. 4. A similar remark of Socrates is found in Plato, *Gorgias*, 470 E.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 213 C, *infra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxiii. (608 F).

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 209 F, *infra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xiii. (603 B).

[g] The story is repeated in *Moralia*, 213 A, and in Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxi. (607 E). Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 51, and Athenaeus, 289 B, say that it was Philip of Macedon who thus replied to Menecrates.

(191) 6. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ νικησάντων Ἀθηναίους
καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐν Κορίνθῳ, πυθόμενος τὸ
B πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων νεκρῶν, “ φεῦ τᾶς Ἑλλάδος,”
εἶπεν, “ ἃ τοσούτους ὑφ’ αὑτᾶς ἀπολώλεκεν, ὅσοις
ἀρκεῖ τοὺς βαρβάρους νικῆν ἅπαντας.”

7. Χρησμὸν δὲ λαβὼν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ὃν ἤθελεν, εἶτα τῶν ἐφόρων κελευόντων καὶ τὸν Πύθιον ἐρωτῆσαι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, εἰς Δελφοὺς παραγενόμενος ἠρώτησε τὸν θεὸν εἰ ἅπερ τῷ πατρὶ δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ.

8. Παραιτούμενος δέ τινα τῶν φίλων παρὰ τοῦ Καρὸς Ἱδριέως,[1] ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτόν, “ Νικίας εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, ἄφες· εἰ δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἐμοὶ ἄφες· πάντως δὲ ἄφες.”

9. Τοῦ δὲ μιμουμένου τὴν τῆς ἀηδόνος φωνὴν ἀκοῦσαι παρακαλούμενος, “ αὐτᾶς,” εἶπεν, “ ἄκουκα πολλάκις.”

C 10. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην, πάντας τοὺς τρέσαντας ἀτίμους εἶναι τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος, ὁρῶντες οἱ ἔφοροι τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον οὖσαν ἐβούλοντο τὴν ἀτιμίαν λῦσαι, καὶ νομοθέτην ἀπέδειξαν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον· ὁ δὲ προελθὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευσε τοὺς νόμους ἀπὸ τῆς αὔριον κυρίους εἶναι.

[1] Ἱδριέως Xylander (from *Moralia*, 209 E, and *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xiii.): ἰκριέως or ἰκαριέως.

6. The Spartans won a victory over the Athenians and their allies at Corinth,[a] and when he learned the number of the enemy's dead he exclaimed, “ Alas for Greece which by her ain hands has destroyed so mony men, in number eneuch to conquer all the barbarians ! ” [b]

7. He received an oracle from Zeus at Olympia such as he wished, and thereupon the Ephors commanded him to ask the Pythian god [c] about the same matter. So, when he arrived at Delphi, he asked the god if his opinion was the same as his father's.[d]

8. In interceding with Hidrieus of Caria for one of his friends he wrote : “ If Nicias has done no wrong, let him go free ; if he has done wrong, let him go as a favour to me ; but let him go anyway.” [e]

9. Being urged to hear a man who gave an imitation of the nightingale's voice, he said, “ I hae heard the bird itsel' mony a time.” [f]

10. After the battle of Leuctra, since the law decrees that all who run away in battle shall lose their citizenship, and the Ephors saw that the State was destitute of men, they, wishing to abrogate this penalty, invested Agesilaus with authority to revise the laws. He came forward into their midst, and ordered that beginning with the morrow all laws should be in full force.[g]

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[a] In 394 B.C.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 211 E, *infra* ; Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xvi. (604 F) ; Cornelius Nepos, *Agesilaus*, 5. 2. The source is probably Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 7. 4.

[c] Apollo, the son of Zeus.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 208 F, when the oracle at Dodona is mentioned instead of Olympia. It is probable that this story, which was related of Agesipolis by Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 7. 2, and by Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 23 (MSS. Hegisippus), has been transferred to Agesilaus.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 209 E and 807 F ; and Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xiii. (603 B).

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 212 F and 213 C, *infra* ; Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxi. (607 E) ; and *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 E).

[g] *Cf. Moralia*, 214 B, *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxx. (612 F) ; *Comparison of Agesilaus and Pompey*, chap. ii. (662 E) ; and Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 1. 13.

(191) 11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πεμφθεὶς τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων σύμμαχος ἐπολιορκεῖτο μετ' αὐτοῦ, πολλαπλασιόνων ὄντων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ περιταφρευ-
D όντων τὸ στρατόπεδον, κελεύσαντος ἐπεξιέναι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως, οὐκ ἔφη διακωλύσειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἴσους αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι βουλομένους. ἔτι δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολιπούσης τῆς τάφρου συνάψαι, κατὰ τοῦτο παρατάξας[1] τὸ διαλεῖπον καὶ πρὸς ἴσους ἴσοις[2] ἀγωνισάμενος ἐνίκησεν.[3]

12. Ἀποθνῄσκων δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἐκέλευσε μηδεμίαν πλαστὰν[4] μηδὲ μιμηλὰν ποιήσασθαι, τὰς εἰκόνας οὕτω προσαγορεύων· "εἰ γάρ τι καλὸν ἔργον πεποίηκα, τοῦτό μου μνημεῖόν ἐστιν[5]· εἰ δὲ μηδέν, οὐδ' οἱ πάντες ἀνδριάντες."

ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΥ

E Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου καταπελτικὸν ἰδὼν βέλος τότε πρῶτον ἐκ Σικελίας κομισθὲν ἀνεβόησεν, "ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἀπόλωλεν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετά."

ΑΓΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἆγις, Δημάδου λέγοντος ὅτι τὰ Λακωνικὰ ξίφη διὰ μικρότητα καταπίνουσιν οἱ

[1] παρατάξας] παρέταξε Hartman.
[2] ἴσοις E. Kurtz (from *Moralia*, 215 A): ἴσοι.
[3] ἀγωνισάμενος ἐνίκησεν Hatzidakis and F.C.B. (from *Moralia*, 215 A): ἀγωνισάμενοι ἐνίκησαν.
[4] πλαστὰν the reading elsewhere (*cf.* note *b*): πλαθὰν.
[5] ἔστιν] ἔσται Hatzidakis from *Moralia*, 215 A, perhaps rightly.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 214 F, *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxxix. (618 A); Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 1. 22; Diodorus, xv. 93.

11. He was sent as an ally to the king of the Egyptians, and was shut up in camp, together with the king, besieged by hostile forces which many times outnumbered their own. As the enemy were digging a ditch around the encampment, the king urged a sally and a decisive battle, but Agesilaus refused to hinder the enemy in their desire to put themselves on an equal footing with the defending force. When the ends of the ditch almost met, he drew up his men at this gap, and contending with equal numbers against equal numbers won a victory.[a]

12. When he was dying he gave orders that his friends have no 'plaster or paint' used, for this was the way he spoke of statues and portraits. "For," said he, "if I have done any noble deed, that is my memorial; but if none, then not all the statues in the world avail."[b]

ARCHIDAMUS, SON OF AGESILAUS[c]

Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, on seeing the missile shot by a catapult, which had been brought then for the first time from Sicily, cried out, "Great Heavens! Man's valour is no more!"[d]

AGIS THE YOUNGER[e]

1. The Younger Agis, referring to the assertion of Demades that jugglers use the Spartan swords for

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 215 A, *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. ii. (596 F); Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, ii. 7; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* xxxv. (466 M., 127 R.); Cicero, *Letters*, v. 12. 7.
[c] Archidamus III., king of Sparta, 361–338 B.C.
[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 219 A, *infra*.
[e] Agis III., king of Sparta, 338–331 B.C.

(191) θαυματοποιοί, " καὶ μήν," ἔφη, " μάλιστα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πολεμίων τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐφικνοῦνται."

2. Τῷ δὲ προδότῃ παραδοῦναι στρατιώτας τῶν ἐφόρων κελευόντων, οὐκ ἔφη πιστεύειν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τῷ προδόντι τοὺς ἰδίους.

ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ

Κλεομένης πρὸς τὸν ὑπισχνούμενον αὐτῷ δώσειν F ἀλεκτρυόνας ἀποθνῄσκοντας ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι, " μὴ σύ γε," εἶπεν, " ἀλλὰ δός μοι τοὺς κατακτείνοντας ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι."

ΠΑΙΔΑΡΗΤΟΥ

Παιδάρητος[1] οὐκ ἐγκριθεὶς εἰς τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρωτεύουσα τιμὴ τῇ τάξει, ἱλαρὸς καὶ μειδιῶν ἀπῄει, χαίρειν λέγων εἰ τριακοσίους ἡ πόλις ἔχει πολίτας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίονας.

ΔΑΜΩΝΙΔΟΥ

Δαμωνίδας δὲ ταχθεὶς εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ χοροῦ τάξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸν χορὸν ἱστάντος, " εὖγε," εἶπεν, " ἐξεῦρες πῶς καὶ αὕτη[2] ἔντιμος γένηται."

[1] Παιδάρητος in *Moralia*, 231 B, and *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxv. The MSS. of Thucydides viii. give Πεδάριτος: παιδάρετος.

[2] αὕτη F.C.B. from *Moralia*, 149 A, where the MSS. have a similar error: αὐτός, probably due to ἔντιμος: οὗτος Pantazides, ὁ τόπος Bernardakis would add.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 216 C, *infra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix. (51 E).

[b] Attributed to Agis II. in *Moralia*, 215 C.

[c] Cleomenes II., king of Sparta, 370–309 B.C.

swallowing because of their small size, said, " But it is a fact that the Spartans, above all men, reach their enemies with their swords."[a]

2. When the Ephors ordered him to turn over soldiers to a traitor to lead, he said that he did not entrust another's men to the man that betrayed his own.[b]

CLEOMENES[c]

Somebody promised to give to Cleomenes cocks that would die fighting, but he retorted, " No, don't, but give me those that kill fighting."[d]

PAEDARETUS[e]

When Paedaretus was not chosen to be one of the three hundred,[f] an honour which ranked highest in the State, he departed, cheerful and smiling, with the remark that he was glad if the State possessed three hundred citizens better than himself.[g]

DAMONIDAS

When Damonidas was assigned to the last place in the chorus by the director, he said, " Good! You have discovered a way by which even this place may come to be held in honour."[h]

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 224 B, *infra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 E).

[e] Spartan general at the time of the Peloponnesian war; also spelled Paedaritus (and Pedaritus ?).

[f] *Cf.* Herodotus, vii. 205, and viii. 124; Thucydides, v. 72; Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 4. 3.

[g] *Cf. Moralia*, 231 B, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxv. (55 C).

[h] *Cf. Moralia*, 149 A and 219 E. A similar remark is attributed to Agesilaus in *Moralia*, 208 D, and the idea is also accredited to Aristippus by Diogenes Laertius, ii. 73.

ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

192 Νικόστρατος ὁ τῶν Ἀργείων στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Ἀρχιδάμου χωρίον τι προδοῦναι παρακαλούμενος ἐπὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς καὶ γάμῳ Λακαίνης ἣν βούλεται δίχα τῶν βασιλικῶν, ἀπεκρίνατο μὴ εἶναι τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλέα περιιόντα τοὺς κακοὺς κολάζειν, Ἀρχίδαμον δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς κακοὺς ποιεῖν.

ΕΥΔΑΜΙΔΟΥ

1. Εὐδαμίδας[1] ἰδὼν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ[2] Ξενοκράτην πρεσβύτερον ἤδη μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν φιλοσοφοῦντα καὶ πυθόμενος ὅτι τὴν ἀρετὴν ζητεῖ, "πότε οὖν," εἶπεν, "αὐτῇ χρήσεται;"

B 2. Πάλιν ἀκούσας φιλοσόφου διαλεχθέντος ὅτι μόνος ἀγαθὸς στρατηγὸς ὁ σοφός ἐστιν, "ὁ μὲν λόγος," ἔφη, "θαυμαστός, ὁ δὲ λέγων οὐ περισεσάλπισται.[3]"

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

Ἀντίοχος ἐφορεύων, ὡς ἤκουσεν ὅτι Μεσσηνίοις Φίλιππος τὴν χώραν ἔδωκεν, ἠρώτησεν εἰ καὶ τὸ κρατεῖν αὐτοῖς μαχομένοις περὶ τῆς χώρας ἔδωκεν.

ΑΝΤΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ

1. Ἀνταλκίδας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἀμαθεῖς ἀποκαλοῦντα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, "μόνοι γοῦν,"

[1] Εὐδαμίδας Xylander from *Moralia*, 220 D: εὐδαιμονίδας.

[2] Ἀκαδημείᾳ the better spelling: ἀκαδημίᾳ.

[3] περισεσάλπιγκται Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, liv. 65.

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[a] At the time of Archidamus III., 361–338 B.C.

[b] Brother of Agis III., whom he succeeded in 331–330 B.C.

NICOSTRATUS

Nicostratus, the general of the Argives,[a] was urged by Archidamus to betray a certain stronghold, his reward to be a large sum of money and marriage with any Spartan woman he wished, save only the royal family; but his reply was that Archidamus was not descended from Heracles, for Heracles, as he went about, punished the bad men, but Archidamus made the good men bad.

EUDAMIDAS[b]

1. Eudamidas, seeing Xenocrates, already well on in years, discussing philosophy with his pupils in the Academy, and being informed that he was seeking after virtue, said, "And when will he make use of it?"[c]

2. At another time, after he had listened to a philosopher who argued that the wise man is the only good general, he said, "The speech is admirable, but the speaker has never been amid the blare of trumpets."[d]

ANTIOCHUS

Antiochus, when he was an ephor, heard that Philip had given to the Messenians their land, whereupon he asked whether Philip had also given them the power to prevail in fighting to keep it.[e]

ANTALCIDAS[f]

1. Antalcidas, retorting to the Athenian who called the Spartans unlearned, said, "At any rate,

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[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 220 D.

[d] *Ibid.* 220 D *infra.*

[e] Repeated *ibid.* 217 F.

[f] Spartan admiral and politician who negotiated the "Peace of Antalcidas" between Persia and Greece, 387 B.C.

(192) εἶπεν, “ ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν μεμαθήκαμεν κακὸν παρ’ ὑμῶν.”

C 2. Ἑτέρου δὲ Ἀθηναίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, “ ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ πολλάκις ὑμᾶς ἐδιώξαμεν,” “ ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδέποτε,” εἶπεν, “ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα.”

3. Σοφιστοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος ἀναγινώσκειν ἐγκώμιον Ἡρακλέους, ἔφη, “ τίς γὰρ αὐτὸν ψέγει;”

ΕΠΑΜΕΙΝΩΝΔΟΥ

1. Ἐπαμεινώνδου τοῦ Θηβαίου στρατηγοῦντος, οὐδέποτε πανικὸς θόρυβος ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

2. Ἔλεγε δὲ τὸν ἐν πολέμῳ θάνατον εἶναι κάλλιστον.

3. Τῶν δὲ ὁπλιτῶν δεῖν ἀπέφαινεν εἶναι τὸ σῶμα γεγυμνασμένον οὐκ ἀθλητικῶς μόνον ἀλλὰ
D καὶ στρατιωτικῶς· διὸ καὶ τοῖς πολυσάρκοις ἐπολέμει, καί τινα τοιοῦτον ἀπήλασε τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰπὼν ὅτι μόλις αὐτοῦ σκέπουσι τὴν γαστέρα ἀσπίδες τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρες, δι’ ἣν οὐχ ἑώρακεν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰδοῖον.

4. Οὕτω δὲ ἦν εὐτελὴς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ὥστε κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὑπὸ γείτονος εὑρὼν πεμμάτων

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 217 D. The saying is attributed to Pleistoanax in *Moralia*, 231 D, and in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 D).

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 217 D and 810 F, Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxxi. (613 D). The Cephisus was a river near Athens, and the Eurotas a river near Sparta.

we alone have learned no evil from you Athenians.” [a]

2. When another Athenian said to him, “ You cannot deny that we have many a time put you to rout from the Cephisus,” he said, “ But we have never put you to rout from the Eurotas ! ” [b]

3. When a lecturer was about to read a laudatory essay on Heracles, he said, “ Why, who says anything against him ? ” [c]

EPAMEINONDAS [d]

1. While Epameinondas the Theban was general, panic never fell upon his troops.

2. He used to say that the most beautiful death was death in war.

3. He used to declare that the heavy-armed soldier ought to have his body trained not only by athletic exercises but by military drill as well.[e] For this reason he always showed a repugnance towards fat men, and one such man he expelled from the army, saying that three or four shields would scarce serve to protect his belly, because of which he could not see a thing below it.[f]

4. He was so frugal in his manner of living that once, when he was invited to dinner by a neighbour, and found there an elaborate display of cake and

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[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 217 D.

[d] Famous Theban general and statesman, 420–362 B.C. These sayings were doubtless incorporated in Plutarch's *Life of Epameinondas*, now lost. A collection of stories about Epameinondas will be found in Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 3.

[e] *Cf.* Cornelius Nepos, *Epaminondas*, xv. 2. 4 and 5.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of M. Cato*, chap. ix. (341 c).

(192) *καὶ ὄψων καὶ μύρων παρασκευὴν ἀπῆλθεν εὐθύς,*
εἰπών, "ἐγώ σε θύειν ᾠόμην οὐχ ὑβρίζειν."

5. *Τοῦ δὲ μαγείρου τοῖς συνάρχουσιν ἡμερῶν*
τινων δαπάνην ἀπολογιζομένου, πρὸς μόνον ἠγανάκτησε
E *τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλαίου· θαυμασάντων δὲ τῶν*
συναρχόντων, οὐ τὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἔφη λυπεῖν
αὐτόν, ἀλλ' εἰ τοσοῦτον ἔλαιον ἐντὸς παραδέδεκται
τοῦ σώματος.

6. *Ἑορτὴν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγούσης καὶ πάντων ἐν πότοις καὶ συνουσίαις ὄντων, ἀπήντησέ τινι τῶν συνήθων αὐχμηρὸς καὶ σύννους βαδίζων· θαυμάζοντος δὲ καὶ πυνθανομένου τί δὴ μόνος οὕτως ἔχων περίεισιν, "ὅπως," εἶπεν, "ἐξῇ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μεθύειν καὶ ῥᾳθυμεῖν."*

7. *Ἄνθρωπον δὲ φαῦλον ἐξημαρτηκότα τι τῶν*
μετρίων, τοῦ μὲν Πελοπίδα παρακαλοῦντος, οὐκ
ἀφῆκε, τῆς δ' ἐρωμένης δεηθείσης, ἀφῆκεν, εἰπὼν
F *ὅτι τοιαῦτα πρέπει λαμβάνειν ἑταιριδίοις, ἀλλὰ μὴ*
στρατηγοῖς.

8. *Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιστρατευομένων ἀνεφέροντο χρησμοὶ τοῖς Θηβαίοις, οἱ μὲν ἧτταν οἱ δὲ νίκην φράζοντες, ἐκέλευε τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ τοῦ βήματος θεῖναι τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ. τεθέντων δὲ πάντων, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν, "ἐὰν μὲν ἐθελήσητε τοῖς ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμόσε χωρεῖν, οὗτοι ὑμῖν εἰσὶν οἱ χρησμοί," δείξας τοὺς βελτίονας· "ἐὰν δὲ ἀποδειλιάσητε πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐκεῖνοι," πρὸς τοὺς χείρονας ἰδών.*

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 1099 c, and perhaps Diogenes Laertius, vi. 28.

[b] *Cf.* Themistius, *Oration* vii. 88 c.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 808 E.

pastry and other dishes, and perfumes as well, he left at once, saying, "I thought this was to be a meal and not a display of arrogance."[a]

5. When the cook rendered his accounts to Epameinondas and his fellow-officers of the expenses for several days, Epameinondas showed indignation only at the great amount of olive oil. As his fellow-officers expressed their surprise, he said it was not the matter of expense that worried him, but that he had taken into his body so much oil.

6. While the city was keeping holiday, and all were busy with drinking and social enjoyment, Epameinondas, as he was walking along unwashed and absorbed in thought, met one of his intimate friends, who inquired in surprise why it was that he alone was going about in that state. "So that all of you," said he, "may get drunk and have a holiday."[b]

7. A worthless fellow, who was guilty of one of the minor offences, he would not let off at the request of Pelopidas, but, when the man's mistress pleaded for him, he let him off, saying that such favours may properly be received by strumpets, but not by generals.[c]

8. When the Spartans threatened an invasion, and oracles were reported to the Thebans, of which some told of defeat and others of victory, he ordered that these be placed at the right of the speakers' platform, and those at the left. When they had all been so placed, he arose and said, "If you are willing to obey your officers, and come to close quarters with the enemy, these are the oracles for you," and he pointed to those of good omen; "but if you are going to play the cowards in the face of danger, then those," and he glanced at those of ill omen.

9. Πάλιν δὲ προσάγων τοῖς πολεμίοις, βροντῆς
γενομένης καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν πυνθανομένων τί
193 σημαίνειν οἴεται τὸν θεόν, ἐμβεβροντῆσθαι τοὺς
πολεμίους εἶπεν ὅτι τοιούτων χωρίων ἐγγὺς ὄντων,
ἐν τοιούτοις στρατοπεδεύουσιν.

10. Ἥδιστον δὲ πάντων αὐτῷ τῶν γεγονότων καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔλεγε τὸ τοῦ[1] πατρὸς ἔτι ζῶντος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐν Λεύκτροις νικῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους.

11. Εἰωθὼς δὲ φαίνεσθαι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον
ἀληλιμμένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ φαιδρὸς τῷ προσώπῳ,
μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προῆλθεν
αὐχμηρὸς καὶ ταπεινός· τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐρωτώντων
μή τι λυπηρὸν αὐτῷ συμπέπτωκεν, "οὐδέν,"
εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ἐχθὲς ᾐσθόμην ἐμαυτοῦ μεῖζον ἢ
καλῶς ἔχει φρονήσαντος· διὸ σήμερον κολάζω τὴν
B ἀμετρίαν τῆς χαρᾶς."

12. Εἰδὼς δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἐπικρυπτομένους τὰ τοιαῦτα συμπτώματα, καὶ βουλόμενος ἐξελέγξαι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς αὐτῶν, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πᾶσι νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν ἀλλ' ἑκάστοις κατὰ πόλιν ἔδωκεν, ὥστε πλείονας ἢ χιλίους ὄντας ὀφθῆναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων.

13. Ἰάσονος δὲ τοῦ Θετταλῶν μονάρχου συμμάχου μὲν εἰς Θήβας παραγενομένου, δισχιλίους δὲ χρυσοῦς τῷ Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ πέμψαντος ἰσχυρῶς πενομένῳ, τὸ μὲν χρυσίον οὐκ ἔλαβε, τὸν δὲ

[1] τὸ τοῦ Bernardakis, comparing the other versions in Plutarch: τὸ τῶν γειναμένων αὐτὸν τοῦ.

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[a] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 3. 3.

9. On another occasion, when he was leading his troops against the enemy, there came a thunderstroke, and, when those about him inquired what he thought the god meant to signify by this, he replied, "That the enemy have been thunder-struck out of all sense because, when such places as those are near at hand, they pitch their camp in places such as these."[a]

10. He used to say that of all the fair and goodly fortune that had fallen to his lot the thing that gave him the greatest gratification was that his victory over the Spartans at Leuctra came while his father and mother were still living.[b]

11. It was his habit to appear at all times with a well-groomed body and a cheerful countenance, but on the day after that battle he went forth unwashed and with a look of dejection. When his friends asked if anything distressing had befallen him, he said, "Nothing; but yesterday I found myself feeling a pride greater than is well. Therefore to-day I am chastising my immoderate indulgence in rejoicing."

12. Knowing that the Spartans were wont to conceal such calamities as this, and wishing to bring out clearly the magnitude of their disaster, he did not grant them leave to remove their dead all together, but separately by cities, so that it was seen that the Spartan dead numbered over a thousand.[c]

13. When Jason, monarch of Thessaly, arrived at Thebes as an ally, he sent two thousand pieces of gold to Epameinondas, who was then sadly in want. Epameinondas did not take the money, but with a

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 786 D and 1098 B, and Plutarch's *Life of Coriolanus*, chap. iv. (215 C).

[c] The story is told with slightly more details by Pausanias, ix. 13. 11 and 12.

(193) Ἰάσονα θεασάμενος, "ἀδίκων," ἔφη, "χειρῶν ἄρχεις"· αὐτὸς δὲ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς δανεισάμενος C παρά τινος τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐφόδιον τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον.

14. Αὖθις δὲ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως τρισμυρίους δαρεικοὺς ἀποστείλαντος αὐτῷ, καθήψατο πικρῶς Διομέδοντος, εἰ τοσοῦτον πλοῦν πέπλευκε διαφθερῶν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν· πρὸς δὲ τὸν βασιλέα λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὅτι τὰ συμφέροντα Θηβαίοις φρονῶν ἕξει προῖκα φίλον Ἐπαμεινώνδαν, τὰ δὲ μὴ συμφέροντα πολέμιον.

15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν ἐγένοντο σύμμαχοι Θηβαίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν παραγενόμενοι κατηγόρουν ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ Καλλίστρατος D ὁ ῥήτωρ ὠνείδισε τὸν Ὀρέστην καὶ τὸν Οἰδίποδα ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐπαναστὰς ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "ὁμολογοῦμεν," ἔφη, "καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν πατροκτόνον γενέσθαι καὶ παρ' Ἀργείοις μητροκτόνον· ἀλλὰ τοὺς ταῦτα δράσαντας ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐξεβάλομεν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὑπεδέξαντο."

16. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τῶν Θηβαίων κατηγορήσαντας, "οὗτοι μέντοι," εἶπεν, "ὑμᾶς βραχυλογοῦντας ἔπαυσαν."

17. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φεραίων τύραννον E πολέμιον ὄντα Θηβαίων Ἀθηναῖοι φίλον ἐποιήσαντο καὶ σύμμαχον ὑποσχόμενον αὐτοῖς ἡμιωβολίου τὴν μνᾶν κρεῶν ὤνιον παρέξειν, "ἡμεῖς δέ," ἔφη ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "ξύλα προῖκα παρέξομεν

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 583 F, and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9.

[b] *Cf.* Cornelius Nepos, *Epaminondas*, xv. 4, where the same story is told in more words, and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, v. 5, where the fact is recorded in very few words.

steadfast look at Jason said, "You are beginning wrong." Then he borrowed a couple of pounds from one of his fellow-citizens to meet his personal expenses in the campaign, and invaded the Peloponnesus.[a]

14. On a later occasion, when the king of the Persians sent twenty-five thousand pounds to him, he assailed Diomedon bitterly because he had made such a long voyage to corrupt Epameinondas; and he bade him say to the king that if the king should hold views conducive to the good of the Thebans, he should have Epameinondas as his friend for nothing; but if the reverse, then as his enemy.[b]

15. When the Argives entered the Theban alliance,[c] ambassadors of the Athenians arrived at Arcadia and accused both nations; and when Callistratus, the chief speaker, held up Orestes and Oedipus as a reproach to their respective cities, Epameinondas, rising to reply, said, "We admit that we have had a parricide among us, and the Argives a matricide; but we expelled from our land those who did these deeds, and the Athenians received them!"[d]

16. When the Spartans accused the Thebans of a long list of serious offences, he retorted, "These Thebans, however, have put a stop to your brevity of speech!"[e]

17. When the Athenians took as a friend Alexander, the despot of Pherae, who was an enemy of the Thebans, and he promised to supply the Athenians with meat to be sold at a penny a pound, Epameinondas said, "But we will supply them with

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[c] In 370 B.C.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 810 F, and Cornelius Nepos, *Epaminondas*, xv. 6. 1-3.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 545 A.

Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὰ κρέα ταῦτα· τὴν γὰρ χώραν αὐτῶν τεμοῦμεν, ἂν πολυπραγμονῶσι."

18. Τοὺς δὲ Βοιωτοὺς *ὑπὸ σχολῆς ἐκλυομένους ἀεὶ βουλόμενος ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις συνέχειν, ὁπότε* Βοιωτάρχης *αἱρεθείη, παραινῶν*[1] *ἔλεγεν, " ἔτι βουλεύσασθε, ἄνδρες· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐγὼ στρατηγῶ, στρατευτέον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν "· καὶ τὴν χώραν ὑπτίαν οὖσαν καὶ ἀναπεπταμένην ' πολέμου ὀρχήστραν ' προσηγόρευεν, ὡς μὴ δυναμένους κρατεῖν αὐτῆς, ἂν μὴ τὴν χεῖρα διὰ πόρπακος ἔχωσι.*

F 19. Τοῦ δὲ Χαβρίου *περὶ* Κόρινθον *ὀλίγους τινὰς τῶν* Θηβαίων *ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη φιλομαχοῦντας καταβαλόντος καὶ στήσαντος τρόπαιον, ὁ* Ἐπαμεινώνδας *καταγελῶν ἔφη, " ἐνταῦθα δεῖ οὐ τρόπαιον ἀλλὰ* Ἑκάταιον[2] *ἑστάναι "· τὴν γὰρ* Ἑκάτην *ἐπιεικῶς ἐν ταῖς πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἱδρύοντο τριόδοις.*

20. Ἀπαγγείλαντος *δέ τινος ὡς* Ἀθηναῖοι *στράτευμα καινοῖς κεκοσμημένον ὅπλοις εἰς* Πελοπόννησον *ἀπεστάλκασι, " τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "* Ἀντιγενίδας *στένει*[3] *καινοὺς* Τέλληνος *αὐλοὺς ἔχοντος;" ἦν δὲ αὐλητὴς ὁ μὲν* Τέλλην[4] *κάκιστος, ὁ δὲ* Ἀντιγενίδας *κάλλιστος.*

194 21. Τὸν *δὲ ὑπασπιστὴν αἰσθόμενος εἰληφότα χρήματα πολλὰ παρ' ἀνδρὸς αἰχμαλώτου γεγονότος,*

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[1] *παραινῶν*] *παριὼν* S. A. Naber.

[2] There can be little doubt that Epameinondas said Ἑκάταιον, although the MSS. have a later form Ἑκατήσιον.

[3] *στένει*] *ὑστερεῖ* S. A. Naber.

[4] Τέλλην Hatzidakis: Τέλλης.

wood to cook their meat for nothing; for we will cut down everything in their land, if they make any trouble."

18. The Boeotians, relaxed by leisure, he was always desirous of keeping continually under arms, and whenever he was chosen Governor of Boeotia he used to urge his advice upon the people, saying, "Bethink yourselves once more, men, for, if I am general, you will have to serve in my army." And he used to call their country, which was flat and exposed, 'the dancing-floor of War,'[a] intimating that they could not hold their power over it if they did not keep a grip on the handles of their shields.

19. Chabrias, in the vicinity of Corinth, having struck down some few Thebans whose eagerness led them to carry the fighting to the foot of the walls, set up a trophy.[b] Epameinondas, ridiculing it, said, "In that place should stand, not a trophy, but a Hecate"; for it was in keeping to set up an image of Hecate, as they used to do, at the meeting of three ways in front of the gates.

20. When somebody reported that the Athenians had sent an army, decked out with novel equipment, into the Peloponnesus, he said, "Why should Antigenidas cry if Tellen has a new flute or two?" (Tellen was the worst of flute-players, and Antigenidas the best.[c])

21. Learning that his shield-bearer had received a great deal of money from a man who had been taken

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Marcellus*, chap. xxi. (310 B), where two other picturesque expressions of similar meaning are quoted.

[b] *Cf.* Diodorus, xv. 69.

[c] There are many references to the skill of Antigenidas; it must suffice here to refer only to *Moralia*, 335 A.

(194) “ ἐμοὶ μέν,” εἶπεν, “ ἀπόδος τὴν ἀσπίδα, σεαυτῷ δὲ πρίω καπηλεῖον, ἐν ᾧ καταζήσεις· οὐκέτι γὰρ ἐθελήσεις κινδυνεύειν ὁμοίως εἷς τῶν πλουσίων γεγονὼς καὶ μακαρίων.”

22. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πότερον ἑαυτὸν ἡγεῖται βελτίονα στρατηγὸν ἢ Χαβρίαν ἢ Ἰφικράτην “ δύσκριτον,” εἶπεν, “ ἕως ζῶμεν.”

23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς ὑποστρέψας ἔφευγε θανάτου δίκην μετὰ τῶν συστρατήγων, ὡς ἐπιβαλὼν τῇ Βοιωταρχίᾳ παρὰ τὸν νόμον B τέσσαρας μῆνας, τοὺς μὲν συνάρχοντας ἐκέλευεν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναφέρειν τὴν αἰτίαν ὡς ἐκβιασθέντας, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔφη βελτίονας ἔχειν τῶν ἔργων λόγους· εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι πάντως εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς, ἀξιοῦν, ἂν ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν, ἐπιγράψαι τῇ στήλῃ τὴν καταδίκην, ὅπως οἱ Ἕλληνες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι μὴ βουλομένους Θηβαίους Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἠνάγκασε τὴν Λακωνικὴν πυρπολῆσαι, πεντακοσίοις ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀδῄωτον οὖσαν· οἰκίσαι δὲ Μεσσήνην δι᾽ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίων· συντάξαι δὲ καὶ συναγαγεῖν εἰς ταὐτὸν Ἀρκάδας· ἀποδοῦναι δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὴν αὐτονομίαν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπράχθη κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν στρατείαν. ἐξῆλθον

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[a] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9; Themistius, *Oration* vii., 88 c.

captive in the war, he said to him, “ Give me back my shield, and buy yourself a tavern in which to spend the rest of your days; for you will no longer be willing to face danger as before, now that you have become one of the rich and prosperous.”[a]

22. Being asked whether he regarded himself or Chabrias or Iphicrates as the better general, he said, “ It is hard to decide while we are alive.”

23. Upon his return from Laconia he was put on trial for his life, together with his fellow-generals, for having added, contrary to the law, four months to his term of office as Governor of Boeotia.[b] He bade his fellow-officers to put the responsibility on him, as if their action had been dictated by him, and said that he himself had not any words to speak better than his deeds; but if he absolutely must make a statement to the judges, he required from them as his just due, if they put him to death, to inscribe their sentence upon his tombstone, so that the Greeks might know that Epameinondas had compelled the Thebans against their will to lay waste Laconia with fire and sword, which for five hundred years[c] had been unravaged; and that he had repopulated Messene after a space of two hundred and thirty years, and had organized the Arcadians and united them in a league, and had restored self-government to the Greeks. As a matter of fact, all these things had been accomplished in that cam-

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[b] When the Thebans invaded the Peloponnesus, 370–369 B.C.

[c] Plutarch in his *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxxi. (613 B), says “ not less than six hundred ”; one is probably as correct as the other.

C οὖν οἱ δικασταὶ σὺν πολλῷ γέλωτι μηδὲ τὰς
(194) ψήφους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναλαβόντες.

24. Ἐν δὲ τῇ τελευταίᾳ μάχῃ τρωθεὶς καὶ κομισθεὶς ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἐκάλει Δαΐφαντον, εἶτα μετ' ἐκεῖνον Ἰολαΐδαν[1]· τεθνάναι δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας πυθόμενος ἐκέλευε διαλύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς οὐκ ὄντος αὐτοῖς στρατηγοῦ. καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον ἐμαρτύρησεν ὡς εἰδότος ἄριστα τοὺς πολίτας.

ΠΕΛΟΠΙΔΟΥ

1. Πελοπίδας ὁ συστράτηγος Ἐπαμεινώνδου,[2] τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν ἀμελεῖν λεγόντων πράγματος
D ἀναγκαίου, χρημάτων συναγωγῆς, "ἀναγκαῖα τὰ χρήματα νὴ Δία," εἶπε, "τούτῳ Νικοδήμῳ,[3]" δείξας χωλὸν καὶ ἀνάπηρον ἄνθρωπον.

2. Τῆς δὲ γυναικός, ἐπὶ μάχην ἐξιόντος αὐτοῦ, δεομένης σῴζειν ἑαυτόν, ἄλλοις ἔφη δεῖν τοῦτο παραινεῖν, ἄρχοντι δὲ καὶ στρατηγῷ σῴζειν τοὺς πολίτας.

[1] Ἰολαΐδαν Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 3: ἰολλίδαν (or ὑολλίδαν).

[2] Ἐπαμεινώνδου F.C.B. *Cf.* No. 6 *infra*: ἐπαμινώνδα, but there is no uniformity in the MSS. Bernardakis would read the dative, Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ, which is probably wrong.

[3] Νικοδήμῳ, *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. iii.: νικομήδει. S. A. Naber would read Νικόδημον, but the reading in the *Life* and in Aelian is against it.

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[a] There are many references to this story, and it was even used as a *corpus vile* for argumentation in the schools, to judge from Cicero, *De inventione*, i. 33 (55-56) and 38 (69). The story is repeated in *Moralia*, 540 D and 799 E; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 42; Pausanias, ix. 14. 5-7; Cornelius Nepos, *Epaminondas*, xv. 7. 3-8. 5. Appian, *Roman History, Syrian Wars*, 40-41, compares the action of Epameinondas

paign. Thereupon the judges left the court-room with hearty laughter, and did not even take up their ballots to cast against him.[a]

24. When in his last battle[b] he had been wounded and carried into a tent, he called for Daïphantus, and next after him for Iolaïdas, and, learning that the men were dead, he bade the Thebans to make terms with the enemy, since no general was left to them. And the facts bore out his words, for he best knew his fellow-citizens.[c]

PELOPIDAS

1. Pelopidas, the associate of Epameinondas in command, in reply to his friends who told him that he was neglecting a very necessary business, the amassing of money, said, "Yes, on my word, money is necessary—for Nicodemus here!"[d] as he pointed to a lame and crippled man.

2. As he was leaving home for the field of battle, his wife begged him to have a care for his life. "This advice," said he, "should be kept for others, but for a commander and general the advice should be to have a care for the lives of the citizens."[e]

with the similar action of Scipio Africanus Major (*Moralia*, 196 F); and this suggests the probability that Appian had before him Plutarch's Parallel *Lives* of Epameinondas and Scipio, now lost.

[b] At Mantineia, in 362 B.C.

[c] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 3. Other authors lay stress on the fortitude with which he met his end. *Cf.* Diodorus, xv. 87; Cornelius Nepos, *Epaminondas*, xv. 9; Valerius Maximus, iii. 2, ext. 5; Justin, *Historiae Philippicae*, vi. 8.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. iii. (279 c) Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9.

[e] *Cf.* the *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xix. (288 c).

(194) 3. Εἰπόντος δέ τινος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, "ἐμπεπτώκαμεν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους," "τί μᾶλλον," εἶπεν, "ἢ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖνοι;"

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρασπονδηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φεραίων τυράννου καὶ δεθεὶς κακῶς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν, εἰπόντος ἐκείνου, "σπεύδεις ἀποθανεῖν;" "πάνυ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἵνα μᾶλλον παροξυνθῶσι Θηβαῖοι, καὶ σὺ δίκην δῷς τάχιον."

5. Θήβης δὲ τῆς τοῦ τυράννου γυναικὸς ἐλθούσης πρὸς Πελοπίδαν καὶ λεγούσης θαυμάζειν ὅτι οὕτως ἱλαρός ἐστι δεδεμένος, αὐτὸς ἔφη μᾶλλον θαυμάζειν ἐκείνην, ὅτι μὴ δεδεμένη ὑπομένει Ἀλέξανδρον.

E 6. Κομισαμένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου, χάριν εἶπεν ἔχειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· πεπειρᾶσθαι[1] γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ νῦν μάλιστα οὐ μόνον πρὸς πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς θάνατον εὐθαρσῶς ἔχοντος.

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[1] πεπειρᾶσθαι] πεπείραται some MSS.

3. When one of his soldiers said, "We have fallen among the enemy," he said, "Why any more than they among us?"[a]

4. When he fell a victim to the treachery of Alexander, despot of Pherae, and was put in bonds, he upbraided Alexander; and when the despot said, "Are you so eager to die," he replied, "Yes, I certainly am, so that the Thebans may become the more exasperated, and you may get your deserts the sooner."[b]

5. Thebe, the despot's wife, came to Pelopidas and said that she was amazed because he was so cheerful in his bonds. Pelopidas replied that he was even more amazed at her because she without being in bonds could abide Alexander.[c]

6. After Epameinondas had obtained his general's release, Pelopidas said that he felt grateful to Alexander; for by actual test he had now found himself more than ever to be of good courage not only in facing war but also in facing death.

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[a] Repeated in the *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xvii. (286 D). A similar remark is attributed to Leonidas, *Moralia*, 225 B, *infra*, and to an unnamed Spartan, 234 B, *infra*.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xxviii. (293 A).

[c] *Ibid.* (293 B).

ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ[1]

(194)

ΜΑΝΙΟΥ ΚΟΥΡΙΟΥ

1. Μάνιος Κούριος, ἐγκαλούντων αὐτῷ τινων ὅτι τῆς αἰχμαλώτου χώρας ὀλίγον ἑκάστῳ μέρος διένειμε τὴν δὲ πολλὴν ἐποίησε δημοσίαν, ἐπηύξατο μηδένα γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ὃς ὀλίγην ἡγήσεται γῆν τὴν τρέφουσαν.

F 2. Σαυνιτῶν δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν ἀφικομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ χρυσίον διδόντων, ἔτυχεν ἐν χύτραις ἕψων γογγυλίδας· ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ τοῖς Σαυνίταις μηδὲν χρυσίου δεῖσθαι τοιοῦτον δεῖπνον δειπνῶν· αὐτῷ δὲ βέλτιον εἶναι τοῦ χρυσίον ἔχειν τὸ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐχόντων.

ΓΑΙΟΥ ΦΑΒΡΙΚΙΟΥ

1. Γάιος Φαβρίκιος τὴν ὑπὸ Πύρρου Ῥωμαίων

[1] *ρωμαιων αποφθεγματα. μανιου κουριου*, etc.] these headings are usually omitted in the MSS.

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[a] M. Curius Dentatus, consul 290 B.C., and twice later. He conquered the Samnites and defeated Pyrrhus.

[b] *Cf.* Pliny, *Natural History*, xviii. 4 (18); Columella, i. 3. 10; Valerius Maximus, iv. 3. 5; Frontinus, *Strategemata*, iv. 3. 12.

[c] There are many references to this incident as typical of

SAYINGS OF ROMANS

MANIUS CURIUS[a]

1. When some complained against Manius Curius because he apportioned to each man but a small part of the land taken from the enemy, and made the most of it public land, he prayed that there might never be a Roman who would regard as small the land that gave him enough to live on.[b]

2. When the Samnites came to him after their defeat and offered him money, he happened to be cooking turnips in pots. He made answer to the Samnites that he had no need of money when he could make his dinner from this sort of food; and for him it was better than having money to hold sway over those who had it.[c]

GAIUS FABRICIUS[d]

1. Gaius Fabricius, upon learning of the defeat of

the simple life; *cf.* for example Plutarch's *Life of Cato Major*, chap. ii. (337 A); Athenaeus, 419 A; Cicero, *De Republica*, iii. 28 (40); Pliny, *Natural History*, xix. 26 (87); Valerius Maximus, iv. 3. 5. Frontinus, *Strategemata*, iv. 3. 2, and Aulus Gellius, i. 14, strangely enough, attribute the remark to Fabricius.

[d] A Roman of the old school, simple and honest: consul 282 and 278 B.C. In the later consulship he was in command against Pyrrhus.

ἧτταν πυθόμενος, “Λαιβῖνον,[1]” εἶπε, “Πύρρος, οὐκ Ἠπειρῶται Ῥωμαίους νενικήκασιν.”

2. Ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς Πύρρον περὶ λύσεως αἰχμαλώ-
195 των χρυσίον μὲν πολὺ διδόντος οὐκ ἔλαβε· τῇ δ'
ὑστεραίᾳ τὸν μέγιστον ἐλέφαντα τοῦ Πύρρου παρα-
σκευάσαντος ἐξόπισθεν ἀγνοοῦντι τῷ Φαβρικίῳ
ῥήξαντα φωνὴν ἐπιφανῆναι· καὶ τούτου γενομένου,
ἐπιστραφεὶς ὁ Φαβρίκιος καὶ μειδιάσας, “ἐμέ,”
εἶπεν, “οὔτε τὸ χρυσίον ἐχθὲς οὔτε σήμερον τὸ
θηρίον ἐξέπληξε.”

3. Τοῦ δὲ Πύρρου παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἡγεμονίαν, “οὐδὲ σοί,” ἔφη, “τοῦτο λυσιτελές ἐστιν· Ἠπειρῶται γάρ, ἐὰν ἀμφοτέρους γνῶσιν ἡμᾶς, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ βασιλεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ σοῦ ἐθελήσουσιν.”

4. Ὑπατεύοντι δὲ τῷ Φαβρικίῳ προσέπεμψεν
B ἐπιστολὴν ὁ τοῦ Πύρρου ἰατρός, ἐπαγγελλόμενος,
ἐὰν κελεύῃ, φαρμάκοις τὸν Πύρρον ἀποκτενεῖν· ὁ
δὲ Φαβρίκιος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Πύρρον ἔπεμψεν,
αἰσθέσθαι κελεύσας δι' ὅ τι καὶ φίλων κάκιστός
ἐστι κριτὴς καὶ πολεμίων.

5. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φωράσας τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ὁ Πύρρος τὸν μὲν ἰατρὸν ἐκρέμασε, τῷ δὲ Φαβρικίῳ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων ἀπέδωκεν, οὐκ ἐδέξατο δωρεὰν ἀλλ' ἴσους ἀντέδωκε, μὴ δόξῃ λαμβάνειν μισθόν· οὐδὲ γὰρ χάριτι Πύρρου μεμηνυκέναι τὴν

[1] *Λαιβῖνον* as in the *Life of Pyrrhus*, chaps. xiv.-xix., and in many other authors: λαβιήνῳ.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. xviii. (394 C). The defeat of Laevinus was in 280 B.C.

[b] *Ibid.* chap. xx. (395 E).

[c] *Ibid.* chap. xx. (396 A).

the Romans by Pyrrhus, said, “Pyrrhus has defeated Laevinus, but the Epirotes have not defeated the Romans.”[a]

2. When he came to see Pyrrhus about ransoming the prisoners of war, Pyrrhus offered him much money, but he would not accept it. On the following day Pyrrhus made ready his biggest elephant, all unknown to Fabricius, to appear and trumpet suddenly behind his back; and when this plan had been carried out, Fabricius turned and said with a smile, “Neither your money yesterday nor your beast to-day has astounded me.”[b]

3. Pyrrhus urged Fabricius to stay with him and be the second in command, but Fabricius said, “But there is no advantage in this for you; for. if the Epirotes come to know us both, they will prefer to be ruled by me rather than by you.”[c]

4. When Fabricius was consul,[d] Pyrrhus's physician sent a letter to him, offering, if he should give the word, to kill Pyrrhus by poison. Fabricius sent the letter to Pyrrhus, bidding him note the reason why he was the worst possible judge both of friends and of foes.[e]

5. Pyrrhus, having thus discovered the plot, caused his physician to be hanged, and gave back the prisoners of war to Fabricius without ransom. Fabricius, however, would not accept them as a gift, but gave an equal number in return, lest he should give the impression that he was getting a reward. “For,” as he said, “it was not to win favour with

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[d] In 278 B.C.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. xxi. (396 B); Cicero, *De officiis*, i. 13 (40), and iii. 22 (86); Valerius Maximus, vi. 5. 1; Aulus Gellius, iii. 8; Frontinus, *Strategemata*, iv. 4. 2.

(195) ἐπιβουλήν, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ δοκῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι δόλῳ κτείνειν, ὡς φανερῶς νικᾶν οὐ δυνάμενοι.

C

ΦΑΒΙΟΥ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ

1. Φάβιος Μάξιμος Ἀννίβᾳ μάχεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενος ἀλλὰ τρίβειν χρόνῳ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ χρημάτων ἐνδεᾶ καὶ σιτίων οὖσαν, ἐπηκολούθει διὰ τῶν τραχέων καὶ ὀρεινῶν ἀντιπαρεξιών· καταγελώντων δὲ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ παιδαγωγὸν Ἀννίβα καλούντων, μικρὰ φροντίζων ἐχρῆτο τοῖς αὑτοῦ λογισμοῖς· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸν σκώμματα φοβούμενον καὶ λοιδορίας δειλότερον ἡγεῖται τοῦ φεύγοντος τοὺς πολεμίους.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ συνάρχοντος Μινουκίου καταβαλόντος τινὰς τῶν πολεμίων πολὺς ἦν λόγος ὡς D ἀνδρὸς ἀξίου τῆς Ῥώμης, μᾶλλον ἔφη τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἢ τὴν ἀτυχίαν τοῦ Μινουκίου φοβεῖσθαι. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐνέδρᾳ περιπεσόντος καὶ κινδυνεύοντος ἀπολέσθαι μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως, ἐπιβοηθήσας τῶν τε πολεμίων πολλοὺς διέφθειρε κἀκεῖνον ἔσῳσεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀννίβας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, " οὐ πολλάκις ὑμῖν προύλεγον ἐγὼ τὴν ἀπὸ[1] τῶν ὀρῶν νεφέλην ὅτι χειμάσει ποτὲ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς; "

3. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Κάνναις ἀτυχίαν τῆς πόλεως ἄρχων κατασταθεὶς μετὰ Κλαυδίου Μαρκέλλου,

[1] ἀπὸ] ἐπὶ *Life of Fabius Maximus*, chap. xii.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. xxi. (396 D).

[b] Five times consul; dictator 217 B.C. to conduct the war against Hannibal. From his cautious tactics in this war he was called " Cunctator."

Pyrrhus that he had disclosed the plot, but that the Romans might not have the repute of killing through treachery, as if they could not win an open victory." [a]

FABIUS MAXIMUS [b]

1. Fabius Maximus wished to avoid a battle with Hannibal, but, in time, to wear out his force, which was in need of both money and food; and so he followed close after him, taking a parallel route, through rough and mountainous places. When most people laughed at him, and called him a slave in attendance on Hannibal, he paid little attention, and continued to follow his own counsels. To his friends he said that he thought the man who feared gibes and jeers was more of a coward than the one who ran away from the enemy.[c]

2. When his colleague in command, Minucius, laid low some of the enemy, and there was much talk of him as a man worthy of Rome, Fabius said that he felt more afraid over Minucius's good luck than over any bad luck he might have. And not long after, Minucius fell into an ambush and was in great danger of being destroyed together with his forces, when Fabius came to his aid, slew many of the enemy, and rescued him. Whereupon Hannibal said to his friends, " Did I not often prophesy to you regarding that cloud upon the mountains, that some day it would let loose a storm upon us? " [d]

3. After the misfortune which befell the State at Cannae [e] he was chosen consul with Claudius Mar-

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[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Fabius Maximus*, chap. v. (177 A); Diodorus, xxvi. 3. 1.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Fabius Maximus*, chaps. viii., xi., and xii. (179 A, 180 D, and 181 C); Livy, xxii. 25.

[e] In 216 B.C.

τόλμαν ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς καὶ φιλομαχοῦντος ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν, αὐτὸς ἤλπιζεν, εἰ μηδεὶς μάχοιτο, ταχὺ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Ἀννίβα παρατεινομένην ἀπαγορεύσειν· ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ Ἀννίβας E ὅτι μᾶλλον φοβεῖται Μαρκέλλου μαχομένου Φάβιον μὴ μαχόμενον.

4. Στρατιώτου δέ τινος Λευκανοῦ κατηγορηθέντος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς νύκτωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλανῷτο πολλάκις ἐρῶν γυναικός, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις πυνθανόμενος εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα, συλλαβεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὴν ἐρωμένην αὐτοῦ κρύφα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν· ὡς δὲ ἤχθη, μεταF πεμψάμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον, " οὐ λέληθας," ἔφη, " παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἀπονυκτερεύων· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χρηστὸς ὢν πρότερον ἐλελήθεις· τὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμαρτημένα λελύσθω τοῖς ἠνδραγαθημένοις, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἔσῃ μεθ' ἡμῶν· ἔχω γὰρ ἐγγυητήν· καὶ προαγαγὼν συνέστησεν αὐτῷ τὸ γύναιον."

5. Ταραντίνους δὲ κατέχοντα φρουρᾷ τὸν Ἀννίβαν πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀπαγαγὼν πορρωτάτω δι' ἀπάτης καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν καὶ διαρπάσας, τοῦ γραμματέως ἐπερωτήσαντος τί περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἔγνωκεν ἀγαλμάτων, " ἀπολίπωμεν," ἔφη, " Ταραντίνοις τοὺς θεοὺς κεχολωμένους."

6. Μάρκου δὲ Λιβίου τοῦ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν φρουροῦντος δι' ἑαυτὸν ἑαλωκέναι τὴν πόλιν λέγοντος, 196 οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατεγέλων, ὁ δὲ Φάβιος εἶπεν

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[a] Plutarch's *Life of Fabius Maximus*, chap. xix. (185 A-C).

[b] *Ibid.* chap. xx. (186 A-C). *Cf.* also Valerius Maximus, vii. 3. 7.

cellus, a man possessed of daring and spoiling for a fight with Hannibal. Fabius hoped, if nobody fought with Hannibal, that Hannibal's forces, being under continual strain, would soon give out. Wherefore Hannibal said that he had more to fear from Fabius who would not fight than from Marcellus who would.[a]

4. A certain Lucanian soldier was accused of wandering often from the camp at night for love of a young woman. Fabius, on hearing the accusation, ascertained that in other respects the man was an admirable man-at-arms, and he ordered that they secretly seize the man's mistress and bring her to him. When she was brought, he sent for the man, and said to him, " Your being away at night, contrary to the regulations, has not passed unnoticed, nor, on the other hand, your good service in the past. Therefore let your offences be atoned for by your brave and manly deeds, and in future you will be with us, for I have a surety." And leading forward the girl he presented her to him.[b]

5. Hannibal kept the Tarentines in subjection by a garrison—all the city except the acropolis. Fabius drew him away a very long distance by a trick, and captured and sacked the city. When his secretary asked him what decision he had reached in regard to the sacred images, he said, " Let us leave behind for the Tarentines their angered gods." [c]

6. Marcus Livius, who had all the time held the acropolis with his garrison, said that it was because of him that the city had been taken. The others laughed at him, but Fabius said, " You are quite

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[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Fabius Maximus*, chap. xxii. (187 A-C); Livy, xxvii. 16.

(196) “ ἀληθῆ λέγεις· εἰ γὰρ μὴ σὺ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέβαλες, οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ ἀνέλαβον.”

7. Ἤδη δὲ πρεσβύτερος ὤν, ὑπατεύοντος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ χρηματίζοντος ἐν δημοσίῳ πολλῶν παρόντων, ἀναβὰς ἐφ᾿ ἵππου προήει[1]· πέμψαντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου ῥαβδοῦχον καὶ καταβῆναι κελεύσαντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι διετράπησαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φάβιος ἀποπηδήσας τοῦ ἵππου προσέδραμε παρ᾿ ἡλικίαν καὶ περιβαλὼν τὸν υἱόν, “ εὖγε,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ παῖ, φρονεῖς, αἰσθόμενος τίνων ἄρχεις καὶ πηλίκης ἀρχῆς μέγεθος παρείληφας.”

B

ΣΚΙΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Σκιπίων δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατειῶν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας σχολὴν ἐν γράμμασι διατριβὴν ποιούμενος, ἔλεγεν ὁπότε σχολάζοι, πλείονα πράττειν.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Καρχηδόνα κατὰ κράτος εἷλε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινες αἰχμάλωτον λαβόντες εὐπρεπῆ παρθένον ἧκον κομίζοντες, αὐτῷ δὲ ἐδίδοσαν, “ ἡδέως ἄν,” ἔφη, “ ἔλαβον, εἴπερ ἦν ἰδιώτης καὶ μὴ ἄρχων.”

[1] ἵππου προήει] ἵππον προσήει *Life of Fabius Maximus*, chap. xxiv.; but “obviam in equo vehens venit” (Aulus Gellius, ii. 2) rather favours the reading found in the *Moralia*.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Fabius Maximus*, chap. xxiii. (187 E); Cicero, *De oratore*, ii. 67 (273), and *De senectute*, 4 (11).

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Fabius Maximus*, chap. xxiv. (188 A); Livy, xxiv. 44; Valerius Maximus, ii. 2. 4; Aulus Gellius, ii. 2.

right; for, if you had not lost the city, I should not have recaptured it.”[a]

7. When he was already an elderly man, his son was consul, and was attending to the duties of his office in public in the presence of a large number of people. Fabius, mounted, was advancing on horseback. When the young man sent a lictor, and ordered his father to dismount, the others were thrown into consternation, but Fabius, leaping from his horse, ran up more nimbly than his years warranted, and, embracing his son, said, “ Well done, my boy; you show sense in that you realize whose official you are, and what a high office you have taken upon you.”[b]

THE ELDER SCIPIO[c]

1. Scipio the Elder used to spend on literature all the leisure he could win from his military and political duties, and he used to say that he was busiest whenever he had nothing to do.[d]

2. When he captured Carthage[e] by assault, some of his soldiers, having taken captive a comely maiden, came to him with her, and offered to give her to him. “I would gladly take her,” said he, “if I were a private and not a commander.”[f]

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[c] Scipio Africanus Major, 235–183 B.C., conqueror of the Carthaginians at Zama.

[d] *Cf.* Cicero, *De officiis*, iii. 1 “ numquam se minus otiosum esse quam cum otiosus . . . esset.”

[e] New Carthage in Spain, 210 B.C.; Polybius, x. 8-19; Livy, xxvii. 7 and xxvi. 42-51.

[f] *Cf.* Polybius, x. 19; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 16. 6; Livy, xxvi. 50; Valerius Maximus, iv. 3. 1; Frontinus, *Strategemata*, ii. 11. 5; Aulus Gellius, vii. (vi.) 8.

(196) 3. Πολιορκῶν δὲ πόλιν Βαθεῖαν, ἧς ὑπερεφαίνετο ναὸς Ἀφροδίτης, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκεῖ τὰς ἐγγύας ὁμολογεῖν, ὡς εἰς τρίτην ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς
C Ἀφροδίτης ἀκουσόμενος τῶν διαδικούντων· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, ὡς προεῖπε, τῆς πόλεως ἁλούσης.

4. Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος ἐν Σικελίᾳ τίνι πεποιθὼς ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα μέλλει τὸν στόλον περαιοῦν, δείξας αὐτῷ ἐνόπλους ἄνδρας τριακοσίους γυμναζομένους καὶ πύργον ὑψηλὸν ὑπὲρ θαλάττης, "οὐδείς," ἔφη, "τούτων ἐστὶν ὅστις ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον ἀναβὰς τοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ἑαυτὸν ῥίψειεν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἐμοῦ κελεύσαντος."

5. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διαβὰς τῆς τε γῆς ἐκράτει καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν πολεμίων κατέκαυσεν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πέμψαντες ἐποιοῦντο συνθήκας, τά τε
D θηρία καὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ χρήματα δώσειν ὁμολογήσαντες· Ἀννίβου δὲ καταπλεύσαντος ἐξ Ἰταλίας, μετεμέλοντο ταῖς ὁμολογίαις[1] διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν· πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Σκιπίων ἔφη μηδὲ βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς ἔτι τὰς σπονδὰς φυλάξειν, ἂν μὴ τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια προσεκτείσωσιν, ὅτι μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Ἀννίβαν.

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νικηθέντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ κράτος περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς ἀπιέναι τοὺς ἥκοντας, ὡς οὐκ ἀκουσόμενος πρότερον αὐτῶν ἢ Λεύκιον

[1] ταῖς ὁμολογίαις] τῆς ὁμολογίας Petavius, perhaps rightly, although μεταμέλομαι is occasionally found with the dative.

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[a] Baria, attested by inscriptions, is probably the right spelling (variants: Barea, Bareia, Badia, Batheia), if the same town is meant.

3. While he was besieging the city of Baria,[a] in which was visible a temple of Venus overtopping all else, he ordered that in giving sureties for appearance they should specify that place, since he purposed two days hence to hear litigants in this temple of Venus. And so he did, as he had foretold, after the city had been taken.[b]

4. When somebody inquired in Sicily on what he placed his reliance in purposing to take his army across to Carthage, he pointed out to the inquirer three hundred men[c] in armour, who were drilling, and also a lofty tower which overlooked the sea. "There is not one of these men," said he, "who would not go up to the top of that tower and throw himself down head first at my command."

5. When he had crossed over, and was master of the land, and had burned the enemy's camps, the Carthaginians sent to him and made a treaty of peace, agreeing to surrender their elephants and ships, and to pay an indemnity.[d] But when Hannibal had sailed back from Italy, they were sorry because of their agreement, since they did not now feel afraid. Scipio, learning this, said that, not even if they wished it, would he keep the compact unless they paid a million pounds more, because they had sent for Hannibal.[e]

6. When the Carthaginians had been utterly overthrown, they sent envoys to him to negotiate a treaty of peace, but he ordered those who had come to go away at once, refusing to listen to them before

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[b] *Cf.* Valerius Maximus, iii. 7. 1; and Aulus Gellius, vi. 1.

[c] As in Livy, xxix. 1; Valerius Maximus, vii. 3. 3.

[d] Polybius, xv. 18, and Livy, xxx. 16, indicate similar terms.

[e] Not noted in Livy, xxx. 35, nor elsewhere, apparently.

(196) Τερέντιον ἀγάγωσιν· ἦν δὲ Ῥωμαῖος ὁ Τερέντιος, ἐπιεικὴς ἀνήρ, γεγονὼς αἰχμάλωτος ὑπὸ Καρχη-
E δονίων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἧκον ἄγοντες τὸν ἄνδρα, καθίσας ἐν τῷ συμβουλίῳ παρ' αὑτὸν[1] ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, οὕτως ἐχρημάτισε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις καὶ κατέλυσε τὸν πόλεμον.

7. Ὁ δὲ Τερέντιος ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ θριαμβεύοντι πιλίον ἔχων ὥσπερ ἀπελεύθερος· ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν παραγινομένοις ἐνέχει πίνειν οἰνόμελι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα περὶ τὴν ταφὴν ἐφιλοτιμήθη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.

8. Ἀντιόχου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ τὸ διαβῆναι Ῥωμαίους ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσίαν πέμψαντος πρὸς
F τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ διαλύσεως, " ἔδει πρότερον," εἶπεν, " ἀλλὰ μὴ νῦν, ὁπότε καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν καὶ τὸν ἀναβάτην προσδέδεξαι."

9. Χρήματα δὲ τῆς συγκλήτου λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ταμιείου[2] ψηφισαμένης, τῶν δὲ ταμιῶν οὐ βουλομένων ἀνοῖξαι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, αὐτὸς ἀνοίξειν ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ κλείεσθαι δι' αὐτὸν πλήσαντα χρημάτων τοσούτων τὸ ταμιεῖον.

10. Πετιλλίου[3] δὲ καὶ Κοΐντου πολλὰ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον αὐτοῦ κατηγορησάντων, εἰπὼν ὅτι τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ Καρχηδονίους καὶ Ἀννίβαν ἐνίκησεν· αὐτὸς μὲν ἔφη στεφανωσάμενος ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον θύσων, τὸν δὲ βουλόμενον τὴν

[1] αὑτὸν Hatzidakis: αὐτόν.

[2] ταμιείου the better spelling: ταμείου.

[3] Πετιλλίου the usual spelling: παιτιλίου.

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[a] *Cf.* Livy, xxx. 43.

[b] *Cf.* Livy, xxx. 45; Valerius Maximus, v. 2. 5.

[c] *Cf.* Livy, xxxviii. 55.

[d] Antiochus the Great.

they brought Lucius Terentius. This Terentius was a Roman, a man of good talents, who had been taken prisoner by the Carthaginians. And when they came bringing the man, Scipio seated him on the tribune next to himself in the conference, and, this done, he took up the negotiations with the Carthaginians, and terminated the war.[a]

7. Terentius marched behind him in the triumphal procession, wearing a felt cap just like an emancipated slave.[b] And when Scipio died, Terentius provided wine with honey for all who attended the funeral to drink their fill, and did everything else connected with his burial on a grand scale. But this, of course, was later.[c]

8. Antiochus the king,[d] after the Romans had crossed over to attack him,[e] sent to Scipio to ask about terms of peace. " This should have been done before," said Scipio, " but not now, when you have taken the bit and the rider is in the saddle."[f]

9. The Senate voted that he should receive a sum of money from the treasury, but the treasurers were not willing to open it on that day; whereupon he said that he would open it himself, for the reason it was kept closed, he declared, was because he had filled it with so much money.[g]

10. When Petillius and Quintus brought before the people many accusations against him, he remarked that on this very day he had conquered the Carthaginians and Hannibal, and he said that he himself, with a garland on, was on his way up to the Capitol to offer sacrifice, and he bade anyone who so

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[e] In 190 B.C.

[f] *Cf.* Polybius, xxi. 15; Livy, xxxvii. 36; Appian, *Roman History, the Syrian Wars*, vi. 29.

[g] *Cf.* Polybius, xxxiii. 14; and Valerius Maximus, iii. 7. 1.

197 ψῆφον ἐκέλευσε φέρειν περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀνέβαινεν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπηκολούθησε τοὺς κατηγόρους ἀπολιπὼν λέγοντας.

ΤΙΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΤΙΟΥ

1. Τίτος Κοΐντιος οὕτως ἦν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιφανής, ὥστε πρὸ δημαρχίας καὶ στρατηγίας καὶ ἀγορανομίας ὕπατος αἱρεθῆναι. πεμφθεὶς δὲ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Φίλιππον εἰς λόγους ἐπείσθη συνελθεῖν αὐτῷ· τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου λαβεῖν ὁμήρους ἀξιοῦντος, ἐκεῖνον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι μετὰ πολλῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἑαυτὸν δὲ μόνον Μακεδόσι· "σὺ γὰρ μόνον," ὁ Κοΐντιος ἔφη, "ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησας ἀποκτείνας τοὺς φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς."

B 2. Νικήσας δὲ μάχῃ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐκήρυξεν ἐν Ἰσθμίοις ὅτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἀφίησιν. ὅσοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων αἰχμάλωτοι γενόμενοι ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἀννίβαν χρόνοις ἐδούλευον παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τούτων ἕκαστον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐξωνησάμενοι δραχμῶν πεντακοσίων δωρεὰν ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ, κἀκεῖνοι θριαμβεύοντι συνηκολούθησαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πιλία περὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχοντες, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐλευθερωθεῖσι.

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[a] There are many references to this incident. *Cf. Moralia*, 540 F; Plutarch's *Life of Cato Major*, chap. xv. (344 D), Polybius, xxiii. 14; Livy, xxxviii. 50-51; Aulus Gellius, iv. 18. See also the note on the similar action of Epameinondas, *Moralia*, 194 B, *supra*.

[b] T. Quintius Flamininus, conqueror of Philip V. of Macedon at Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C.

[c] That is, without passing through the regular "cursus honorum." *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Flamininus*, chap. ii. (369 C).

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Flamininus*, chap. xvii. (378 D); Polybius, xviii. 7.

wished to give in his vote about him. With these words he went his way, and the people followed after, leaving behind his accusers still speaking.[a]

TITUS QUINTIUS[b]

1. Titus Quintius, from the very first, was a man of such conspicuous talent that he was chosen consul without having been tribune, praetor, or aedile.[c] He was sent in command of the army against Philip, and was prevailed upon to meet him in conference. Philip insisted that he ought to receive some Romans as a guarantee of his safety, since Quintius was accompanied by many of his countrymen and he all alone represented the Macedonians. "The truth is," said Quintius, "that it is you who have made yourself all alone by putting to death your friends and kindred."[d]

2. Having vanquished Philip in battle,[e] he proclaimed at the Isthmian games that henceforth he left the Greeks free and independent.[f] Whereupon, all the Romans who had been taken captive in the days of Hannibal and were the slaves of Greek masters the Greeks purchased from their owners at twenty pounds for each man, and gave them as a present to Quintius; and these followed him in his triumphal procession wearing felt caps on their heads as is the custom for slaves that have been emancipated.[g]

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[e] At Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C.: see Plutarch's *Life of Flamininus*, chap. viii. (372 F); Polybius, xviii. 20-27; Livy, xxxiii. 7-10.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Flamininus*, chap. x. (374 D); Livy, xxxiii. 32.

[g] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Flamininus*, chap. xiii. (376 F); Livy, xxxiv. 52; Valerius Maximus, v. 2. 6.

(197) 3. Τοὺς δ' Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Ζακυνθίων νῆσον διανοουμένους στρατεύειν ἐκέλευε φυλάττεσθαι, μὴ C καθάπερ αἱ χελῶναι τὴν κεφαλὴν προτείναντες ἔξω τῆς Πελοποννήσου κινδυνεύσωσιν.

4. Ἀντιόχου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἥκοντος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πάντων ἐκπεπληγμένων τὰ πλήθη καὶ τοὺς ὁπλισμούς, λόγον εἶπε τοιοῦτον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιούς· ἔφη γὰρ ἐν Χαλκίδι παρά τῳ ξένῳ δειπνῶν θαυμάζειν τὸ τῶν κρεῶν πλῆθος· εἰπεῖν δὲ τὸν ξένον ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα χοίρειά ἐστιν ἡδύσμασι καὶ σκευασίαις διαφέροντα. "μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ ὑμεῖς," ἔφη, "θαυμάζετε τὴν βασιλικὴν δύναμιν, λογχοφόρους καὶ[1] D καταφράκτους καὶ πεζεταίρους καὶ ἀμφιπποτοξότας ἀκούοντες· πάντες γάρ εἰσιν οὗτοι Σύροι ὁπλαρίοις ἀλλήλων διαφέροντες."

5. Φιλοποίμενι δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἱππεῖς μὲν πολλοὺς καὶ ὁπλίτας ἔχοντι, χρημάτων δὲ οὐκ εὐποροῦντι, προσπαίζων ἔλεγεν ὅτι χεῖρας ἔχει Φιλοποίμην καὶ σκέλη, γαστέρα δὲ οὐκ ἔχει. καὶ γὰρ τῇ φύσει τοῦ σώματος ἦν καὶ ὁ Φιλοποίμην τοιοῦτος.

ΓΝΑΙΟΥ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΟΥ

Γνάιος[2] Δομίτιος, ὃν Σκιπίων ὁ μέγας ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Λευκίῳ παρακατέστησεν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον πολέμῳ, κατασκεψάμενος τὴν τῶν E πολεμίων φάλαγγα, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμονι-

[1] *καὶ*] omitted in the MSS.
[2] Γνάιος Meziriacus: *γάϊος*.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Flamininus*, chap. xvii. (378 D); Livy, xxxvi. 32.

3. When the Achaeans were minded to send an army against the island of the Zacynthians, he bade them beware lest, if they extended their head, tortoise-like, outside of the Peloponnesus they should find themselves in danger.[a]

4. When Antiochus the king, with a great force, arrived in Greece, and all were terror-stricken at the great numbers of the men and their armament, Flamininus told a story for the benefit of the Achaeans as follows: He said he was in Chalcis dining with a friend, and was amazed at the great number of the meats served. But his friend said that these were all pork, differing only in their seasoning and the way they were cooked. "So then," he said, "do not you, either, be amazed at the king's forces when you hear the names: 'pikemen,' 'panoplied,' 'foot-guards,' 'archers with two horses.' For all these are but Syrians differing from one another only in their paraphernalia."[b]

5. He made a joke at the expense of Philopoemen, general of the Achaeans, who had plenty of horsemen and men-at-arms, but was not well off for money; Quintius said that Philopoemen had arms and legs but no belly. As a matter of fact, Philopoemen, in physical appearance, was something like this.[c]

GNAEUS DOMITIUS[d]

Gnaeus Domitius, whom Scipio the Great appointed in his stead as a colleague for his brother Lucius in the war against Antiochus, when he had inspected the battle-line of the enemy, and the officers of his

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[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Flamininus*, chap. xvii. (378 E); Livy, xxxv. 49.
[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Philopoemen*, chap. ii. (357 A).
[d] Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul 192 B.C.

κῶν εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν κελευόντων, ἔφη τὴν ὥραν οὐκ ἐπαρκεῖν, ἵνα τοσαύτας μυριάδας κατακόψαντες καὶ διαρπάσαντες τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἐπανελθόντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμεληθῶσι, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ ποιήσειν αὔριον καθ' ὥραν. καὶ συμβαλὼν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πεντακισμυρίους τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεῖλεν.

ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ ΛΙΚΙΝΙΟΥ

Πόπλιος Λικίνιος ὕπατος στρατηγός, ἡττηθεὶς
ὑπὸ Περσέως τοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλέως ἱππομαχίᾳ,
F δισχιλίους ὀκτακοσίους ἀπέβαλε, τοὺς μὲν
πεσόντας τοὺς δὲ ἁλόντας· ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην
ἔπεμψεν ὁ Περσεὺς πρέσβεις περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ
εἰρήνης, ἐκέλευεν ὁ νενικημένος τὸν νενικηκότα
Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ καθ' αὑτόν.

ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΙΜΙΛΙΟΥ

1. Παῦλος Αἰμίλιος δευτέραν ὑπατείαν μετελθὼν ἀπέτυχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Περσέα καὶ Μακεδόνας πολέμου μῆκος λαμβάνοντος ἀπειρίᾳ καὶ μαλακίᾳ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐκεῖνον ὕπατον ἀπέδειξαν, οὐκ ἔφη χάριν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀρχῆς δεόμενος, ὡς ἐκείνων ἄρχοντος, ᾑρῆσθαι στρατηγός.

2. Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς οἶκον ἐξ ἀγορᾶς καὶ τὴν
Τερτίαν τὸ θυγάτριον εὑρὼν δεδακρυμένον ἐπυνθάνετο
198 τὴν αἰτίαν· εἰπούσης δὲ ὅτι Περσεὺς τέθνηκεν

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[a] *Cf.* Appian, *Roman History, the Syrian Wars*, vi. 30-36; Livy, xxxviii. 39.

[b] P. Licinius Crassus, praetor 176, consul 171 B.C.

[c] *Cf.* Polybius, xxvii. 8; Livy, xlii. 62.

staff urged him to attack at once, said that there was not time enough to hew down so many thousands, plunder their baggage, return to camp, and enjoy their usual comforts; but all this they would do on the morrow at the right time. And on the next day he engaged the enemy, and slew fifty thousand of them.[a]

PUBLIUS LICINIUS[b]

Publius Licinius, consul in command of the army, was defeated by Perseus, king of the Macedonians, in a cavalry battle, with the loss of two thousand eight hundred men killed or captured. After the battle, when Perseus sent envoys regarding a treaty of peace, the vanquished bade the victor submit his case to the Romans.[c]

PAULUS AEMILIUS[d]

1. Paulus Aemilius, when he was a candidate for a second term as consul, failed of election. But when the war against Perseus and the Macedonians dragged on because of the inexperience and effeminacy of the generals, the people appointed him consul. But he said he owed no thanks to them; for it was not because he wanted office, but because they wanted an officer, that he was chosen general.[e]

2. Coming home from the Forum and finding Tertia, his little daughter, in tears, he asked the reason. And she said, "Our Perseus is dead." (It

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[d] L. Aemilius Paulus (Macedonicus), a famous Roman general, conqueror of Perseus at Pydna in 168 B.C.; consul 182 and 168 B.C.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, chap. vi. (258 B), chap. ix. (259 C), chap. xi. (260 C).

(198) ἡμῖν (κυνίδιον δ' ἦν οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον), "ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ," εἶπεν, "ὦ θύγατερ, καὶ δέχομαι τὸν οἰωνόν."

3. Εὑρὼν δὲ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου πολλὴν θρασύτητα καὶ λαλιὰν παραστρατηγούντων καὶ πολυπραγμονούντων ἐκέλευσεν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν καὶ ποιεῖν ὀξείας τὰς μαχαίρας μόνον, αὐτῷ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μελήσειν.

4. Τὰς δὲ νυκτερινὰς φυλακὰς ἐκέλευσεν φυλάττειν ἄνευ λόγχης καὶ ξίφους, ὅπως ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπεγνωκότες μᾶλλον καὶ διαμαχοῦνται πρὸς τὸν ὕπνον.

5. Ἐμβαλὼν δὲ διὰ τῶν ἄκρων εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ συντεταγμένους ἰδὼν τοὺς πολεμίους, τοῦ
B Νασικᾶ παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν "εἴγε τὴν σήν," εἶπεν, "ἡλικίαν εἶχον, αἱ δὲ πολλαί με πεῖραι κωλύουσιν ἐκ πορείας πρὸς φάλαγγα συντεταγμένην μάχεσθαι."

6. Νικήσας δὲ τὸν Περσέα καὶ τὰς ἐπινικίους ποιούμενος ἑστιάσεις ἔλεγε τῆς αὐτῆς ἐμπειρίας εἶναι στράτευμα φοβερώτατον πολεμίοις καὶ συμπόσιον ἥδιστον φίλοις παρασχεῖν.

7. Τοῦ δὲ Περσέως αἰχμαλώτου γενομένου καὶ παρακρουομένου[1] τὸν θρίαμβον, "ἐπὶ σοί," εἶπε, "τοῦτ' ἐστίν," ἐξουσίαν διδοὺς αὐτῷ ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν.

[1] παρακρουομένου] παραιτούμενος *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, chap. xxxiv.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, chap. x. (260 B), quoted from Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 46 (103); see too Valerius Maximus, i. 5. 3.

was a pet dog which had that name.) "Good luck be with me, my girl," said he; "I accept the omen." [a]

3. Finding at camp much boldness and talk on the part of would-be generals and meddlers, he told them to keep quiet, and only sharpen their swords, and he would attend to everything else.[b]

4. He gave orders that the sentinels at night should stand guard without spear or sword, so that, with no hope of defending themselves against the enemy, they might better contend against sleep.[c]

5. Having invaded Macedonia by way of the mountains, and seeing the enemy standing in battle array, he said, in answer to Nasica's urgings to attack at once, "Oh yes, if I were of your age; but much experience forbids me to fight, immediately after a march, against an army standing in battle array." [d]

6. Having vanquished Perseus, he said, as he was carrying out the entertainments to celebrate the victory, that it was a part of the same proficiency to provide an army most terrifying to an enemy and a party most agreeable to friends.[e]

7. Perseus, having been made a prisoner, indignantly spurned the thought of being made a part of his victor's triumph. "That rests with you," said Aemilius, thereby giving him leave to make away with himself.[f]

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, chap. xiii. (261 F), and chap. xi. (260 C); Livy, xliv. 22 and 34.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, chap. xiii. (262 A); Livy, xliv. 33, says "without shield."

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, chap. xvii. (263 F).

[e] *Ibid.* chap. xxviii. (270 D); *Moralia*, 615 E. *Cf.* Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xviii. 22.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, chap. xxxiv. (273 C).

(198) C 8. Χρημάτων δὲ ἀπείρων εὑρεθέντων, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἔλαβε, τῷ δὲ γαμβρῷ Τουβέρωνι φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν ὁλκῆς πέντε λιτρῶν ἀριστεῖον ἔδωκε. καὶ τοῦτό φασι πρῶτον εἰς τὸν Αἰλίων[1] οἶκον εἰσελθεῖν κειμήλιον ἀργυροῦν.

9. Τεττάρων δὲ παίδων ἀρρένων αὐτῷ γεγονότων, δύο μὲν πρότερον ἐτύγχανεν ἐκδεδωκὼς ἑτέροις θέσθαι· δυοῖν δὲ ὄντων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ὁ μὲν ἡμέραις πέντε πρὸ τοῦ θριάμβου, τετταρεσκαίδεκα γεγονὼς ἔτη, ἀπέθανεν, ὁ δὲ ὕστερον πέντε τοῦ θριάμβου, δωδεκαέτης. προελθὼν δέ, τοῦ δήμου συναλγοῦντος αὐτῷ καὶ συμπενθοῦντος, D νῦν ἔφη περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀδεὴς γεγονέναι καὶ ἀκίνδυνος, ὁπότε τῶν εὐτυχημάτων τὴν νέμεσιν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀπερεισαμένης τῆς τύχης ὑπὲρ πάντων αὐτὸς ἀναδέδεκται.

ΚΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Κάτων ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῆς ἀσωτίας καὶ πολυτελείας καθαπτόμενος εἶπεν ὡς χαλεπόν ἐστι λέγειν πρὸς γαστέρα ὦτα μὴ ἔχουσαν.

2. Θαυμάζειν δὲ πῶς σῴζεται πόλις, ἐν ᾗ πωλεῖται πλείονος ἰχθὺς ἢ βοῦς.

3. Λοιδορῶν δέ ποτε τὴν ἐπιπολάζουσαν γυναικοκρατίαν, “ πάντες,” εἶπεν, “ ἄνθρωποι τῶν γυναικῶν

[1] Αἰλίων *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, chap. xxviii.: αἰμιλίων.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, chap. v. (257 C).

[b] *Ibid.* chap. xxviii. (270 E); *cf.* also Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxiii. 50 (142); and Valerius Maximus, iv. 4. 9.

[c] To the houses of Scipio and of Fabius.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, chaps. xxxv. and xxxvi. (274 A and F); Seneca, *Ad Marciam de consolatione*, 13; Valerius Maximus, v. 10. 2; Velleius Paterculus, i. 10. Cicero refers briefly to Aemilius's fortitude (*De amicit.* 2 (9); *Tusc. Disput.* iii. 28 (70); *Letters*, iv. 6).

8. Of the unlimited treasure which was found he took nothing himself, but to his son-in-law Tubero[a] he gave a silver goblet of five pounds weight in recognition of his supreme valour. And this, they say, is the first silver heirloom that ever found its way into the Aelian house.[b]

9. Of the four male children that were born to him, two he happened to have given to others for adoption.[c] Of the two that were at home one died five days before his triumph, at the age of fourteen, and the other five days after the triumph, at the age of twelve. When he went forth, and the people expressed their compassion and sympathy, he said that now he had no fears or misgivings about his country, since Fortune had thrust upon his house the retribution due for all their good fortune, and he had received this in behalf of all.[d]

CATO THE ELDER[e]

1. The Elder Cato, in assailing the profligacy and extravagance rife among the people, said that it was hard to talk to a belly which had no ears.[f]

2. He said he wondered how a city could continue to exist unscathed in which a fish sold for more than an ox![g]

3. In bitter criticism of the prevalent domination of women, he said, “ All mankind rules its women,

[e] M. Porcius Cato, the Elder, commonly called the Censor, 234–149 B.C.

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 131 D and 996 D, and Plutarch's *Life of M. Cato*, chap. viii. (340 A).

[g] *Ibid.* and *Moralia*, 668 B.

(198) ἄρχουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἡμῶν δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες."

E 4. Ἔφη δὲ βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον εὐεργετήσας μὴ κομίσασθαι χάριν ἢ μὴ ὑποσχεῖν κόλασιν ἀδικήσας, καὶ πᾶσιν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι χωρὶς ἑαυτοῦ δοῦναι συγγνώμην.

5. Παρορμῶν δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἔλεγε τοὺς δυναμένους κωλύειν τοὺς κακῶς ποιοῦντας, ἐὰν μὴ κωλύωσι, κελεύειν.

6. Τῶν δὲ νέων ἔφη χαίρειν τοῖς ἐρυθριῶσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὠχριῶσι.

7. Στρατιώτην δὲ μισεῖν, ὃς ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν τὰς χεῖρας, ἐν δὲ τῷ μάχεσθαι τοὺς πόδας κινεῖ, ῥέγχει δὲ μεῖζον ἢ ἀλαλάζει.

F 8. Κάκιστον δὲ ἔλεγεν ἄρχοντα εἶναι **τὸν** ἄρχειν ἑαυτοῦ μὴ δυνάμενον.

9. Μάλιστα δὲ ἐνόμιζε δεῖν ἕκαστον ἑαυτὸν αἰδεῖσθαι· μηδένα γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ μηδέποτε χωρὶς εἶναι.

10. Πολλῶν δὲ ὁρῶν ἀνισταμένους ἀνδριάντας, "ἐμοῦ δέ," ἔφη, "ἐρωτᾶν βούλομαι μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, διὰ τί ἀνδριὰς οὐ κεῖται Κάτωνος ἢ διὰ τί κεῖται."

11. Φείδεσθαι δὲ τῆς ἐξουσίας παρεκάλει τοὺς δυναμένους, ὅπως ἀεὶ παραμένοι τὸ ἐξεῖναι.

12. Τοὺς δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν τιμὴν ἀφαιροῦντας ἔλεγε τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀφαιρεῖν τῆς νεότητος.

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[a] See the note on *Moralia*, 185 D (10), *supra*.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of M. Cato*, chap. viii. (340 F).

[c] *Cf.* the somewhat similar sentiment attributed to Pythagoras in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xlviii. 112.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 29 E and 528 F, and the *Life of M. Cato*, chap. ix. (341 C).

and we rule all mankind, but our women rule us."[a]

4. He said that he preferred to receive no thanks when he had done a favour rather than to suffer no punishment when he had done a wrong, and that he always granted pardon to all who erred, with the single exception of himself.[b]

5. In trying to stimulate the officials to administer sharp rebuke to the erring, he used to say that, if those who have the power to discourage crime do not discourage it, then they encourage it.[c]

6. He said that it gave him more joy to see those of the youth that blushed than those that blanched.[d]

7. He said that he hated a soldier who plied his hands in marching and his feet in fighting, and whose snore was louder than his battle-cry.[e]

8. He said that the worst ruler is one who cannot rule himself.[f]

9. He thought it especially necessary for every man to respect himself, since no man is ever separated from himself.

10. Seeing that statues were being set up in honour of many men, he said, "As for myself, I had rather that men should ask why there is not a statue of Cato than why there is."[g]

11. He charged those in power to be sparing of their authority, so that authority might continue always to be theirs.

12. He used to say that those who rob virtue of honour rob youth of virtue.

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[e] *Life of M. Cato*, *ibid.*

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 210 F (33), *infra.*

[g] *Cf. Moralia*, 820 B, and the *Life of M. Cato*, chap. xix. (347 C).

13. Τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα ἢ κριτὴν ἔλεγε δεῖν μήτε ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων λιπαρεῖσθαι μήτε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων ἐκλιπαρεῖσθαι.

199 14. Τὴν δὲ ἀδικίαν ἔλεγε, τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι κἂν[1] μὴ φέρῃ κίνδυνον, ἅπασι φέρειν.

15. Τῷ δὲ γήρᾳ πολλῶν αἰσχρῶν παρόντων ἠξίου μὴ προστιθέναι τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας αἰσχύνην.

16. Τὸν δὲ ὀργιζόμενον ἐνόμιζε τοῦ μαινομένου χρόνῳ διαφέρειν.

17. Ἥκιστα δὲ φθονεῖσθαι τοὺς τῇ τύχῃ χρωμένους ἐπιεικῶς καὶ μετρίως· οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ ἡμᾶς φθονοῦσι.

18. Τοὺς δὲ σπουδάζοντας ἐν τοῖς γελοίοις ἔλεγεν ἐν τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἔσεσθαι καταγελάστους.

19. Τὰς καλὰς πράξεις ἔλεγε δεῖν καταλαμβάνειν πράξεσι καλαῖς, ἵνα μὴ τῆς δόξης ἀπορρέωσιν.

20. Ἐπετίμα δὲ τοῖς πολίταις ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
B αἱρουμένοις ἄρχοντας· "δόξετε γάρ," εἶπεν, "μὴ πολλοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν ἄξιον ἢ μὴ πολλοὺς τοῦ ἄρχειν ἀξίους ἡγεῖσθαι."

21. Τὸν δὲ τοὺς παραλίους ἀγροὺς πεπρακότα προσεποιεῖτο θαυμάζειν ὡς ἰσχυρότερον τῆς θαλάττης· "ἃ γὰρ ἐκείνη μόλις ἐπικλύζει, οὗτος ῥᾳδίως καταπέπωκε."

22. Τιμητείαν δὲ μετιὼν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρῶν δεομένους τῶν πολλῶν καὶ κολακεύοντας, αὐτὸς

[1] ἀδικοῦσι κἂν] ἀδικοῦσιν ἂν E. Kurtz.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 784 A and 829 F; and Plutarch's *Life of M. Cato*, chap. ix. (341 D).

[b] *Cf.* Horace, *Epistles*, i. 2. 62; Seneca, *De ira*, i. 1. 2.

13. An official or a judge, he said, ought neither to require importuning to grant what is right nor to yield to importuning to grant what is wrong.

14. Wrongdoing, he used to say, even if it brings no risk to its authors, brings risk to all.

15. He used to say that, since there are so many odious things connected with old age, it is only right not to add the odium which comes from vice.[a]

16. He had an idea that the man who has lost his temper differs from him who has lost his mind only in duration of time.[b]

17. He said that those who use their good fortune reasonably and moderately are least envied; for people envy not us but our surroundings.

18. He used to say that those who are serious in ridiculous matters will be ridiculous in serious matters.

19. He used to say that it is necessary to make good deeds secure by means of good deeds, so that they may not fall off in their repute.

20. He used to rebuke the citizens for electing always the same men to office. "For," said he, "you will give the impression that you hold office to be of no great worth, or else that you hold not many men to be worthy of office." [c]

21. He pretended to be amazed at the man who had sold his lands bordering on the sea as being himself stronger than the sea. "For," said he, "what the sea only laps, this man has easily drunk up." [d]

22. When he was a candidate for the censorship, and saw the other candidates soliciting the populace and flattering them, he himself cried out that the

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[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of M. Cato*, chap. viii. (340 D).
[d] *Ibid.*

(199) ἐβόα τὸν δῆμον ἀποτόμου χρείαν ἔχειν ἰατροῦ καὶ μεγάλου καθαρμοῦ· δεῖν οὖν μὴ τὸν ἥδιστον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπαραίτητον αἱρεῖσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ᾑρέθη πρὸ πάντων.

23. Διδάσκων δὲ τοὺς νέους εὐθαρσῶς μάχεσθαι, C πολλάκις ἔλεγε τοῦ ξίφους τὸν λόγον μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς χειρὸς τρέπειν καὶ καταπλήττειν τοὺς πολεμίους.

24. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολεμῶν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Βαῖτιν ποταμὸν οἰκοῦσιν εἰς κίνδυνον ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν πολεμίων κατέστη, τῶν μὲν Κελτιβήρων ἐπὶ διακοσίοις ταλάντοις βουλομένων βοηθεῖν, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἐώντων ὁμολογεῖν μισθὸν ἀνθρώποις βαρβάροις, ἁμαρτάνειν ἔφησεν αὐτούς· νικῶντας μὲν γὰρ ἀποδώσειν οὐ παρ᾽ αὑτῶν[1] ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων· ἡττωμένων δέ, μήτε τοὺς ἀπῃτημένους[2] μήτε τοὺς ἀπαιτοῦντας ἔσεσθαι.

D 25. Πλείονας δὲ πόλεις ἑλών, ὥς φησι, τῶν ἡμερῶν ἃς διέτριψεν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐδὲν αὐτὸς πλέον ἔλαβεν[3] ὧν ἔφαγε καὶ ἔπιεν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας.

26. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἑκάστῳ λίτραν ἀργύρου διανείμας φησὶ βέλτιον εἶναι πολλοὺς ἔχοντας ἀργύριον ἢ ὀλίγους χρυσίον ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας ἐπανελθεῖν· τῶν γὰρ ἀρχόντων οὐδὲν ἄλλο δεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις ἢ τὴν δόξαν αὐξάνεσθαι.

27. Πέντε δὲ οἰκέτας εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς στρατείας.

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[1] αὑτῶν as in the *Life of M. Cato*, chap. x.: αὐτῶν.

[2] ἀπῃτημένους] ἀπαιτουμένους, *ibid.*

[3] ἔλαβεν Wyttenbach: λαβεῖν.

people had need of a stern physician and a thorough cleansing; they must choose not the most agreeable but the most inexorable man. As a result of his words he was the first choice of the electors.[a]

23. In instructing the young men to fight boldly, he said that ofttimes talk is better than the sword and the voice better than the hand to rout and bewilder the enemy.[b]

24. When he was waging war against the peoples living by the river Baetis,[c] he was put in great peril by the vast numbers of the enemy. The Celtiberians were ready and willing to come to his aid for forty thousand pounds, but the other Romans were against agreeing to pay barbarian men. Cato said they were all wrong; for if they were victorious, the payment would come not from themselves, but from the enemy; and if they were vanquished there would be no debtors and no creditors.[d]

25. He captured cities more in number, as he says, than the days he spent among the enemy, yet he himself took nothing from the enemy's country beyond what he ate and drank.[e]

26. He distributed to each soldier a pound of silver, saying it was better that many should return from the campaign with silver than a few with gold. For the officials, he said, ought to accept no other increase in the provinces except the increase of their repute.[f]

27. He had five persons to wait upon him in the

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of M. Cato*, chap. xvi. (345 D).

[b] *Ibid.* chap. i. (336 E); *cf.* also Plutarch's *Life of Coriolanus*, chap. viii. (216 F); *Life of M. Cato*, chap. x. (241 F).

[c] In 195 B.C. in Spain.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of M. Cato*, chap. x. (341 F).

[e] *Ibid.* chap. x. (342 A).

[f] *Ibid.*

(199) ὧν εἰς αἰχμάλωτα σώματα τρία πριάμενος, ὡς οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν Κάτωνα, πρὶν εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπήγξατο.

E 28. Παρακληθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος Ἀφρικανοῦ τοῖς Ἀχαιῶν συλλαβέσθαι φυγάσιν, ὅπως εἰς τὰς πατρίδας κατέλθωσιν, προσεποιεῖτο μηδὲν αὐτῷ μέλειν τοῦ πράγματος· ἐν δὲ τῇ συγκλήτῳ πολλῶν γινομένων λόγων ἀναστάς, "ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχοντες," εἶπεν, "ὃ πράττωμεν, καθήμεθα περὶ Γραικῶν γεροντίων ζητοῦντες πότερον ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ νεκροφόρων ἐξενεχθῶσι."

29. Ποστουμίου δὲ Ἀλβίνου[1] γράψαντος ἱστορίας Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ συγγνώμην παρὰ τῶν ἀκροωμένων
F αἰτοῦντος, εἰρωνευόμενος ὁ Κάτων ἔφη δοτέον εἶναι συγγνώμην, εἰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ψηφισαμένων ἀναγκασθεὶς ἔγραψεν.

ΣΚΙΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Σκιπίωνα τὸν νεώτερον λέγουσιν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα καὶ τέτταρσιν, οἷς ἐβίωσε, μηδὲν πρίασθαι μηδὲν ἀποδόσθαι μηδὲν οἰκοδομῆσαι, λίτρας δὲ ἀργύρου τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα μόνας ἐν οὐσίᾳ μεγάλῃ δύο δὲ χρυσίου καταλιπεῖν· καὶ ταῦτα Καρχηδόνος κύριον ὄντα καὶ μάλιστα τῶν στρατηγῶν πλουτίσαντα τοὺς στρατιώτας.

2. Τὸ δὲ Πολυβίου παράγγελμα διαφυλάττων

[1] Ἀλβίνου Xylander, from the *Life of Cato*, chap. **xii.**: λαβιήνου.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of M. Cato*, chap. x. (342 B).

[b] *Ibid.* chap. ix. (341 A, = Polybius, xxxv. 6).

[c] *Ibid.* chap. xii. (343 B); Polybius, xxxix. 12 (= xl. 6).

[d] Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus (Minor), 185–129 B.C.; conqueror of Carthage in 147–146 B.C.; friend of Polybius the historian. His life (now lost) was written by Plutarch (No. 28 in the catalogue of Lamprias; see also the *Life of Tib. Gracchus*, chap. xxi. 834 D, and *Life of C. Gracchus*, chap. x. 839 C); and without doubt many of the sayings found here were incorporated in it.

campaign, one of whom bought three of the captives. But when he discovered that Cato knew of it, he did not wait to come before his master, but hanged himself.[a]

28. He was urged by Scipio Africanus to lend his influence to help the banished Achaeans to return to their homes, but he made as though he cared nothing about the matter; in the Senate, however, where the subject aroused much discussion, he arose and said, "We sit here as if we had nothing to do, debating about some poor old Greeks whether they shall be carried to their graves by bearers who live in our country or in Greece." [b]

29. Postumius Albinus wrote a history in the Greek language, in which he craved the indulgence of his readers. Cato said sarcastically that he ought to be granted indulgence if he had written the book under compulsion by a decree of the Ampictyonic Council! [c]

SCIPIO THE YOUNGER [d]

1. The Younger Scipio, they say, in the fifty-four years of his life bought nothing, sold nothing, built nothing, and left only thirty-three pounds of silver and two of gold in a great estate. So little he left, in spite of the fact that he was master of Carthage, and was the one among the generals who had made his soldiers richest.[e]

2. He observed the precept of Polybius, and tried

[e] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9; Polybius, xviii. 35; Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxiii. 50 (141).

ἐπειρᾶτο μὴ πρότερον ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀπελθεῖν ἢ ποιήσασθαί τινα συνήθη καὶ φίλον ἁμωσγέπως τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων.

200 3. Ἔτι δὲ νέος ὢν τοσαύτην εἶχε δόξαν ἀνδρείας καὶ συνέσεως ὥστε Κάτωνα μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἰπεῖν ἐρωτηθέντα περὶ τῶν ἐν Καρχηδόνι στρατευομένων, ἐν οἷς καὶ Σκιπίων ἦν,

> οἶος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀίσσουσιν.

4. Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθόντος ἀπὸ στρατείας,[1] ἐκάλουν αὐτόν, οὐκ ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὡς Καρχηδόνα δι' ἐκείνου ταχὺ καὶ ῥᾳδίως ληψόμενοι.

5. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἀμυνομένων ῥώμῃ, συνεῖδε[2] τὴν διὰ μέσου θάλατταν οὐ πάνυ βαθεῖαν οὖσαν τοῦ Πολυβίου συμβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ κατασπεῖραι τριβόλους σιδηροῦς ἢ σανίδας ἐμβάλλειν κεντρωτάς,
B ὅπως μὴ διαβαίνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι προσμάχωνται τοῖς χώμασιν, ἔφη γελοῖον εἶναι κατειληφότας τὰ τείχη καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς ὄντας εἶτα πράττειν ὅπως οὐ μαχοῦνται τοῖς πολεμίοις.

6. Εὑρὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀνδριάντων Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἀπὸ Σικελίας μεστὴν οὖσαν, ἐκή-

[1] ἀπὸ στρατείας] ἐπὶ ὑπατείαν Wyttenbach.

[2] ῥώμῃ, συνεῖδε F.C.B.: ἔγνω Hultsch and van Herwerden: ἔμαθε Hultsch: παρέβαλεν εἰς Pantazides: ἔχον Kronenberg: μεταξὺ S. A. Naber: μὴ σύ.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 659 E. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiv. 38, speaks of the advice as given by Epameinondas to Pelopidas, possibly confusing the two Scipios, and the two *Lives* (of Epameinondas and the elder Scipio)!

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 805 A; Plutarch's *Life of M. Cato*, chap. xxvii. (352 F); Livy, Epitome of Book xlix. It may be

never to leave the Forum before he had in some way made an acquaintance and friend of somebody among those who spoke with him.[a]

3. While he was still a young man he had such repute for bravery and sagacity that when Cato the Elder was asked about the men in the army at Carthage, of whom Scipio was one, he said,

> He, and he only, has wisdom; the rest are but fluttering shadows.[b]

4. When he came to Rome from a campaign, the people called him to office,[c] not by way of showing favour to him, but hoping through him to capture Carthage speedily and easily.

5. After he had passed the outer wall, the Carthaginians stoutly defended themselves in the citadel. He perceived that the sea lying between was not very deep, and Polybius advised him to scatter in it iron balls with projecting points, or else to throw into it planks full of spikes so that the enemy might not cross and attack the Roman ramparts.[d] But Scipio said that it was ridiculous, after they were in possession of the walls and well within the city, to endeavour to avoid fighting the enemy.[e]

6. He found the city full of Greek statues and votive offerings, which had come from Sicily, and so

inferred from Suidas, *s.v.* ἀίσσουσιν, that the original source was Polybius. The Homeric quotation is from the *Odyssey*, x. 495.

[c] The consulship in 147 B.C. *Cf.* Velleius Paterculus, i. 12. 3.

[d] *Cf.* Zonaras, ix. 29.

[e] An account of the capture of Carthage is given by Diodorus, xxxii. 23-25, and Appian, *Roman History, the Punic Wars*, xix. 127-132. *Cf.* also Valerius Maximus, iii. 7. 2.

(200) ρυξε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων παρόντας ἐπιγινώσκειν καὶ κομίζεσθαι.

7. Τῶν δὲ χρημάτων οὔτε δοῦλον οὔτε ἀπελεύθερον εἴα λαβεῖν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρίασθαι, πάντων ἀγόντων καὶ φερόντων.

C 8. Γαΐῳ δὲ Λαιλίῳ τῷ φιλτάτῳ τῶν ἑταίρων ὑπατείαν μετιόντι συμπράττων ἐπηρώτησε Πομπήιον εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπατείαν μέτεισιν· ἐδόκει δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος υἱὸς αὐλητοῦ γεγονέναι· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος μὴ μετιέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Λαίλιον ἐπαγγελλομένου[1] συμπεριάξειν καὶ συναρχαιρεσιάσειν, πιστεύσαντες καὶ περιμένοντες ἐκεῖνον ἐξηπατήθησαν· ἀπηγγέλλετο γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν ἀγορᾷ περιιὼν καὶ δεξιούμενος τοὺς πολίτας. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ὁ Σκιπίων γελάσας, "ἀβελτερίᾳ γε,[2]" εἶπεν, "ἡμῶν, καθάπερ οὐκ ἀνθρώπους μέλλοντες ἀλλὰ θεοὺς παρακαλεῖν, πάλαι διατρίβομεν αὐλητὴν ἀναμένοντες."

9. Ἀππίου δὲ Κλαυδίου περὶ τῆς τιμητικῆς D ἀρχῆς ἁμιλλωμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ λέγοντος, ὅτι πάντας ὀνομαστὶ Ῥωμαίους αὐτὸς ἀσπάζεται, Σκιπίωνος ὀλίγου δεῖν ἀγνοοῦντος ἅπαντας, "ἀληθῆ λέγεις," εἶπεν, "ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ εἰδέναι πολλοὺς ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀγνοεῖσθαι μεμέληκεν."

10. Ἐκέλευε δὲ τοὺς πολίτας, ἐπειδὴ ἐτύγχανον πολεμοῦντες Κελτίβηρσιν, ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ τὴν

[1] ἐπαγγελλομένου F.C.B.: ἐπαγγελλόμενος.
[2] γε Wyttenbach: δὲ.

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[a] *Cf.* Diodorus, xxxii. 25; Cicero, *Against Verres*, ii. 35 (86) and iv. 33 (73); Livy, Epitome of Book li.; Valerius Maximus, v. 1. 6.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 97 c, and note *e* on p. 187.

he caused proclamation to be made that the men from those cities who were there might identify them and carry them away.[a]

7. He would not allow either slave or freedman of his to take anything or even buy anything from the spoil, when everybody was engaged in looting and plundering.[b]

8. He was active in the support of Gaius Laelius, the dearest of his friends, when he was a candidate for the consulship, and he inquired of Pompey[c] whether he also was a candidate. (It was reputed that Pompey was the son of a flute-player.) Pompey said that he was not a candidate, and offered to take Laelius about with him and help him in his canvass, and they, believing his words and waiting for his co-operation, were completely deceived. For it was reported that Pompey was himself going about and soliciting the citizens. The others were indignant, but Scipio laughed and said, "It is because of our own stupidity; for, just as if we were intending to call not upon men but upon gods, we have been wasting any amount of time in waiting for a flute-player!"[d]

9. When Appius Claudius was his rival[e] for the censorship, and asserted that he greeted all the Romans by name, while Scipio knew hardly one of them, Scipio said, "You are quite right; for I have not taken such pains to know many as to be unknown to none."[f]

10. He bade the people, inasmuch as they happened to be waging war against the Celtiberians, to send

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[c] Quintus Pompey, consul 141 B.C.

[d] *Cf.* Cicero, *De amicitia*, 21 (77).

[e] In 142 B.C.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, chap. xxxviii. (275 c).

(200) στρατείαν ἐκπέμψαντας ἢ πρεσβευτὰς ἢ χιλιάρχους μάρτυρας λαμβάνειν καὶ κριτὰς τῆς ἑκάστου ἀρετῆς τοὺς πολεμοῦντας.

11. Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ τιμητὴς νεανίσκου μὲν
ἀφείλετο τὸν ἵππον, ὅτι δειπνῶν πολυτελῶς, ἐν
E ᾧ χρόνῳ Καρχηδὼν ἐπολεμεῖτο, μελίπηκτον εἰς
σχῆμα τῆς πόλεως διαπλάσας καὶ τοῦτο Καρχη-
δόνα προσειπὼν προύθηκε διαρπάσαι τοῖς παροῦσι·
καὶ πυνθανομένου τοῦ νεανίσκου τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν
ἀφῄρηται τὸν ἵππον, "ἐμοῦ γάρ," ἔφη, "πρότερος
Καρχηδόνα διήρπασας."

12. Γάιον δὲ Λικίνιον ἰδὼν παρερχόμενον, "οἶδα," ἔφη, "τοῦτον ἐπιωρκηκότα τὸν ἄνδρα· μηδενὸς δὲ κατηγοροῦντος, οὐ δύναμαι κατήγορος αὐτὸς[1] εἶναι καὶ δικαστής."

13. Ἐκπεμφθέντα δ' αὐτὸν[2] ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τρίτον,[2] ὥς φησι Κλειτόμαχος,

> ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν[3] τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντα,

πόλεων ἐθνῶν βασιλέων ἐπίσκοπον, ὡς εἰς Ἀλεξάν-
F δρειαν ἧκε καὶ τῆς νεὼς ἀποβὰς ἐβάδιζε κατὰ τῆς
κεφαλῆς ἔχων τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἠξίουν ἀποκαλύψασθαι
περιθέοντες οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ δεῖξαι ποθοῦσιν
αὐτοῖς τὸ πρόσωπον. τοῦ δὲ ἀποκαλυψαμένου,
κραυγὴν καὶ κρότον ἐποίησαν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως

[1] αὐτὸς] αὐτὸς van Herwerden.

[2] αὐτὸν . . . τρίτον] τρίτον αὐτόν Hartman, presumably on the basis of Justin xxxviii. 8. 8; but it is also true that this was the third important commission given to Scipio from the Senate.

[3] ὕβριν from *Moralia* 777 A: πόλεων or πολέων.

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[a] *Cf.* Cicero, *Oration for Cluentius*, 48 (134); Valerius Maximus, iv. 1. 10.

out both himself and his rival either as legates or tribunes of the soldiers, and take the word and judgement of the fighting men in regard to the valour of each.

11. After he was made censor, he deprived a young knight of his horse because, at the time when war was being waged against Carthage, this young man had given an expensive dinner for which he had ordered an honey-cake to be made in the form of the city, and, calling this Carthage, he set it before the company for them to plunder. When the young man asked the reason why he had been degraded, Scipio said, "Because you plundered Carthage before I did!"

12. Seeing Gaius Licinius coming before him, he said, "I know that this man is guilty of perjury, but, since no one accuses him, I cannot myself be both accuser and judge." [a]

13. He was sent out by the Senate a third time for the purpose, as Cleitomachus [b] says, of

> Looking upon men's arrogant acts and their acts of
> good order,[c]

that is, as an inspector of cities, peoples, and kings; and when he arrived at Alexandria and, after disembarking, was walking with his toga covering his head, the Alexandrians quickly surrounded him, and insisted that he uncover and show his face to their yearning eyes. And so he uncovered amid shouting and applause. The king could hardly keep up with

[b] Poseidonius (instead of Cleitomachus) is found in *Moralia*, 777 A, and is also suggested by Athenaeus, 549 D.

[c] Homer, *Od.* xvii. 487. Scipio's journeyings, beginning in 141 B.C., took him over most of the countries around the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea.

μόλις ἀμιλλωμένου βαδίζουσιν αὐτοῖς δι' ἀργίαν
καὶ τρυφὴν τοῦ σώματος, ὁ Σκιπίων ἀτρέμα[1] πρὸς
201 τὸν Παναίτιον ψιθυρίσας εἶπεν, “ ἤδη τι τῆς
ἐπιδημίας ἡμῶν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἀπολελαύκασι· δι'
ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἑωράκασι τὸν βασιλέα περιπατοῦντα.”

14. Συναπεδήμει δὲ αὐτῷ φίλος μὲν εἷς φιλόσοφος Παναίτιος, οἰκέται δὲ πέντε· καὶ τούτων[2] ἑνὸς ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης, ἄλλον μὴ βουλόμενος πρίασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης μετεπέμψατο.

15. Τῶν δὲ Νομαντίνων ἀμάχων εἶναι δοκούντων
καὶ πολλοὺς νενικηκότων στρατηγούς, ὕπατον
ἀπέδειξε Σκιπίωνα τὸ δεύτερον ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὸν
πόλεμον· ὡρμημένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν,
καὶ τοῦτο διεκώλυσεν ἡ σύγκλητος, ὡς ἐρήμου
τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐσομένης. καὶ χρήματα λαβεῖν τῶν
B ἑτοίμων οὐκ εἴασαν, ἀλλὰ τὰς τελωνικὰς προσόδους
ἀπέταξαν οὔπω χρόνον ἐχούσας. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων
χρημάτων μὲν οὐκ ἔφη δεῖσθαι, τὰ γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
τῶν φίλων ἐξαρκέσειν· περὶ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ἐμέμψατο, χαλεπὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ μὲν
δι' ἀνδρείαν τῶν πολεμίων ἥττηνται τοσαυτάκις,
ὅτι πρὸς τοιούτους, εἰ δὲ δι' ἀνανδρίαν τῶν πολιτῶν,
ὅτι μετὰ τοιούτων.

16. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον πολλὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ ἀκολασίαν καὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν καὶ τρυφὴν κατέλαβε, μάντεις μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξήλασε καὶ θύτας καὶ πορνοβοσκούς, σκεύη δὲ προσέταξεν

[1] ἀτρέμα] ἠρέμα? [2] τούτων Wyttenbach: τοῦ.

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[a] Ptolemy VII., called ‘ Physcon ’ by the Alexandrians because of his fat and unwieldy body.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 777 A; Diodorus, xxxiii. 28a; Athenaeus, 549 D; Cicero, *Academics*, ii. 2 (5); Justin, *Historiae Philippicae*, xxxviii. 8. 8.

them in walking because of his inactive life and his pampering of his body,[a] and Scipio whispered softly to Panaetius, “ Already the Alexandrians have received some benefit from our visit. For it is owing to us that they have seen their king walk.” [b]

14. His one companion on his travels was a friend Panaetius, a philosopher, and there were five servants. When one of these died in a foreign land, he did not wish to buy another, and so sent for one from Rome.[c]

15. Inasmuch as the Numantians seemed invincible in battle and had vanquished many generals, the people made Scipio consul the second time [d] for this war. When many were eager to enlist for the campaign, the Senate intervened, on the ground that Italy would be unprotected. Moreover, they would not allow him to take money from what was already on hand, but set aside for his use the revenues from taxes not yet due. Scipio said that he did not need money, for his own and that of his friends would be sufficient; but in regard to the soldiers he did find fault.[e] For he said that the war was a hard war; if it was owing to the bravery of the enemy that they had been vanquished so many times, then it was hard because it was against such men; if it was owing to the want of bravery in their own citizens, then it was hard because it must be conducted with such men.

16. When he arrived at the camp, and found there much disorder, licentiousness, superstition, and luxury, he straightway drove out the soothsayers, diviners, and panders, and issued orders to send

[c] *Cf.* Athenaeus, 273 A (=Polybius, *Frag.* 166, ed. Hultsch); Valerius Maximus, iv. 3. 13.

[d] In 134 B.C.

[e] *Cf.* Appian, *Roman History, the Wars in Spain*, xiv. 84.

C (201) ἀποπέμπειν ἅπαντα πλὴν χύτρας ὀβελίσκου καὶ ποτηρίου κεραμεοῦ· τῶν δὲ ἀργυρῶν[1] ἔκπωμα οὐ μεῖζον δύο λιτρῶν συνεχώρησε τοῖς βουλομένοις ἔχειν· λούεσθαι δὲ ἀπεῖπε, τῶν δὲ ἀλειφομένων τρίβειν ἕκαστον ἑαυτόν· τὰ γὰρ ὑποζύγια χεῖρας μὴ ἔχοντα ἑτέρου τρίψοντος δεῖσθαι· προσέταξε δὲ ἀριστᾶν μὲν ἑστῶτας ἄπυρον ὄψον, δειπνεῖν δὲ κατακειμένους ἄρτον ἢ πόλτον[2] ἁπλῶς καὶ κρέας ὀπτὸν ἢ ἑφθόν· αὐτὸς δὲ σάγον ἐμπεπορπημένος μέλανα περιῄει, πενθεῖν τὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος αἰσχύνην λέγων.

17. Μεμμίου δέ τινος χιλιάρχου λαβὼν ὑποζύγια
D ψυκτῆρας διαλίθους παρακομίζοντα καὶ Θηρικλείους, "ἐμοὶ μέν," εἶπεν, "ἡμέρας τριάκοντα[3] καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, σαυτῷ δὲ τὸν βίον ἅπαντα τοιοῦτος ὢν ἄχρηστον πεποίηκας σεαυτόν."

18. Ἑτέρου δὲ θυρεὸν ἐπιδείξαντος εὖ κεκοσμημένον, "ὁ μὲν θυρεός," εἶπεν, "ὦ νεανία, καλός, πρέπει δὲ Ῥωμαῖον ἄνδρα μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἢ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ."

19. Τοῦ δὲ τὸν χάρακα ἄραντος σφόδρα πιέζεσθαι φάσκοντος, "εἰκότως," ἔφη· "τῷ γὰρ ξύλῳ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ μαχαίρᾳ πιστεύεις."

[1] ἀργυρῶν as in *Moralia*, 175 E, and elsewhere: ἀργυρέων.
[2] πόλτον: πολτὸν or ποτόν.
[3] τριάκοντα] δὶς τριάκοντα or ἑξήκοντα Cobet.

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[a] Appian, *Roman History*, *The Wars in Spain*, xiv. 85; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 16. 2; Livy, Epitome of Book lvii.; Valerius Maximus, ii. 7. 1.

[b] A famous Corinthian potter.

[c] Presumably the period of his disgrace and punishment.

[d] *Cf.* Frontinus, *Strategemata*, iv. 1. 1.

[e] So in Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9. Slightly variant

away all camp-utensils except a pot, a spit, and an earthenware drinking-cup. But he conceded a goblet of silverware of not more than two pounds weight to those who wished to keep such. He forbade bathing, and of those who took a rub-down he required that each man should rub himself, saying that the pack-animals, not being provided with hands, needed somebody to rub them. He also issued orders that the soldiers should eat their luncheon standing, and that it should be something uncooked, but that they might recline at dinner, and this should be bread or porridge simply, and meat roasted or boiled. He himself went about with a black cloak pinned around him, saying that he was in mourning for the disgrace of the army.[a]

17. He detected in the baggage carried by the pack-animals of Memmius, a military tribune, wine-coolers set with precious stones, the work of Thericles,[b] and said to him, "By such conduct you have made yourself useless to me and your country for thirty days,[c] but useless to yourself for your whole lifetime."[d]

18. When another man showed him a shield beautifully ornamented, he said, "A fine shield, young sir; but it is more fitting that a Roman rest his hopes in his right hand rather than in his left."[e]

19. Another carrying a timber for the palisade said that it was awfully heavy. "Very likely," said Scipio, "for you put more trust in this wood than in your sword."[f]

versions are to be found in Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 16. 4; Frontinus, *Strategemata*, iv. 1. 5; Livy, Epitome of Book lvii.

[f] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 16. 3; Livy, Epitome of Book lvii.

(201) 20. Ὁρῶν δὲ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τῶν πολεμίων ἔλεγεν ὠνεῖσθαι τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· τὸν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν στρατηγὸν ὥσπερ ἰατρὸν ἐσχάτης δεῖσθαι E τῆς διὰ τοῦ σιδήρου θεραπείας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπιθέμενος ἐν καιρῷ τοὺς Νομαντίνους ἐτρέψατο.

21. Τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων τοὺς ἡττημένους κακιζόντων, τί[1] πεφεύγασιν οὓς τοσαυτάκις ἐδίωξαν, εἰπεῖν τινα λέγεται τῶν Νομαντίνων ὡς τὰ πρόβατα ταὐτὰ καὶ νῦν ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ ποιμὴν ἄλλος.

22. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν Νομαντίαν ἑλὼν καὶ θριαμβεύσας τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς Γάιον Γράκχον ὑπέρ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν συμμάχων κατέστη διαφορά, καὶ λυπούμενος ὁ δῆμος ἐθορύβησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ F βήματος, "ἐμέ," εἶπεν, "οὐδέποτε στρατοπέδων ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐθορύβησεν, οὔτι γε συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων, ὧν οὐ μητέρα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀλλὰ μητρυιὰν οὖσαν ἐπίσταμαι."

23. Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Γάιον βοώντων κτεῖναι τὸν τύραννον, "εἰκότως," εἶπεν, "οἱ τῇ πατρίδι πολεμοῦντες ἐμὲ βούλονται προανελεῖν· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε τὴν Ῥώμην πεσεῖν Σκιπίωνος ἑστῶτος οὐδὲ ζῆν Σκιπίωνα τῆς Ῥώμης πεσούσης."

ΚΑΙΚΙΛΙΟΥ ΜΕΤΕΛΛΟΥ

1. Καικίλιος Μέτελλος ὀχυρῷ χωρίῳ βουλευόμενος προσαγαγεῖν, εἰπόντος ἑκατοντάρχου πρὸς

[1] τί] ὅ τι Bernardakis, ὅτι Hatzidakis.

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[a] *Cf.* Aulus Gellius, xiii. 3. 6, where Scipio quotes a similar aphorism of his father's.

[b] Appian relates that Numantia was reduced by systematic siege (*Wars in Spain*, 89 ff.).

[c] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 16. 5; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 4; Valerius Maximus, vi. 2. 3.

20. Observing the recklessness of the enemy, he said that he himself was buying security with time; for a good general, like a physician, needed to operate with steel only as a last resort.[a] Nevertheless he attacked at the proper time and routed the Numantians.[b]

21. When the older men asked the defeated soldiers why they were such cowards as to flee from the men they had so often pursued, one of the Numantians is said to have replied that the sheep were still the same sheep, but another man was their shepherd.

22. After he had captured Numantia and celebrated his second triumph, he had a falling out with Gaius Gracchus in regard to the Senate and the allies; and the people, feeling much aggrieved, set out to shout him down on the rostra. But he said, "The battle-cry of armed hosts has never discomfited me, and much less can that of a rabble of whom I know full well that Italy is not their real mother, but their stepmother." [c]

23. When the men about Gracchus cried out, "Kill the tyrant," he said, "Very naturally those who feel hostile towards our country wish to make away with me first; for it is not possible for Rome to fall while Scipio stands, nor for Scipio to live when Rome has fallen."

CAECILIUS METELLUS [d]

1. When Caecilius Metellus was desirous of leading his men against a strongly fortified place, a centurion

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[d] Distinguished Roman general, consul 143 B.C.; sometimes confused with Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, whose life Plutarch either wrote or intended to write (*Life of Marius*, chap. xxix.).

202 αὐτὸν ὡς, ἐὰν δέκα μόνους ἀποβάλῃ,[1] λήψεται τὸ χωρίον, ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ βούλοιτο εἷς τῶν δέκα γενέσθαι.

2. Τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων τινὸς χιλιάρχου πυνθανομένου τί μέλλει ποιεῖν, “ εἰ τοῦτο,[2] ” ἔφη, “ συνειδέναι μοι τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἐνόμιζον, ἀποδυσάμενος ἂν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπέθηκα.”

3. Σκιπίωνι δὲ ζῶντι πολεμῶν, ἀποθανόντος ἠχθέσθη, καὶ τοὺς μὲν υἱοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ὑποδύντας ἄρασθαι τὸ λέχος, τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς ἔφη χάριν ἔχειν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥώμης, ὅτι παρ᾽ ἄλλοις οὐκ ἐγένετο Σκιπίων.

ΓΑΙΟΥ ΜΑΡΙΟΥ

1. Γάιος Μάριος ἐκ γένους ἀδόξου προϊὼν εἰς
B πολιτείαν διὰ τῶν στρατειῶν, ἀγορανομίαν τὴν μείζονα παρήγγειλεν· αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι λείπεται τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλάττονα μετῆλθε· κἀκείνης ἀποτυχών, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπέγνω τοῦ πρωτεύσειν Ῥωμαίων.

2. Ἰξίας δὲ ἔχων ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς σκέλεσι παρέσχεν ἄδετος ἐκτεμεῖν τῷ ἰατρῷ, καὶ μὴ στενάξας μηδὲ τὰς ὀφρῦς συναγαγὼν ἐνεκαρτέρησε τῇ χειρουργίᾳ· τοῦ δὲ ἰατροῦ μεταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ θάτε-

[1] ἀποβάλῃ] ἀπολάχῃ (!) Hartman.
[2] τοῦτο Wyttenbach (as in *Moralia*, 506 D): τοῦτον.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 506 D; Valerius Maximus, vii. 4. 5. Frontinus, *Strategemata*, i. 1. 12, attributes the remark to Metellus Pius (consul 52 B.C. with Pompey).

[b] Cicero, *De amicitia*, 21 (77), and *De officiis*, i. 25 (87).

[c] *Cf.* Pliny, *Natural History*, vii. 45 (144), and Valerius Maximus, iv. 1. 12.

said that with the loss of only ten men Metellus could take the place. Metellus asked him if he wished to be one of the ten!

2. A certain centurion among the younger men inquired what he was going to do. “ If I thought,” said he, “ that the shirt on my back knew what is in my mind, I would strip it off and put it in the fire.”[a]

3. He was bitterly opposed to Scipio while Scipio lived,[b] but felt very sad when he died, and commanded his sons to take part in carrying the bier. He said that he felt grateful to the gods, for Rome's sake, that Scipio had not been born among another people.[c]

GAIUS MARIUS[d]

Gaius Marius came from an obscure family and advanced into political life through his military services. He announced himself a candidate for the greater[e] aedileship, but, perceiving that he was running behind, on the very same day he went after the lesser.[f] Failing also to obtain that, he nevertheless did not give up the idea that he should some day be the first among the Romans.[g]

2. He had large varicose veins on both legs, and, refusing to be fastened down, he submitted these to his physician for excision; and without a groan or even a contraction of his eyebrows he underwent the operation with fortitude. But as the physician

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[d] Famous Roman general, seven times consul; he lived 157–86 B.C.

[e] The office of curule aedile.

[f] That of plebeian aedile.

[g] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of C. Marius*, chap. v. (408 A); Cicero, *Pro Plancio*, 21 (51).

(202) ρον, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν εἰπὼν οὐκ εἶναι τὸ θεράπευμα τῆς ἀλγηδόνος ἄξιον.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λούσιος ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς, αὐτοῦ τὸ
δεύτερον ὑπατεύοντος, ἐβιάζετο τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ στρατευομένων
τινὰ ὀνόματι Τρεβώνιον, ὁ δὲ ἀπέκτεινεν
αὐτόν, καὶ πολλῶν κατηγορούντων οὐκ ἠρνήσατο
C κτεῖναι τὸν ἄρχοντα, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν εἶπε καὶ ἀπέδειξε·
κελεύσας οὖν ὁ Μάριος τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀριστείαις
διδόμενον στέφανον κομισθῆναι τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ
περιέθηκε.

4. Τοῖς δὲ Τεύτοσι παραστρατοπεδεύσας ἐν χωρίῳ ὀλίγον ὕδωρ ἔχοντι, τῶν στρατιωτῶν διψῆν λεγόντων, δείξας αὐτοῖς ποταμὸν ἐγγὺς ῥέοντα τῷ χάρακι[1] τῶν πολεμίων, "ἐκεῖθεν ὑμῖν ἔστιν," εἶπε, "ποτὸν ὤνιον αἵματος." οἱ δὲ ἄγειν παρεκάλουν, ἕως ὑγρὸν ἔχουσι[2] τὸ αἷμα καὶ μήπω πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ διψῆν ἐκπεπηγός.

5. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Κιμβρικοῖς πολέμοις Καμαρίνων[3]
D χιλίους ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενομένους ὁμοῦ Ῥωμαίους
ἐποίησε, κατ' οὐδένα νόμον· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
ἐγκαλοῦντας ἔλεγε τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐξακοῦσαι διὰ
τὸν τῶν ὅπλων ψόφον.

6. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐμφυλίῳ πολέμῳ περιταφρευόμενος

[1] τῷ χάρακι] τοῦ . . . χάρακος in the *Life of C. Marius*, chap. xviii., is preferable, but not imperative.

[2] ἔχουσι] ἔχωσι some MSS., but the indicative stands in the *Life of C. Marius*, chap. xviii.

[3] Καμερίνων in the *Life of C. Marius*, chap. xxviii. Latin has *e*, Greek usually α.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of C. Marius*, chap. vi. (408 E); Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, ii. 15 (35) and 22 (53); Pliny, *Natural History*, xi. 104 (252).

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of C. Marius*, chap. xiv. (413 B); Cicero, *Oration for Milo*, 4 (9); Valerius Maximus, vi. 1. 12.

turned his attention to the other leg, Marius would not consent, saying that the cure was not worth the pain.[a]

3. In his second consulship Lusius, his nephew, attempted an indecent assault on one of the youths in the army, by the name of Trebonius, and the youth killed Lusius. When many accused him of the crime, he did not deny that he had killed the officer, and disclosed the circumstances; whereupon Marius ordered the crown which is given for deeds of supreme valour to be brought, and this he placed upon Trebonius.[b]

4. Encamped against the Teutons in a place which had little water, when the soldiers said they were thirsty, he pointed out to them a river flowing close by the enemy's palisade, saying, "There is drink for you which can be bought with blood." And they called upon him to lead them on while the blood within them was fluid and not all dried up by their thirst.[c]

5. In the Cimbrian wars a thousand men of Camerinum who had acquitted themselves bravely he made Roman citizens, in accord with no law. To those who complained he said that he did not hear the laws because of the clash of arms.[d]

6. In the Civil War,[e] when he found himself

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[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of C. Marius*, chap. xviii. (416 A); Frontinus, *Strategemata*, ii. 7. 12; Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, i. 38. 8 ff.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of C. Marius*, chap. xxviii. (421 E); Cicero, *Oration for Corn. Balbus*, 20 (46); Valerius Maximus, v. 2. 8. *Cf.* also Cicero, *Pro Milone*, 4 (10), "silent enim leges inter arma."

[e] Usually called the Social War (ὁ συμμαχικὸς πόλεμος), 90–88 B.C.

(202) καὶ πολιορκούμενος ἐκαρτέρει, τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀναμένων καιρόν. εἰπόντος δὲ Πομπαιδίου[1] Σίλωνος πρὸς αὐτόν, "εἰ μέγας εἶ στρατηγός, ὦ Μάριε, καταβὰς διαγώνισαι," "σὺ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "εἰ μέγας εἶ στρατηγός, ἀνάγκασόν με διαγωνίσασθαι καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον."

ΚΑΤΛΟΥ ΛΟΥΤΑΤΙΟΥ

Κάτλος Λουτάτιος ἐν τῷ Κιμβρικῷ πολέμῳ παρὰ τὸν Ἀτίσωνα ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύων, ἐπεὶ E τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁρῶντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαβαίνειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀνεχώρουν, μὴ δυνάμενος αὐτοὺς κατασχεῖν ὥρμησεν εἰς τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀποτρεχόντων, ὅπως δοκῶσι μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ τῷ στρατηγῷ κατακολουθεῖν.

ΣΥΛΛΑ[2]

Σύλλας ὁ εὐτυχὴς ἀναγορευθεὶς τῶν μεγίστων εὐτυχιῶν ἐποιεῖτο δύο, τὴν Πίου Μετέλλου φιλίαν, καὶ τὸ μὴ κατασκάψαι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀλλὰ φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως.

F

ΓΑΙΟΥ ΠΟΠΙΛΛΙΟΥ

Γάιος Ποπίλλιος ἐπέμφθη πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου κομίζων, κελεύουσαν

[1] Πομπαιδίου Wyttenbach (as in the *Life of Cato Minor*, chap. ii., and elsewhere): πομπίου.

[2] Συλλα, the usual form: Συλλου.

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[a] Or possibly Poppaedius.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of C. Marius*, chap. xxxiii. (424 D).

[c] Quintus Lutatius Catulus, consul 102 B.C. with C. Marius; general in the war against the Cimbri. The event here described happened in 101 B.C.

surrounded by a trench and cut off by the enemy, he held out and bided his own time. Pompaedius[a] Silo said to him, "If you are a great general, Marius, come down and fight it out." Marius replied, "If you are a great general, make me fight it out when I do not wish to do so!"[b]

CATULUS LUTATIUS[c]

Catulus Lutatius, in the Cimbrian War, was encamped beside the Atiso[d] River. The Romans, seeing the barbarians crossing to attack, retreated, and he, not being able to check them, made haste to put himself in the front rank of those who were running away so that they might not seem to flee from the enemy, but to be following their commander.[e]

SULLA[f]

Sulla, who was called the Fortunate, counted two things among his greatest pieces of fortune: the friendship of Pius Metellus, and the fact that he had not razed Athens, but had spared the city.[g]

GAIUS POPILLIUS[h]

Gaius Popillius was sent[i] to Antiochus bearing a letter from the Senate commanding him to with-

[d] Presumably the same river which the Roman writers call the Athesis.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of C. Marius*, chap. xxiii. (418 F).

[f] L. Cornelius Sulla, 138–78 B.C.; the dictator.

[g] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Sulla*, chap. vi. (454 D), chap. xiv. (460 E), and the *Comparison of Lysander and Sulla*, chap. v. (478 B).

[h] Consul 172 B.C.

[i] In 168 B.C. to Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes).

ἀπάγειν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὸ στράτευμα καὶ μὴ σφετερίζεσθαι τῶν Πτολεμαίου τέκνων ὀρφανῶν ὄντων τὴν βασιλείαν· προσιόντα δ' αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πόρρωθεν ἀσπασαμένου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου φιλοφρόνως, οὐκ ἀντασπασάμενος τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπέδωκεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς ἔφη βουλεύσεσθαι καὶ δώσειν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, τῷ κλήματι γῦρον περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ποπίλλιος περιέγραψεν εἰπών, "ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν ἑστὼς βούλευσαι καὶ ἀπόκριναι." πάντων δὲ τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καταπλαγέντων τοῦ τε Ἀντιόχου ποιήσειν ὁμολογοῦντος τὰ δοκοῦντα 203 *Ῥωμαίοις, οὕτως ἠσπάσατο καὶ περιέπτυξεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ποπίλλιος.*

ΛΕΥΚΟΥΛΛΟΥ

1. *Λεύκουλλος ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ μετὰ μυρίων ὁπλιτῶν καὶ χιλίων ἱππέων ἐπὶ Τιγράνην ἐχώρει πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας στρατιᾶς ἔχοντα τῇ πρὸ μιᾶς νωνῶν*[1] *ὀκτωβρίων, ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ὑπὸ Κίμβρων ἡ μετὰ Καιπίωνος*[2] *διεφθάρη δύναμις. εἰπόντος δέ τινος ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἡμέραν ἀφοσιοῦνται καὶ δεδοίκασιν, "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "σήμερον ἀγωνισώμεθα προθύμως, ἵνα καὶ ταύτην ἐξ ἀποφράδος καὶ σκυθρωπῆς ποιήσωμεν ἱλαρὰν καὶ προσφιλῆ Ῥωμαίοις."*

2. *Τοὺς δὲ καταφράκτους μάλιστα φοβουμένων*

[1] *νωνῶν*: *νόννων*.
[2] Καιπίωνος Xylander: *σκιπίωνος*.

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[a] *Cf.* Polybius, xxix. 27; Appian, *Roman History, the Syrian Wars*, 66; Cicero, *Philippics*, viii. 8 (23); Livy, xlv. 12; Justin, *Historiae Philippicae*, xxxiv. 3; Valerius Maximus, vi. 4. 3; Velleius Paterculus, i. 10. In Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxiv. 11 (24), Cn. Octavian is substituted for C. Popillius.

draw his army from Egypt, and not to usurp the kingdom of Ptolemy's children who were bereft of their parents. As he was making his approach through the camp, Antiochus welcomed him graciously while he was still a long way off, but he, without returning the salutation, delivered the document. When the king had read it, he said that he would think about it, and give his answer; whereupon Popillius drew a circle about him with his staff and said, "While you stand inside that line, think about it and answer." All were astounded at the man's lofty spirit, and Antiochus agreed to comply with the Roman decree; which done, Popillius saluted him and embraced him.[a]

LUCULLUS[b]

1. Lucullus in Armenia with ten thousand men-at-arms and a thousand horsemen was proceeding against Tigranes, who had an army of an hundred and fifty thousand men, on the sixth day of October, the day on which, some years before,[c] the force with Caepio had been annihilated by the Cimbrians. When somebody remarked that the Romans set that day aside as a dread day of expiation, he said, "Then let us on this day strive with might and main to make this, instead of an ill-omened and gloomy day, a glad and welcome day to the Romans."[d]

2. His soldiers feared most the men in full armour,

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[b] Roman general, friend of Sulla the dictator; he defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.
[c] In 105 B.C.
[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lucullus*, chap. xxviii. (510 c).

B τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκέλευσε θαρρεῖν· "πλεῖον γὰρ (203) ἔργον εἶναι τοῦ νικῆσαι τὸ τούτους σκυλεῦσαι." προσβὰς δὲ τῷ λόφῳ πρῶτος καὶ τὸ κίνημα τῶν βαρβάρων θεασάμενος ἀνεβόησε, "νενικήκαμεν, ὦ συστρατιῶται"· καὶ μηδενὸς ὑποστάντος διώκων πέντε Ῥωμαίων ἀπέβαλε πεσόντας, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας ἀπέκτεινε.

ΓΝΑΙΟΥ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΥ

1. Γναῖος Πομπήιος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἠγαπήθη τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ πατὴρ ἐμισήθη. νέος δὲ ὢν παντάπασι τῇ Σύλλα μερίδι προσέθηκεν αὑτόν· καὶ μήτε ἄρχων μήτε βουλεύων πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς C Ἰταλίας ἐστρατολόγησε. καὶ Σύλλα καλοῦντος οὐκ ἔφη δίχα λαφύρων οὐδὲ ἀναίμακτον ἐπιδείξειν[1] τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὴν δύναμιν· οὐδ' ἦλθε πρότερον πρὶν ἢ πολλαῖς μάχαις νικῆσαι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν πολεμίων.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Σικελίαν ὑπὸ Σύλλα στρατηγὸς ἐπυνθάνετο τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ἐκτρεπομένους βιάζεσθαι καὶ ἁρπάζειν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλως πλανωμένους καὶ περιθέοντας ἐκόλασε, τῶν δὲ πεμπομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σφραγῖδας ἐπέβαλλε ταῖς μαχαίραις.

D 3. Μαμερτίνους δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας γενομένους μερίδος οἷος[2] ἦν ἀποσφάττειν ἅπαντας· Σθεννίου δὲ τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ φήσαντος οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖν

[1] ἐπιδείξειν] ἐπιδεῖξαι some MSS.
[2] οἷος Hatzidakis and Hartman: οἷός τε.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lucullus*, chap. xxviii. (510 D-511 B).
[b] The triumvir.

but he bade them not to be afraid, saying that it would be harder work to strip these men than to defeat them. He was the first to advance against the hill, and observing the movement of the barbarians, he cried out, "We are victorious, my men," and, meeting no resistance, he pursued, losing only five Romans who fell, and he slew over an hundred thousand of the enemy.[a]

GNAEUS POMPEY [b]

1. Gnaeus Pompey was loved by the Romans as much as his father was hated.[c] In his youth he was heart and soul for Sulla's party, and without holding public office or being in the Senate, he enlisted many men in Italy for the army.[d] When Sulla summoned him, he refused to present his troops before the commander-in-chief without spoils and without their having been through bloodshed. And he did not come until after he had vanquished the generals of the enemy in many battles.[e]

2. When he was sent by Sulla to Sicily [f] in the capacity of general, he perceived that the soldiers on the marches kept dropping out of the ranks to do violence and to plunder, and so he punished those who were straggling and running about, and placed seals upon the swords of those who were officially sent by him.[g]

3. The Mamertines, who had joined the other party, he was like to put to death to a man. But Sthennius, their popular leader, said that Pompey

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, chap. i. (619 B).
[d] *Ibid.* chap. vi. (621 D).
[e] *Ibid.* 621 F.
[f] In 82 B.C.
[g] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, chap. x. (624 A).

(203) αὐτὸν ἀνθ' ἑνὸς αἰτίου πολλοὺς ἀναιτίους κολάζοντα, τοῦτον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι τοὺς μὲν φίλους πείσαντα, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς βιασάμενον ἑλέσθαι τὰ Μαρίου· θαυμάσας ὁ Πομπήιος ἔφη συγγνώμην ἔχειν Μαμερτίνοις ὑπὸ τοιούτου πεισθεῖσιν ἀνδρός, ὃς τὴν πατρίδα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς προτιμᾷ. καὶ τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸν Σθέννιον ἀπέλυσεν.

4. Εἰς δὲ Λιβύην διαβὰς ἐπὶ Δομίτιον καὶ μάχῃ μεγάλῃ κρατήσας, ἀσπασαμένων αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔφη μὴ δέχεσθαι τὴν τιμήν, ἕως ὀρθὸς ἕστηκεν ὁ χάραξ τῶν πολεμίων. E οἱ δέ, καίπερ ὄμβρου πολλοῦ κατέχοντος, ὁρμήσαντες διεπόρθησαν τὸ στρατόπεδον.

5. Ἐπανελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις τιμαῖς ἐδέξατο φιλοφρόνως καὶ Μάγνον προσηγόρευσε πρῶτος αὐτόν· θριαμβεῦσαι δὲ βουλόμενον οὐκ εἴα μηδέπω μετέχοντα βουλῆς. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἀγνοεῖν τὸν Σύλλαν ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πλείονες ἢ δύνοντα προσκυνοῦσιν, ὁ μὲν Σύλλας F ἀνεβόησε "θριαμβευέτω." Σερουίλιος δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀριστοκρατικὸς ἠγανάκτει, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνίσταντο πολλοὶ τῷ θριάμβῳ δωρεάς τινας ἀπαιτοῦντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος ἔφη μᾶλλον ἀφήσειν τὸν θρίαμβον ἢ κολακεύσειν ἐκείνους, νῦν ἔφη καὶ μέγαν ἀληθῶς ὁρᾶν καὶ ἄξιον τοῦ θριάμβου τὸν Πομπήιον.

6. Ἔθους δὲ ὄντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ὅταν

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, 623 F, where Sthen(n)is stands instead of Sthennius (Sthennon, *Moralia*, 815 E), and the Himerians instead of the Mamertines.

[b] In 81 B.C.

was not doing right in punishing many innocent men instead of one man who was responsible, and that this man was himself, who had persuaded his friends, and compelled his enemies, to choose the side of Marius. Much amazed, Pompey said that he could pardon the Mamertines if they had been persuaded by a man like him who valued his country above his own life; and thereupon he liberated both the city and Sthennius.[a]

4. He crossed over to Africa against Domitius[b] and overcame him in a mighty battle; then, when the soldiers were hailing him as commander-in-chief, he said he could not accept the honour while the enemy's palisade still stood upright. And they, in spite of a heavy rain that enveloped them, swept on and plundered the camp.[c]

5. When he returned, Sulla received him graciously with many honours, and was the first to call him 'Magnus' (The Great). He desired to celebrate a triumph, but Sulla would not allow him to do so, since he was not as yet a member of the Senate. When Pompey remarked to those present that Sulla did not realize that more people worship the rising than the setting sun, Sulla cried out, "Let him have his triumph!" Servilius, a man of noble family, was indignant, and many of the soldiers stood in his way with their demands of largess before his triumph. But when Pompey said that he would rather give up his triumph than curry favour with them, Servilius said that now he saw that Pompey was truly great, and deserved his triumph.[d]

6. It is a custom in Rome for the knights, when

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[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, chaps. xi.-xii. (624 C-E).

[d] *Ibid.* chaps. xiii.-xiv. (625-626 B); *Moralia*, 804 F.

στρατεύσωνται τὸν νόμιμον χρόνον, ἄγειν τὸν
ἵππον εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς δύο ἄνδρας, οὓς τιμητὰς
καλοῦσι, καὶ καταριθμησαμένους τὰς στρατείας
καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὑφ' οἷς[1] ἐστρατεύσαντο τυγ-
204 χάνειν ἐπαίνων ἢ ψόγων τῶν προσηκόντων·
ὑπατεύων ὁ Πομπήιος κατήγαγεν αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον
ἐπὶ τοὺς τιμητὰς Γέλλιον[2] καὶ Λέντλον· ἐκείνων
δὲ ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ πυθομένων, εἰ πάσας ἐστρά-
τευται τὰς στρατείας, "πάσας," εἶπεν, "ὑπ'
ἐμαυτῷ αὐτοκράτορι."

7. Τῶν δὲ Σερτωρίου γραμμάτων κρατήσας ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ἐπιστολαὶ πολλῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ καὶ μεταβολῇ τῆς πολιτείας τὸν Σερτώριον εἰς Ῥώμην καλούντων, κατέκαυσε πάσας διδοὺς μετανοῆσαι καὶ βελτίονας γενέσθαι τοὺς πονηρούς.

8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φραάτης ὁ Πάρθων βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν ὅρῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, μᾶλλον ἔφη χρῆσθαι[3] Ῥωμαίους ὅρῳ πρὸς Πάρθους τῷ δικαίῳ.

B 9. Λευκίου δὲ Λευκούλλου μετὰ τὰς στρατείας ἀφεικότος αὑτὸν εἰς ἡδονὰς καὶ πολυτελῶς ζῶντος, τὸν δὲ Πομπήιον ὡς παρ' ἡλικίαν τοῦ πολλὰ πράττειν ὀρεγόμενον ψέγοντος, "μᾶλλον" ἔφη "γέροντι τὸ τρυφᾶν ἢ[4] τὸ ἄρχειν εἶναι παρ' ἡλικίαν."

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[1] οἷς Wyttenbach: οὗς.

[2] Γέλλιον Xylander (as the name is recorded elsewhere): τέλλιον or στέλλιον.

[3] χρῆσθαι] χρήσεσθαι in the *Life of Pompey*, chap. xxxiii.

[4] ἢ] ἢ νέῳ Pantazides and S.A. Naber, but this is quite discredited by the other three versions. (*Cf.* note *d*.)

they have completed the regular term of service in the army, to lead their horses into the Forum, one at a time, before the two men whom they call censors, and after enumerating their campaigns and the generals under whom they served, to receive such commendation or censure as is fitting. Pompey, who was then consul, with his own hand led his horse before the censors, Gellius and Lentulus, and when they asked him, in conformity with the custom, whether he had served all his campaigns, he replied, "Yes, all, and under myself as commander-in-chief."[a]

7. On gaining possession of the papers of Sertorius in Spain, among which were letters from many leading men inviting Sertorius to come to Rome with a view to fomenting a revolution and changing the government, he burned them all, thus offering an opportunity for the miscreants to repent and become better men.[b]

8. When Phraates, king of the Parthians, sent to him, claiming the right to set his boundary at the river Euphrates, he said that the Romans set justice as their boundary towards the Parthians.[c]

9. Lucius Lucullus, after his campaigns, gave himself up to pleasures and lived very expensively, and strongly disapproved of Pompey's yearning for the strenuous life as something out of keeping with his years. But Pompey said that for an old man it was more out of keeping with his years to be a voluptuary than to hold office.[d]

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, chap. xxii. (630 A).

[b] *Ibid.* chap. xx. (p. 629): similar stories are told of others, as, for example, of William III. of England.

[c] *Ibid.* chap. xxxiii. (637 C).

[d] *Ibid.* chap. xlviii. (644 E); *Life of Lucullus*, chap. xxxviii. (518 B); *Moralia*, 785 E.

(204) 10. Νοσοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ κίχλην ὁ ἰατρὸς λαβεῖν προσέταξεν· οἱ δὲ ζητοῦντες οὐχ εὗρον (ἦν γὰρ παρ' ὥραν), ἔφη δέ τις εὑρεθήσεσθαι παρὰ Λευκούλλῳ δι' ἔτους τρεφομένας· "εἶτα," ἔφη, "εἰ μὴ Λεύκουλλος ἐτρύφα, Πομπήιος οὐκ ἂν ἔζησε;" καὶ χαίρειν ἐάσας τὸν ἰατρὸν ἔλαβε τῶν εὐπορίστων.

C 11. Ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ σιτοδείας ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενομένης, ἀποδειχθεὶς λόγῳ μὲν ἀγορᾶς ἐπιμελητής, ἔργῳ δὲ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης κύριος, ἔπλευσεν εἰς Λιβύην καὶ Σαρδόνα καὶ Σικελίαν· καὶ πολὺν ἀθροίσας σῖτον ἔσπευδεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. μεγάλου δὲ χειμῶνος γενομένου καὶ τῶν κυβερνητῶν ὀκνούντων, πρῶτος ἐμβὰς καὶ τὴν ἄγκυραν ἆραι κελεύσας ἀνεβόησε, "πλεῖν ἀνάγκη,[1] ζῆν οὐκ ἀνάγκη.[1]"

12. Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα διαφορᾶς ἀποκαλυπτομένης καὶ Μαρκελλίνου τινὸς τῶν ὑπὸ Πομπηίου προῆχθαι δοκούντων μεταβεβλημένου δὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν συγκλήτῳ
D λέγοντος, "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ Μαρκελλῖνε," εἶπεν, "ἐμοὶ λοιδορούμενος, δι' ὃν ἐξ ἀφώνου λόγιος ἐκ δὲ πεινατικοῦ[2] ἐμετικὸς γέγονας;"

13. Πρὸς δὲ Κάτωνα πικρῶς καθαψάμενον ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτοῦ προαγορεύοντος τὴν Καίσαρος

[1] ἀνάγκη . . . ἀνάγκη Iunius (as in the *Life of Pompey*, chap. l.): ἀναγκάζῃ . . . ἀναγκάζῃ.

[2] πεινητικοῦ is preferred by Bernardakis, but both forms seem to have been in use.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, chap. ii. (620 B); *Life of Lucullus*, chap. xl. (518 F); *Moralia*, 786 A. Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xvii. 43, quotes from Musonius a similar story about Zeno the philosopher.

[b] In 57 B.C.

10. When he was ill his physician prescribed a thrush as diet, but those who tried to get one did not find any, for thrushes were out of season; however, somebody said that they would be found at the house of Lucullus, where they were kept the year round. "So then," said Pompey, "if Lucullus were not a voluptuary, Pompey could not live!" and letting his physician go, he made his diet of things not so hard to procure.[a]

11. At a time when there was a serious scarcity of grain in Rome[b] he was appointed nominally overseer of the market,[c] but actually supreme master on land and sea, and sailed to Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily. Having got together a great quantity of grain, he was eager to get to Rome. A great storm arose and the pilots were hesitating, when he, going on board first himself, gave orders to weigh anchor, crying out, "To sail is a necessity; to live is not a necessity."[d]

12. When his falling-out with Caesar came to light, one Marcellinus, who was among those reputed to have been advanced by Pompey but had gone over to Caesar, inveighed against him at great length in the Senate. "Marcellinus," said Pompey, "are you not ashamed to revile me, when it is all owing to me that you, from being inarticulate, have become so fluent, and from being a starveling, are now able to eat and disgorge and eat again?"[e]

13. Cato assailed him bitterly, because when he himself had often foretold that Caesar's power and his

[c] He was appointed *praefectus annonae* for five years.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, chap. xlix. and l. (645 C–676 A); Dio Cassius, xxxix. 9; Zonaras, x. 5; Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, iv. 1. 7.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, chap. li. (646 E).

(204) δύναμιν καὶ αὔξησιν οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆς δημοκρατίας γινομένην αὐτὸς ἀντέπραττεν, ἀπεκρίνατο, "τὰ μὲν σὰ μαντικώτερα, τὰ δ' ἐμὰ φιλικώτερα."

14. Περὶ δὲ αὑτοῦ παρρησιαζόμενος εἶπεν, ὡς πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἔλαβε θᾶττον ἢ προσεδόκησε, καὶ καταθοῖτο θᾶττον ἢ προσεδοκήθη.

15. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μάχην φεύγων εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὡς ἔμελλε διαβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς τριήρους E εἰς ἁλιευτικὸν πλοῖον ἀποστείλαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους εἶπεν,

> ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται,
> κείνου 'στὶ δοῦλος, κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ.

μεταβὰς δὲ καὶ πληγεὶς ξίφει καὶ στενάξας ἅπαξ, εἰπὼν δὲ μηδὲν ἀλλ' ἐγκαλυψάμενος, παρέδωκεν ἑαυτόν.

ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝΟΣ

1. Κικέρων ὁ ῥήτωρ εἰς τοὔνομα σκωπτόμενος καὶ τῶν φίλων μεταθέσθαι κελευόντων, ἔφη τὸν Κικέρωνα ποιήσειν τῶν Κατώνων καὶ τῶν Κάτλων καὶ τῶν Σκαύρων ἐνδοξότερον.

2. Ἔκπωμα δὲ ἀργυροῦν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνατιθεὶς

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, chap. lx. (651 E); *Life of Cato Minor*, chap. lii. (787 D).

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, chap. liv. (647 F).

[c] In 48 B.C.

[d] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Sophocles, no. 789; quoted by Plutarch also in *Moralia*, 33 D and the *Life of Pompey*, chap. lxxviii. (661 A). Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 84, and Dio Cassius, xlii. 4, also state that Pompey quoted these verses shortly before his death when he was slain by order of the king's counsellors.

rise to fame boded no good to the democracy, Pompey had taken the opposite side; whereupon Pompey replied, "Your words were more prophetic, but my actions were more friendly." [a]

14. Speaking frankly about himself, he said that he had attained every office sooner than he had expected, and laid it down sooner than had been expected.[b]

15. After the battle of Pharsalus [c] he fled to Egypt, and as he was about to transfer from the trireme to a fishing-boat which the king had sent for him, he turned to his wife and son, and said never a word except the lines of Sophocles:

> Whoever comes to traffic with a king
> Is slave to him, however free he come.[d]

When he landed, he was struck with a sword, and uttering one groan, he covered his face and surrendered himself to be slain.

CICERO [e]

1. Cicero, the orator, was often twitted about his name, and his friends urged him to have it changed, but he said that he would make Cicero to be held in higher esteem than the Catos, the Catuli, and the Scauri.[f]

2. When he dedicated a silver goblet to the gods,

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[e] Cicero had a collection of jokes in three volumes (Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* vi. 3. 5; Macrobius, *Sat.* ii. 1. 12), so that the few found here can only be regarded as samples which have a personal touch.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, chap. i. (861 c).

F τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν ὀνομάτων γράμμασιν ἐσήμανεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐρέβινθον ἐτόρευσε.

3. Τῶν δὲ ῥητόρων τοὺς μέγα βοῶντας ἔλεγε δι' ἀσθένειαν ἐπὶ τὴν κραυγὴν ὡς χωλοὺς ἀναβαίνειν ἐφ' ἵππον.

4. Οὐέρρου δὲ υἱὸν ἔχοντος οὐκ εὖ κεχρημένον ἐφ' ὥρᾳ τῷ σώματι, τὸν δὲ Κικέρωνα λοιδοροῦντος εἰς μαλακίαν καὶ κίναιδον ἀποκαλοῦντος, “ ἀγνοεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ ὅτι προσήκει τοῖς τέκνοις ἐντὸς θυρῶν λοιδορεῖσθαι; ”

5. Μετέλλου δὲ Νέπωτος εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι “ πλείονας μαρτυρῶν ἀπέκτονας ἢ συνηγορῶν
205 σέσωκας,” “ καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν,” ἔφη, “ πλεῖον ἐμοὶ πίστεως ἢ λογιότητος.”

6. Ἐρωτῶντος δὲ τοῦ Μετέλλου τίς αὐτοῦ πατήρ ἐστι, “ ταύτην,” ἔφη, “ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν χαλεπωτέραν ἡ σὴ μήτηρ πεποίηκεν.” ἦν γὰρ ἡ τοῦ Μετέλλου ἀκόλαστος, ὁ δὲ Μέτελλος αὐτὸς ὑπόκουφος καὶ ἀβέβαιος καὶ φερόμενος ταῖς ὁρμαῖς.

7. Διοδότῳ δὲ τῷ διδασκάλῳ τῶν ῥητορικῶν ἀποθανόντι κόρακα λίθινον ἐπιστήσαντος αὐτοῦ, δικαίαν ἔφη τὴν ἀμοιβὴν γεγονέναι· πέτεσθαι γὰρ τοῦτον οὐ λέγειν ἐδίδαξεν.

8. Οὐατίνιον δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἑαυτῷ διάφορον καὶ
B μοχθηρὸν ἄλλως ἀκούσας ὅτι τέθνηκεν, εἶτα γνοὺς ὕστερον ὅτι ζῇ, “ κακός,” εἶπεν, “ ἀπόλοιτο κακῶς ὁ ψευσάμενος.”

9. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν δοκοῦντα Λίβυν ἀπὸ γένους

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, where, a few lines earlier, the derivation of “ Cicero ” from *cicer*, “ chick-pea,” is explained.

[b] *Ibid.* chap. v. (863 c).

[c] *Ibid.* chap. vii. (864 c).

[d] *Ibid.* chap. xxvi. (873 F) ; *Moralia*, 541 F.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, chap. xxvi. (874 B).

he caused the engraver to cut the letters of his first two names, but instead of “ Cicero ” to engrave a chick-pea.[a]

3. He used to say that those of the orators who are given to violent vociferation rely on noise to carry them through because of weakness, just as lame men mount horses.[b]

4. Verres, who had a son that had been anything but virtuous when a boy, rebuked Cicero for effeminacy and called him a corrupter of youth. “ Don't you know,” said Cicero, “ that it is proper for children to be scolded behind the doors of their own home ? ” [c]

5. Metellus Nepos said to him, “ You have caused the death of more men by your testimony than you have saved by your advocacy.” “ Yes,” said Cicero, “ the reason is that I am endowed with more credibility than eloquence ! ” [d]

6. When Metellus kept asking him who his father was, Cicero said, “ The answer to that same question your mother has made the more difficult for you ! ” For Metellus's mother was far from virtuous, and Metellus himself was light-minded, vacillating, and carried away by his impulses.[e]

7. When Diodotus, Metellus's teacher of oratory died, Metellus had a marble raven placed over his grave. “ A very just tribute,” said Cicero, “ for he taught Metellus to be high-flown, but not to be a speaker.” [f]

8. Vatinius, who was at odds with Cicero, and was a bad character generally, Cicero heard was dead, and then later discovered that he was alive. “ Curses on the rascal who lied so ! ' said he.[g]

9. To a man who appeared to be of African race, and

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[f] *Ibid.*

[g] *Ibid.* chap. xxvi. (873 E).

(205) εἶναι, φήσαντα δὲ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν λέγοντος, “ καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἀτρύπητον ἔχεις τὸ οὖς,” εἶπε.

10. Κάστον δὲ Ποπίλλιον νομικὸν εἶναι βουλόμενον, ὄντα δὲ ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀφυῆ, προσεκαλεῖτο μάρτυρα πρός τινα δίκην· εἰπόντος δὲ ἐκείνου μηδὲν γινώσκειν, “ οἴει γὰρ ἴσως,” εἶπε, “ περὶ τῶν νομίμων ἐπερωτᾶσθαι.”

11. Ὁρτησίου δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος λαβόντος μισθὸν ἀργυρᾶν σφίγγα παρὰ τοῦ Βέρρου καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κικέρωνα πλαγίως τι εἰπόντα φήσαντος αἰνιγμάτων λύσεως ἀπείρως ἔχειν, “ καὶ μὴν ἡ σφίγξ,”
C ἔφη, “ παρὰ σοὶ ἔστιν.”

12. Οὐοκωνίῳ δὲ ἀπαντήσας μετὰ τριῶν θυγατέρων ἀμορφοτάτων τὴν ὄψιν ἀτρέμα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν

Φοίβου ποτ᾽ οὐκ ἐῶντος ἔσπειρεν τέκνα.

13. Φαύστου δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα παιδὸς διὰ πλῆθος δανείων ἀπάρτιον προγράψαντος, “ ταύτην,” ἔφη, “ μᾶλλον ἀσπάζομαι τὴν προγραφὴν ἢ τὴν πατρῴαν.”

14. Πομπηίου δὲ καὶ Καίσαρος διαστάντων, ἔφη, “ γιγνώσκω ὃν φύγω, μὴ γιγνώσκων πρὸς ὃν φύγω.”

15. Καὶ Πομπήιον ἐμέμψατο τὴν πόλιν ἐκ-

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, chap. xxvi. (873 E). The story is told also in *Moralia*, 631 D. The pierced ears suggest a slave.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, chap. xxvi. (874 A), where the name of the man is given as Publius Consta.

[c] *Life of Cicero*, chap. vii. (864 D), where the sphinx is of ivory. *Cf.* also Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxiv. 18 (48), and Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* vi. 3. 98. Intimacy with the sphinx, the author of riddles, should have helped Hortensius!

asserted that he could not hear Cicero when he spoke, Cicero retorted, “ Yet you have ears that are not wanting in holes.”[a]

10. Cicero summoned as a witness in a certain case Castus Popillius, who wanted to be a lawyer, but was ignorant and stupid. When he denied knowing anything, Cicero said, “ Very likely you think you are being asked about some point of law ! ”[b]

11. Hortensius, the orator, received as a fee a silver sphinx from Verres. When Cicero used innuendo in something that he said, Hortensius declared that he had no skill in solving riddles. Cicero retorted, “ And yet you have the sphinx at your house ! ”[c]

12. Meeting Voconius with three daughters who had very ugly faces, he said softly to his friends,

Phoebus forbade when he his children got.[d]

13. When Faustus, the son of Sulla, because of a multitude of debts, posted a notice of an auction of his goods, Cicero said, “ I find this notice more welcome than the kind which his father used to post.”[e]

14. When Pompey and Caesar took opposite sides, he said, “ I know from whom I flee without knowing to whom to flee.”[f]

15. He blamed Pompey for abandoning the city,

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[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, chap. xxvii. (874 D). The verse may possibly be from the *Oedipus* of Euripides. *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, adespota, no. 378.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, chap. xxvii. (874 D), and Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, ix. 11. The reference, of course, is to the proscription lists of men condemned which Sulla posted.

[f] *Ibid.* chap. xxxvii. (879 D); Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, viii. 7. 2 “ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo.”

D λιπόντα καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα μᾶλλον ἢ Περικλέα (205) μιμησάμενον, οὐκ ἐκείνοις τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλλὰ τούτοις ὁμοίων ὄντων.

16. Γενόμενος δ' οὖν παρὰ Πομπηίῳ καὶ πάλιν μετανοῶν, ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ Πομπηίου ποῦ Πείσωνα τὸν γαμβρὸν ἀπολέλοιπεν ἔφη, "παρὰ τῷ σῷ πενθερῷ."

17. Μεταβαλομένου δέ τινος ἀπὸ Καίσαρος πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον, λέγοντος ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἀπολελοιπέναι τὸν ἵππον, βέλτιον ἔφη αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἵππου βεβουλεῦσθαι.

18. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀπαγγέλλοντα τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους σκυθρωποὺς εἶναι, "λέγεις," ἔφη, "δυσνοεῖν αὐτοὺς Καίσαρι."

E 19. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μάχην Πομπηίου μὲν φυγόντος, Νωνίου δέ τινος ἔτι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀετοὺς ἑπτὰ φήσαντος εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θαρρεῖν παρακαλοῦντος, "καλῶς ἂν παρῄνεις," εἶπεν, "εἰ κολοιοῖς ἐπολεμοῦμεν."

20. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Καῖσαρ κρατήσας τὰς Πομπηίου καταβεβλημένας εἰκόνας ἀνέστησε μετὰ τιμῆς, ἔφη περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων ὁ Κικέρων ὅτι τοὺς Πομπηίου Καῖσαρ ἀνδριάντας ἱστὰς τοὺς αὑτοῦ[1] πήγνυσιν.

21. Οὕτω δὲ πολλοῦ τὸ καλῶς λέγειν ἐτίμα τε καὶ περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἠγωνία, ὥστε προκειμένης δίκης ἐπὶ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐπικειμένης τῆς

[1] *τοὺς αὑτοῦ* F.C.B. (*cf.* the *Life of Cicero*, chap. lx): *τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ*.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, chap. lxiii. (652 F); Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, vii. 11. 3, and x. 8. 4.

[b] Pompey married Caesar's daughter Julia as his fourth wife.

and imitating Themistocles rather than Pericles, when his situation was not like that of Themistocles, but rather that of Pericles.[a]

16. When he went over to Pompey's side, changing his mind again, and was asked by Pompey where he had left Piso, his son-in-law, he said, "With your father-in-law!"[b]

17. One man changed from Caesar's side to Pompey's, and said that as the result of haste and eagerness he had left his horse behind. Cicero said that the man showed greater consideration—for his horse!

18. To the man who reported that Caesar's friends were downcast he retorted, "You speak as if they were Caesar's foes!"[c]

19. After the battle of Pharsalus, when Pompey had fled, one Nonius declared that on their side were still seven eagles, and exhorted them, therefore, to have courage. "Your advice would be good," said Cicero, "if we were making war on jackdaws."[d]

20. After Caesar had conquered, he set up again with honour Pompey's statues which had been thrown down. Cicero, in speaking of him, said that Caesar, by restoring Pompey's statues, made his own secure.[e]

21. He set a very high value on excellent speaking, and strove especially for this, so much so that once, when he had a case to plead before the court of the centumviri, and the day was almost come, and his

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, chap. xxxviii. (880 B).

[d] *Ibid.* 880 C.

[e] Plutarch repeats this story in *Moralia*, 91 A; *Life of Caesar*, chap. lvii. (734 E); *Life of Cicero*, chap. xl. (881 D). *Cf.* Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 75.

F ἡμέρας, Ἔρωτα ἀπαγγείλαντα αὐτῷ τὸν οἰκέτην εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὑπερτεθῆναι τὴν δίκην ἠλευθέρωσε.

ΓΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ

1. Γάιος Καῖσαρ, ὅτε Σύλλαν ἔφευγεν ἔτι μειράκιον ὤν, περιέπεσε πειραταῖς· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αἰτηθεὶς ἀργυρίου πλῆθος κατεγέλασε τῶν λῃστῶν ὡς ἀγνοούντων ὃν ἔχουσι, καὶ διπλάσιον ὡμολόγησε δώσειν· ἔπειτα φρουρούμενος, ἕως συνῆγε τὰ χρήματα, προσέταττεν ἡσυχίαν αὐτῷ παρέχειν κοιμωμένῳ καὶ σιωπᾶν. λόγους δὲ καὶ ποιήματα γράφων ἀνεγίνωσκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὺς μὴ λίαν ἐπαινοῦντας ἀναισθήτους καὶ βαρβάρους ἀπεκάλει καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἠπείλει κρεμᾶν αὐτούς· ὃ καὶ
206 μετ' ὀλίγον ἐποίησεν. τῶν γὰρ λύτρων κομισθέντων ἀπολυθεὶς καὶ συναγαγὼν ἄνδρας ἐξ Ἀσίας καὶ πλοῖα συνήρπασε τοὺς λῃστὰς καὶ προσήλωσεν.

2. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πρὸς Κάτλον πρωτεύοντα Ῥωμαίων εἰς ἅμιλλαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης καταστὰς καὶ προπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, "σήμερον," εἶπεν, "ὦ μῆτερ, ἀρχιερέα τὸν υἱὸν ἢ φυγάδα ἕξεις."

3. Πομπηίαν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα κακῶς ἀκούσασαν ἐπὶ Κλωδίῳ παραιτησάμενος, εἶτα τοῦ Κλωδίου φεύγοντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ δίκην μάρτυς εἰσαχθεὶς

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[a] C. Julius Caesar also made a collection of apophthegms (Cicero, *Letters*, ix. 16. 4; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 56), and it is said that he possessed unusual discrimination in recognizing the genuine work of any writer.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, chaps. i.-ii. (708 A-D); Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 4; Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History*, ii. 41; Valerius Maximus, vi. 9. 15.

slave Eros reported to him that the case had been postponed to the following day, he gave the slave his freedom.

GAIUS CAESAR [a]

1. Gaius Caesar, while still a young man, in trying to escape from Sulla, fell into the hands of pirates. First of all, when demand was made upon him for a very large sum of money, he laughed at the robbers for their ignorance of the man they had in their power, and agreed to give double the sum. Later, being kept under guard while he was getting together the money, he enjoined upon the men that they should give him a quiet time for sleep and should not talk. He wrote speeches and poems, and read them to his captors, and those who did not speak very highly of them he called dull barbarians, and threatened laughingly to hang them. And this he actually did a little later. For when the ransom was brought, and he was set free, he got together men and ships from Asia Minor, seized the robbers, and crucified them.[b]

2. In Rome he entered into a contest against Catulus, the leading man among the Romans, for the office of Pontifex Maximus,[c] and, as he was accompanied to the door by his mother, he said, "To-day, mother, you shall have as your son a Pontifex Maximus or an exile."[d]

3. He put away his wife Pompeia because her name was linked in gossip with Clodius, but later, when Clodius was brought to trial on this charge, and

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[c] In 63 B.C.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, chap. vii. (710 D); Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 13.

(206) οὐδὲν εἶπε φαῦλον περὶ τῆς γυναικός· ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ κατηγόρου, " διὰ τί τοίνυν ἐξέβαλες αὐτήν," B " ὅτι τὴν Καίσαρος," ἔφη, " γυναῖκα καὶ διαβολῆς δεῖ καθαρὰν εἶναι."

4. Τὰς δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις ἀναγινώσκων ἐδάκρυσε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν ὅτι " ταύτην τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχων ἐνίκησε Δαρεῖον, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέχρι νῦν οὐδὲν πέπρακται."

5. Πολίχνιον δὲ αὐτοῦ λυπρὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἄλπεσι παρερχομένου, καὶ τῶν φίλων διαπορούντων εἰ καὶ ἐνταῦθά τινες στάσεις εἰσὶ καὶ ἅμιλλαι περὶ πρωτείων, ἐπιστὰς καὶ σύννους γενόμενος, " μᾶλλον ἄν," ἔφη, " ἐβουλόμην πρῶτος ἐνταῦθα εἶναι ἢ δεύτερος ἐν Ῥώμῃ."

6. Τῶν δὲ τολμημάτων τὰ παράβολα καὶ μεγάλα C πράττειν ἔφη δεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ βουλεύεσθαι.

7. Καὶ διέβη τὸν Ῥουβίκωνα ποταμὸν ἐκ τῆς Γαλατικῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπὶ Πομπήιον, εἰπὼν πᾶσι,[1] " ἀνερρίφθω κύβος."

8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πομπηίου φεύγοντος ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐκ[2] τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ Μέτελλος ἔπαρχος ὢν τοῦ ταμιείου[3] βουλόμενον αὐτὸν χρήματα λαβεῖν ἐκώλυε καὶ τὸ ταμιεῖον[3] ἀπέκλεισεν, ἠπείλησεν ἀπο-

[1] πᾶσι F.C.B. (=πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας in the *Life of Pompey*, chap. lx.): πᾶς of the MSS. could be kept and explained, but it is not found elsewhere in Plutarch with this expression, and Cobet would omit it here also; but it may have been substituted for πᾶσι under the influence of πᾶς ἀνέρριμαι κύβος, Aristoph. *Frag.* 673 Kock: E. Capps suggests πάξ.

[2] ἐκ supplied: not in MSS.

[3] ταμιείου the preferable form: ταμείου.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, chap. x. (712 c); *Life*

Caesar was cited as a witness, he spoke no evil of his wife. And when the prosecutor asked, " Then why did you put her out of the house ? " he replied, "Because Caesar's wife must be free from suspicion."[a]

4. While he was reading of the exploits of Alexander, he burst into tears, and said to his friends, " When he was of my age he had conquered Darius, but, up to now, nothing has been accomplished by me."[b]

5. As he was passing by a miserable little town in the Alps, his friends raised the question whether even here there were rival parties and contests for the first place. He stopped and becoming thoughtful said, " I had rather be the first here than the second in Rome."[c]

6. He said that the venturesome and great deeds of daring call for action and not for thought.

7. And he crossed the river Rubicon from his province in Gaul against Pompey, saying before all, " Let the die be cast."[d]

8. When Pompey had fled to sea from Rome, Caesar wished to take money from the treasury, but Metellus, who was in charge, tried to stop him, and locked up the treasury, whereupon Caesar threatened

of Cicero, chap. xxix. (875 E); Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 45; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 6 and 74.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, chap. xi. (712 F) and Perrin's note in vol. vii. of the L.C.L.; Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 52. 2; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 7.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, chap. xi. (712 F).

[d] *Ibid.* chap. xxxii. (723 F); *Life of Pompey*, chap. lx. (651 D); Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 32 " iacta alea est " or " esto." The expression seems to have been proverbial; *cf.* Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, i. p. 383 and the references; Aristophanes, *Frag.* 673 Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 557 and Menander, *Frag.* 65, *ibid.* iii. p. 22.

(206) *κτενεῖν αὐτόν· καταπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Μετέλλου, “ τοῦτο,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ νεανίσκε, φῆσαί μοι χαλεπώτερον ἦν ἢ ποιῆσαι.”*

9. *Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν αὐτῷ βραδέως εἰς Δυρράχιον ἐκ Βρεντεσίου κομιζομένων, λαθὼν ἅπαντας εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβὰς μικρὸν ἐπεχείρησε διαπλεῖν τὸ* D *πέλαγος· συγκλυζομένου δὲ τοῦ πλοίου, ποιήσας τῷ κυβερνήτῃ φανερὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀνεβόησε, “ πίστευε τῇ τύχῃ γνοὺς ὅτι Καίσαρα κομίζεις.”*

10. *Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐκωλύθη, τοῦ χειμῶνος ἰσχυροῦ γενομένου καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν συνδραμόντων καὶ περιπαθούντων, εἰ περιμένει δύναμιν ἄλλην ὡς ἀπιστῶν αὐτοῖς· ἐπεὶ δὲ μάχης γενομένης νικῶν ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, “ τήμερον,” εἶπεν, “ ἦν ἡ νίκη παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ τὸν εἰδότα νικᾶν οὐκ ἔχουσιν.”*

E 11. *Ἐν δὲ Φαρσάλῳ Πομπηίου παρατεταγμένην τὴν φάλαγγα κατὰ χώραν ἑστάναι καὶ προσδέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους παρεγγυήσαντος, ἁμαρτεῖν αὐτὸν ἔλεγε τὸν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς μετ᾽ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ τόνον καὶ ῥοῖζον ἐκλύσαντα τῶν στρατιωτῶν.*

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, chap. xxv. (725 c); *Life of Pompey*, chap. lxii. (652 c); Appian, *The Civil Wars*, ii. 41 and 138; Dio Cassius, xli. 17. 2; Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, x. 4. 8; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, iii. 114-153.

[b] The story is often told. *Cf.* for example, *Moralia*, 319 B; Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, chap. xxxviii. (726 D); Appian, *Roman History, the Civil Wars*, ii. 57; Dio Cassius, xli. 46; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 58; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, v. 580; Valerius Maximus, ix. 8. 2.

[c] At Dyrrachium, 48 B.C.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, chap. xxxviii. (726 D) and xxxix. (727 B); *Life of Pompey*, chap. lxv. (654 A);

to kill him. Metellus was astounded, but Caesar said, “ Young man, that was harder for me to say than to do.”[a]

9. As the transportation of his soldiers from Brundusium to Dyrrachium proceeded slowly, he, without being seen by anybody, embarked in a small boat, and attempted the passage through the open sea. But as the boat was being swamped by the waves, he disclosed his identity to the pilot, crying out, “ Trust to Fortune, knowing it is Caesar you carry.”[b]

10. At that time he was prevented from crossing, as the storm became violent, and his soldiers quickly gathered about him in a state of high emotion if it could be that he were waiting for other forces because he felt he could not rely on them. A battle was fought[c] and Pompey was victorious; he did not, however, follow up his success, but withdrew to his camp. Caesar said, “ To-day the victory was with the enemy, but they have not the man who knows how to be victorious.”[d]

11. At Pharsalus[e] Pompey gave the word for his regiments after they had formed for battle to stand in their tracks and meet the onset of the enemy. In this Caesar said that he made a mistake, inasmuch as he lost the effect on his soldiers of the intensity and excitement which comes from rushing to the onset with enthusiasm.[f]

Appian, *Roman History, the Civil Wars*, ii. 62; Dio Cassius, xli. 50; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 36.

[e] In 48 B.C.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, chap. xliv. (729 B); *Life of Pompey*, chap. lxix. (656 c); Caesar, *Civil War*, iii. 92. Appian (*The Civil Wars*, ii. 79) says that this statement was found in Caesar's letters.

(206) 12. Φαρνάκην δὲ νικήσας τὸν Ποντικὸν ἐξ ἐφόδου πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔγραψεν, "ἦλθον εἶδον ἐνίκησα."

13. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα φυγὴν καὶ ἧτταν Κάτωνος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος, "φθονῶ σοι Κάτων," εἶπε, "τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ γὰρ σὺ ἐμοὶ τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας ἐφθόνησας."

F 14. Ἀντώνιον δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ὑφορωμένων ἐνίων καὶ φυλάττεσθαι κελευόντων, οὐ τούτους ἔφη δεδιέναι τοὺς βαναύσους καὶ λιπῶντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἰσχνοὺς καὶ ὠχροὺς ἐκείνους, δείξας Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον.

15. Λόγου δὲ παρὰ δεῖπνον ἐμπεσόντος περὶ θανάτου ποῖος ἄριστος, "ὁ ἀπροσδόκητος," εἶπε.

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ

1. Καῖσαρ ὁ πρῶτος ἐπικληθεὶς Σεβαστός, ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῄτει δισχιλίας πεντακο-

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[a] In 47 B.C. *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, chap. l. (731 F); Appian, *The Civil Wars*, ii. 91; Dio Cassius, xlii. 48. According to Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 37, these words (' veni, vidi, vici ') were borne aloft in Caesar's triumph.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, chap. liv. (733 B); *Life of Cato Minor*, chap. lxxii. (794 C); Appian, *The Civil Wars*, ii. 99; Dio Cassius, xlii. 12.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, chap. lxii. (737 C); *Life of Antony*, chap. xii. (921 B); *Life of Brutus*, chap. viii. (987 C). Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, i. 2:

> Let me have men about me that are fat:
> Sleek-headed men and such as sleep o' nights:
> Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
> He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.

12. After he had conquered Pharnaces of Pontus by a swift drive against him, he wrote to his friends, "I came, saw, conquered."[a]

13. Following upon the flight of Scipio and his followers in Africa Cato took his own life; whereat Caesar said, "I begrudge you your death, Cato, for you begrudged me the saving of your life."[b]

14. Some looked with suspicion upon Antony and Dolabella and urged Caesar to be on his guard, but he said that he did not fear these fat and sleek tradesmen and craftsmen but those lean and pale fellows, indicating Brutus and Cassius.[c]

15. When the conversation at dinner once digressed to the subject of death, regarding what kind of death is the best, he said, "Sudden death."[d]

CAESAR AUGUSTUS[e]

1. Caesar, who was the first to bear the title of Augustus, was only a youth when he made formal demand upon Antony for the million pounds[f] which

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seems to incorporate all the terms used in the *Lives*, but to ignore *βαναύσους* in this passage.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, chap. lxiii. (737 F); Appian, *The Civil Wars*, ii. 115; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 87.

[e] These sayings of Augustus were, beyond doubt, incorporated in the *Life of Augustus* which Plutarch wrote (No. 26 in Lamprias's list of Plutarch's writings). Augustus (Octavian) was Julius Caesar's grand-nephew.

[f] Plutarch in his *Life of Antony*, chap. **xv.** (922 C), says 4000 talents, which would be the same as 24,000,000 drachmae (or denarii), a little less than the amount given here. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 60, says *sestertium septiens miliens* (=700,000,000 sesterces), or about £6,000,000!

σίας μυριάδας τοῦ πρώτου Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθέντος, ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἃς[1] πρὸς αὑτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος μετήνεγκεν· ἀποδοῦναι βουλόμενος Ῥωμαίοις τὸ καταλειφθὲν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ἑκάστῳ δραχμὰς ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε· τοῦ δὲ Ἀντωνίου τὰ μὲν χρήματα 207 κατέχοντος, ἐκεῖνον δὲ τῆς ἀπαιτήσεως ἀμελεῖν, εἰ σωφρονεῖ, κελεύοντος, ἐκήρυττε τὰ πατρῷα καὶ ἐπίπρασκε· καὶ τὴν δωρεὰν ἀποδοὺς εὔνοιαν μὲν αὑτῷ, μῖσος δὲ ἐκείνῳ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν περιεποίησεν.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥοιμητάλκης[2] ὁ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου μεταβαλόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐμετρίαζεν παρὰ τοὺς πότους, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐπαχθὴς ὀνειδίζων τὴν συμμαχίαν, προπιών τινι τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ προδοσίαν φιλῶ, προδότας δ' οὐκ ἐπαινῶ."

3. Τῶν δὲ Ἀλεξανδρέων μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τὰ δεινότατα πείσεσθαι προσδοκώντων, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ B τὸ βῆμα καὶ παραστησάμενος Ἄρειον τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα φείδεσθαι μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἔφη πρῶτον διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος, ἔπειτα διὰ τὸν κτίστην Ἀλέξανδρον, τρίτον δὲ δι' Ἄρειον τὸν φίλον.

4. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἔρως ὁ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διοικῶν ὄρτυγα τὸν κρατοῦντα πάντων ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι

[1] ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἃς] ἃς ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ? Bernardakis: ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας (*cf.* the *Life of Cicero*, chap. xliii.) Hartman.

[2] Ῥοιμητάλκης the preferred spelling: ῥυμετάλκης.

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[a] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 83, says 300 sesterces, which is in agreement with the amount stated by Plutarch.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, chap. xliii. (883 A); *Life of Antony*, chap. xvi. (922 D); *Life of Brutus*, chap. xxii. (994 B); Appian, *The Civil Wars*, iii. 28; Dio Cassius, xlv. 3-5; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 60.

[c] Plutarch repeats this aphorism in his *Life of Romulus*,

had belonged to the first Caesar, who had been assassinated, and which Antony had transferred from Caesar's house to his own keeping; for Augustus wished to pay to the citizens of Rome the sum which had been left to them by Caesar, three pounds[a] to each man. But when Antony held fast to the money, and also suggested to Augustus that, if he had any sense, he had better forget about his demand, Augustus announced an auction of his ancestral property and sold it; and by paying the bequest he fostered popularity for himself and hatred for Antony on the part of the citizens.[b]

2. Rhoemetalces, king of the Thracians, who had changed his alliance from Antony to Augustus, could not practise moderation when there was any drinking going on, and gave much offence by his disparaging remarks about his new alliance, whereat Augustus, as he drank to one of the other kings, said, "I like treachery, but I cannot say anything good of traitors."[c]

3. After the capture of Alexandria, the people of the city were expecting to be treated with the most frightful severity, but when he had mounted the tribune and had directed Areius of Alexandria to take a place beside him, he declared that he spared the city, first because of its greatness and beauty, secondly because of its founder, Alexander, and thirdly because of Areius his own friend.[d]

4. When it was told him that Eros, procurator in Egypt, had bought a quail which had defeated all

chap. xvii. (28 A). Stobaeus, liv. 63, quotes Philip of Macedon as the author of a similar remark.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Antony*, chap. lxxx. (953 A); Dio Cassius, li. 16; Julian, *Letters*, No. 51 (*ad Alexandrinos*); Suetonius, *Augustus*, 89.

(207) καὶ ἀήττητον ὄντα πριάμενος ὀπτήσας κατέφαγε, μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνέκρινεν· ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἱστῷ νηὸς προσηλωθῆναι.

5. Ἐν δὲ Σικελίᾳ Ἄρειον ἀντὶ Θεοδώρου κατέστησε διοικητήν· ἐπιδόντος δέ τινος αὐτῷ βιβλίον, ἐν ᾧ γεγραμμένον ἦν, "φαλακρὸς ἢ[1] κλέπτης Θεόδωρος ὁ Ταρσεύς· τί σοι δοκεῖ;" ἀναγνοὺς C Καῖσαρ ὑπέγραψε, "δοκεῖ."

6. Παρὰ δὲ Μαικήνα τοῦ συμβιωτοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις δῶρον ἐλάμβανε φιάλην.

7. Ἀθηνοδώρῳ δὲ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ διὰ γῆρας εἰς οἶκον ἀφεθῆναι δεηθέντι συνεχώρησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀθηνόδωρος εἶπεν, "ὅταν ὀργισθῇς, Καῖσαρ, μηδὲν εἴπῃς μηδὲ ποιήσῃς πρότερον ἢ τὰ εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρα γράμματα διελθεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν," ἐπιλαβόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρός, "ἔτι σοῦ παρόντος," ἔφη, "χρείαν ἔχω"· καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον, εἰπὼν ὅτι

D ἔστι καὶ σιγῆς ἀκίνδυνον γέρας.

8. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος δύο καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη κατεστραμμένος τὰ πλεῖστα διηπόρει τί ποιήσει τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἐθαύμαζεν εἰ μὴ μεῖζον Ἀλέξανδρος ἔργον ἡγεῖτο τοῦ κτήσασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὸ διατάξαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν.

[1] ἢ] καὶ Cobet: *καὶ φαλακρὸς καὶ κλέπτης* is suggested by Bernardakis.

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[a] A Stoic philosopher from Tarsus. Dio Cassius, lvi. 43, relates a story about his practical instruction. He was later allowed to return home (Strabo, xiv. 5. 14, p. 674).

others in fighting and was the undisputed champion, and that Eros had roasted this quail and eaten it, the emperor sent for him and examined him regarding the charge; and when the man admitted the fact, the emperor ordered him to be nailed to a ship's mast.

5. In Sicily he appointed Areius procurator in place of Theodorus; and when someone handed him a paper on which was written, "Theodorus of Tarsus is a bald-pate or a thief; what opinion have you?" Caesar, having read it, wrote underneath, "It is my opinion."

6. From Maecenas, his bosom-friend, he used to receive each year on his birthday a drinking-cup as a birthday present.

7. Athenodorus,[a] the philosopher, because of his advanced years begged to be dismissed and allowed to go home, and Augustus granted his request. But when Athenodorus, as he was taking leave of him, said, "Whenever you get angry, Caesar, do not say or do anything before repeating to yourself the twenty-four letters of the alphabet," Augustus seized his hand and said, "I still have need of your presence here," and detained him a whole year, saying,

"No risk attends the meed that silence brings.[b]"

8. He learned that Alexander, having completed nearly all his conquests by the time he was thirty-two years old, was at an utter loss to know what he should do during the rest of his life, whereat Augustus expressed his surprise that Alexander did not regard it as a greater task to set in order the empire which he had won than to win it.

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[b] *Cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 417, Simonides, no. 66; or Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* (in L.C.L.), ii. p. 322.

(207) 9. Γράψας δὲ τὸν περὶ τῶν μοιχῶν νόμον, ἐν
ᾧ διώρισται πῶς δεῖ κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἐν αἰτίαις[1]
γενομένους καὶ πῶς δεῖ κολάζεσθαι τοὺς ἁλόντας,
εἶτα προσπεσὼν ὑπ' ὀργῆς τὸν ἐπὶ Ἰουλίᾳ
τῇ θυγατρὶ διαβεβλημένον νεανίσκον ἔτυπτε ταῖς
χερσίν· ἐκείνου δὲ ἀναβοῶντος, " νόμον ἔθηκας,
E ὦ Καῖσαρ," οὕτω μετενόησεν ὥστε τὴν ἡμέραν
ἐκείνην παραιτήσασθαι τὸ δεῖπνον.

10. Γάιον δὲ τὸν θυγατριδοῦν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἀποστέλλων ᾐτεῖτο παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ τὴν Πομπηίου, τόλμαν δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, τύχην δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρακολουθῆσαι.

11. Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔλεγεν ἀπολείψειν διάδοχον, ὃς οὐδέποτε περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγματος δὶς ἐβουλεύσατο, Τιβέριον λέγων.

12. Θορυβοῦντας δὲ τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι νέους καταστεῖλαι βουλόμενος, ὡς οὐ προσεῖχον ἀλλ' ἐθορύβουν, " ἀκούσατε," εἶπε, " νέοι γέροντος, οὗ νέου γέροντες ἤκουον."

F 13. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀθηναίων δήμου ἐξημαρτηκέναι τι
δόξαντος, ἔγραψεν ἀπ' Αἰγίνης οἴεσθαι μὴ λανθάνειν
αὐτοὺς ὀργιζόμενος, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ
διαχειμάσαι.[2] ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε εἶπεν αὐτοὺς
οὔτε ἐποίησε.

14. Τῶν δὲ Εὐρυκλέους κατηγόρων ἑνὸς ἀφει-

[1] *αἰτίαις*] *αἰτίᾳ* van Herwerden.

[2] *διαχειμάσαι* F.C.B.: *διαχειμάσειν*. Or perhaps ἂν should be omitted, simply to accord with what little we know of the historical facts.

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[a] Lex Iulia *de adulteriis et de pudicitia*. *Cf.* Horace, *Odes*, iv. 5. 21 ; Dio Cassius, liv. 16.

[b] C. Caesar, son of M. Agrippa and Julia.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 319 D.

9. After promulgating the law about adulterers,[a] in which it was specified how the accused were to be tried, and how the convicted were to be punished, he later, under stress of anger, fell upon a young man whose name had been linked in gossip with his daughter Julia, and struck him with his fists ; but when the young man cried out, " You have made a law, Caesar," such a revulsion of feeling came over him that he refused food the rest of the day.

10. When he dispatched Gaius his daughter's son[b] into Armenia, he besought the gods that the popularity of Pompey, the daring of Alexander, and his own good luck might attend the young man.[c]

11. He said that he would leave to the Romans as his successor on the throne a man who never had deliberated twice about the same thing, meaning Tiberius.

12. When he was trying to quiet the young men in high station who were in an uproar, and they paid no heed, but continued with their uproar, he said, " Do you young men listen to an old man, to whom old men listened when he was young." [d]

13. When, as it appeared, the Athenian people had committed some offence, he wrote from Aegina that he supposed they could not be unaware that he was angry ; otherwise he would not have spent the whole winter in Aegina. But he neither said nor did anything else to them.[e]

14. One of the accusers of Eurycles[f] was unsparing

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 785 D.

[e] *Cf.* Dio Cassius, liv. 7, who says, however, that Augustus spent the winter (21 B.C.) in Samos.

[f] Presumably the Eurycles who pursued Cleopatra's ship (on board which was Antony) at Actium ; *cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, chap. lxvii. (947 A).

δῶς καὶ κατακόρως παρρησιαζομένου καὶ προαχθέντος εἰπεῖν τι τοιοῦτον, “ εἰ ταῦτά σοι, Καῖσαρ, οὐ φαίνεται μεγάλα, κέλευσον αὐτὸν ἀποδοῦναί μοι Θουκυδίδου τὴν ἑβδόμην ”· διοργισθεὶς[1] ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευσε· πυθόμενος δέ, ὅτι τῶν ἀπὸ Βρασίδου γεγονότων ὑπόλοιπος οὗτός ἐστι, μετεπέμψατο, καὶ μέτρια νουθετήσας ἀπέλυσε.

208 15. *Πείσωνος δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκ θεμελίων ἄχρι πάσης στέγης ἐπιμελῶς οἰκοδομοῦντος, “ εὔθυμον,” ἔφη, “ με ποιεῖς οὕτως οἰκοδομῶν, ὡς ἀιδίου τῆς Ῥώμης ἐσομένης.”*

[1] *διοργισθεὶς* Bases and Kronenberg: *διὸ ὀργισθείς.*

and tiresome with his frank utterances, and went so far as to say, “ If these things, Caesar, do not seem to you to be of high importance, order him to repeat for me the seventh[a] book of Thucydides ” ; and Augustus, much incensed, ordered the man away to prison, but, on learning that he was the sole survivor of Brasidas's descendants, he sent for him, and, after reproving him moderately, ordered that he be released.

15. When Piso[b] built his house with great care from the foundation to the roof-tree, Augustus said, “ You make my heart glad by building thus, as if Rome is to be eternal.”

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[a] The fourth book (which tells of Brasidas), as the books are now numbered, would be in point: but we know that anciently the history of Thucydides was divided into thirteen books (and into nine books) as well as into eight books.

[b] Probably Cn. Calpurnius Piso, consul 7 B.C., but it may have been his father, of the same name, or L. Calpurnius Piso.

SAYINGS OF SPARTANS
(APOPHTHEGMATA LACONICA)

INTRODUCTION

Plutarch was an admirer of the old Spartan virtues, and it seems altogether probable that the collection of sayings of Spartans was made by him as literary material for use in his writing, as he tells us was his custom (*Moralia*, 457 D and 464 F), and many of the sayings are actually found incorporated in his other works. That he did not use all the material which he had accumulated is no more than is to be expected from a discriminating author.

The title (*Sayings of Spartans*) stands as No. 169 in Lamprias's list of Plutarch's works.

A selection from the sayings of the more famous Spartans is incorporated in the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*, which covers a broader field, including both Greeks and Romans, and so does not contain the entire collection of Spartan sayings. For example, in the *Spartan Sayings*, under the name of Agesilaus are found seventy-nine different sayings, but only twelve of these are selected for inclusion in the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*, so that the Emperor Trajan (if the collection was made for him) should not be overburdened in his reading!

The MS. tradition of these Spartan sayings is in sad confusion. The Spartans spoke in the Doric dialect, yet according to the MS. tradition of Plutarch they spoke sometimes Doric, more often Attic, and

occasionally used Aeolic forms! It is not likely, for example, that the mother of Brasidas spoke Doric (190 C) and Attic (219 D) in making the same remark, or that Brasidas spoke sometimes Doric and sometimes Attic (219 C-D), or that Charillus said the same thing in both Doric (189 F) and Attic (232 C). The explanation probably is that Plutarch copied these anecdotes as he found them in the books from which he made his excerpts. Xenophon, for example, or Thucydides seldom uses Doric, but represents the Spartans as speaking Attic, as frankly as Herodotus or Aeschylus represents the Persians as speaking Greek. So on the stage in England or America, or in novels, French or German characters speak English, or *vice versa*—a convention which is universally accepted. Hence it should not disturb us to find Plutarch recording remarks of Spartans in the Attic dialect, nor should we hastily conclude that the MSS. are all wrong.

It would be possible, with our present knowledge, to translate all these Spartan sayings into the Doric dialect, but to do so would be a useless *tour de force*. It would be as if the editor of a newspaper were to insist that every story about a Scotchman or a Yankee should be edited to conform to the correct Scotch or Yankee dialect—a rather futile proceeding. Hence no radical changes have been made in the MS. tradition. Only when the MSS. show a distinct attempt to quote in Doric has an effort been made to make the Doric consistent in itself.

It will not escape the attentive reader that the names of the Spartans whose sayings are quoted are arranged in alphabetical order, for the purpose, without doubt, of facilitating reference to them.

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ΑΓΑΣΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

B 1. Ἀγασικλῆς ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς, θαυμάζοντός τινος ὅτι φιλήκοος ὢν οὐ προσδέχεται Φιλοφάνη τὸν σοφιστήν, ἔφη, “τούτων χρῄζω μαθητὴς εἶναι, ὧν εἶναι[1] καὶ υἱός.”

2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν εἰπόντα πῶς ἂν τις ἀδορυφόρητος ὢν ἄρχειν ἀσφαλῶς δύναιτο, “ἐὰν οὕτως,” ἔφη, “αὐτῶν ἄρχῃ, ὥσπερ οἱ πατέρες τῶν υἱῶν.”

ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

1. Ἀγησίλαος ὁ μέγας παρὰ πότον ποτὲ λαχὼν συμποσίαρχος, ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰνοχόου πόσον C ἑκάστῳ προσφέρῃ, ἔφη,[2] “εἰ μὲν πολὺς οἶνός ἐστι παρεσκευασμένος, ὅσον ἕκαστος αἰτεῖ· εἰ δὲ ὀλίγος, ἐξ ἴσου δίδου πᾶσιν.”

2. Κακούργου δέ τινος ἐμμόνως ὑπομείναντος βασάνους, “ὡς σφόδρα πονηρός,” εἶπεν, “ἄνθρω-

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[1] εἶναι F.C.B.: εἰμι. Hartman would omit εἰμι.

[2] ἔφη added by Bernardakis after οἶνος, but it seems more likely to have dropped out after προσφέρῃ (προσφέρει or προσφέροι most MSS.).

AGASICLES[a]

1. WHEN someone expressed surprise to Agasicles, king of the Spartans, because, although he was very fond of reading and lectures, yet he would not admit to his presence Philophanes, a learned man, he said, “I want to be a pupil of those whose son I should like to be as well.”

2. In answer to a man who raised the question how anyone could possibly rule in safety without the protection of a bodyguard, he said, “If one rules his subjects as fathers rule their sons.”[b]

AGESILAUS THE GREAT[c]

1. Agesilaus the Great was once chosen by lot to be master of ceremonies at an evening party, and, when he was asked by the slave who poured the wine how much wine he should serve to each man, Agesilaus said, “If much wine has been provided, as much as each one asks for; but if only a little, then give to all equally.”

2. When a malefactor endured tortures without flinching, Agesilaus said, “What an out-and-out

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[a] One of the early kings of Sparta.

[b] *Cf.* Homer, *Od.* ii. 47.

[c] *Cf.* the note on 190 F, *supra*. Many anecdotes about Agesilaus may be found in Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 1.

(208) πος,[1] εἰς μοχθηρὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ πράγματα τὴν ὑπομονὴν καὶ καρτερίαν κατατιθέμενος."

3. Ἐπαινοῦντος δέ τινος ῥήτορα ἐπὶ τῷ δυνατῶς αὔξειν τὰ μικρὰ πράγματα, οὐδὲ σκυτοτόμον, ἔφησεν, εἶναι σπουδαῖον, ὃς μικρῷ ποδὶ ὑποδήματα μεγάλα περιτίθησιν.

4. Φαμένου δέ τινός ποτε πρὸς αὐτόν, "ὡμολόγηκας," καὶ πολλάκις τὸ αὐτὸ λέγοντος, "ναὶ δῆτα, D εἴ γ' ἔστι δίκαιον," ἔφη, "εἰ δὲ μή, ἔλεξα μέν, ὡμολόγησα δὲ οὔ." ἐπειπόντος δέ, "ἀλλὰ μὴν δεῖ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπιτελεῖν 'ὅ τι κεν κεφαλῇ κατανεύσωσιν,'" "οὐ μᾶλλον," ἔφη, "ἢ τοὺς προσιόντας τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν αἰτεῖσθαι δεῖ τὰ δίκαια καὶ λέγειν, στοχαζομένους τε τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁρμόζοντος τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν."

5. Ὁπότε δὲ ψεγόντων ἢ ἐπαινούντων τινῶν ἀκούοι, οὐχ ἧττον ᾤετο δεῖν καταμανθάνειν τοὺς τῶν λεγόντων τρόπους ἢ περὶ ὧν λέγοιεν.

6. Ἔτι δὲ παῖδα αὐτὸν ὄντα, γυμνοπαιδίας ἀγομένης, ὁ χοροποιὸς ἔστησεν εἰς ἄσημον τόπον· ὁ δὲ ἐπείσθη καίπερ ἤδη βασιλεὺς ἀποδεδειγμένος E καὶ εἶπεν "εὖγε· δείξω γὰρ ὅτι οὐχ οἱ τόποι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐντίμους, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄνδρες τοὺς τόπους ἐπιδεικνύουσιν.[2]"

7. Προστάττοντος δέ τινος αὐτῷ ἰατροῦ περι-

[1] ἄνθρωπος E. Kurtz: ἅνθρωπος.

[2] ἐπιδεικνύουσιν] ἀποδεικνύουσι Hartman.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 224 c, *infra*, and Cicero, *De oratore*, i. 54 (231).

[b] Adapted from Homer, *Il.* i. 527.

[c] In almost the same words, but with a different turn of the thought, in Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 11. 4.

villain the man is, devoting his endurance and fortitude to such base and shameful purposes ! "

3. When someone praised an orator for his ability in making much of small matters, Agesilaus said that a shoemaker is not a good craftsman who puts big shoes on a small foot.[a]

4. When someone said to him, " You have agreed," and kept repeating the same thing, Agesilaus said, " Yes, of course, if it is right ; but if not, then I said so, but I did not agree." And when the other added, " But surely kings ought to carry out ' whatsoe'er they confirm by the royal assent,' "[b] Agesilaus said, " No more than those who approach kings ought to ask for what is right and say what is right, trying to hit upon the right occasion and a request fitting for kings to grant."

5. Whenever he heard people blaming or praising, he thought it was no less necessary to inform himself about the ways of those who spoke than of those about whom they spoke.[c]

6. When he was still a boy, at a celebration of the festival of the naked boys the director of the dance assigned him to an inconspicuous place ; and he obeyed, although he was already destined to be king,[d] saying, " Good ! I shall show that it is not the places that make men to be held in honour, but the men the places."[e]

7. When a physician prescribed for him an over-

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[d] Plutarch in his *Life of Agesilaus*, chaps. i. and ii. (596 A and 597 B), says that Agesilaus was brought up as a private citizen. and did not become king until after the death of Agis.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 149 A. In 219, *infra* the remark is attributed to Damonidas, and Diogenes Laertius, ii. 73, assigns it to Aristippus.

εργοτέραν θεραπείαν καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῆν,[1] " νὴ τὼ θεώ,"[2] φησίν, " οὐ πάντως μοι πρόκειται ζῆν οὐδὲ πάντα ἀναδέχομαι."

8. Ἐφεστὼς δέ ποτε τῷ βωμῷ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου βουθυτῶν, ἐπειδὴ φθεὶρ αὐτὸν ἔδακεν, οὐ διετράπη· λαβὼν δὲ περιφανῶς ἐναντίον πάντων ἀπέκτεινε, προσειπών, " νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡδέως τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ."

F 9. Ἄλλοτε ἰδὼν μῦν ἑλκόμενον ἐκ θυρίδος ὑπὸ παιδαρίου κρατοῦντος, ἐπεὶ ὁ μῦς ἐπιστραφεὶς ἔδακε τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ κρατοῦντος καὶ ἔφυγεν, ἐπιδείξας τοῖς παροῦσιν εἶπεν, " ὅταν τὸ ἐλάχιστον ζῷον οὕτως ἀμύνηται τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, τί τοὺς ἄνδρας προσήκει ποιεῖν λογίζεσθε."

10. Βουλόμενος δὲ τὸν πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην συστήσασθαι
πόλεμον ἕνεκα τοῦ ἐλευθερῶσαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ
Ἀσίᾳ Ἕλληνας, τῷ κατὰ Δωδήνην Διὸς ἐχρήσατο
μαντείῳ· κελεύσαντος δέ,[3] τὸ χρησθὲν ἀνήγγειλε τοῖς
209 ἐφόροις· οἱ δὲ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενον
περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι. πορευθεὶς
οὖν εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον ἐπηρώτησεν οὕτως, " Ἄπολλον,
ἦ δοκεῖ σοι ὃ καὶ τῷ πατρί;" συναινέσαντος δέ,
αἱρεθεὶς οὕτως ἐστρατεύσατο.

11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν φοβηθεὶς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐποιήσατο σπονδάς, τὰς πόλεις αὐτῷ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἀφήσειν αὐτονόμους βασιλέα, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πολὺ

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[1] Hartman would omit καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῆν and οὐδὲ πάντα ἀναδέχομαι.

[2] νὴ τὼ θεώ] ναὶ τὼ σιώ Cobet.

[3] After κελεύσαντος δέ the MSS. have ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὡς δοκεῖ στρατεύεσθαι, which is pretty clearly an explanatory clause which has become incorporated in the text: deleted by Wyttenbach.

elaborate course of treatment, not at all simple, he said, " Egad, it is not ordained that I must live at all hazards, and I refuse to submit to everything." [a]

8. As he was standing at the altar of Athena of the Brazen House sacrificing a heifer, a louse bit him; but he did not turn a hair, and, picking it off, he cracked it openly before the eyes of all, saying, " By Heaven, it is a pleasure to kill the plotter even at the altar."

9. At another time he saw a mouse being dragged from a hole by a boy who had hold of him, and the mouse turned and bit the hand that held him and escaped; whereupon Agesilaus called the attention of the bystanders to this, and said, " When the smallest animal thus defends itself against those who do it wrong, consider what it becomes men to do." [b]

10. Desiring to bring about the war against the Persian for the sake of setting free the Greeks living in Asia, he consulted the oracle of Zeus at Dodona, and when the god bade him to go on, he reported the answer to the Ephors. And they bade him go to Delphi and ask the same question. Accordingly he proceeded to the prophetic shrine and put his question in this form: " Apollo, are you of the same opinion as your father?" And Apollo concurring, Agesilaus was chosen, and began the campaign.[c]

11. Tissaphernes, at the outset, in fear of Agesilaus, made a treaty, agreeing that the king should leave him the Greek cities free and independent, but, after sending for a great army from the king, he

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[a] *Cf.* the similar attitude of Pompey, 204 B, *supra*.

[b] *Cf.* the similar story about Brasidas in *Moralia*, 79 E. 190 B, and 219 C.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 191 B, *supra*, and the note.

(209) στράτευμα πόλεμον κατήγγειλεν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοι τῆς Ἀσίας, ἄσμενος τὴν παράβασιν δεξά- B μενος ὥρμησε μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν προάξων· ἐκεῖ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους ἀθροίσαντος, ἄρας εἰς Φρυγίαν ἐνέβαλε· καὶ λαβὼν πόλεις πλείστας καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος, ἔφη τοῖς φίλοις, "ἐπισπεισάμενον μὲν ἀδικεῖν[1] ἀσεβές, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους παραλογίζεσθαι οὐ μόνον δίκαιον καὶ ἐπίδοξον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδὺ καὶ κερδαλέον."

12. Τοῖς δ' ἱππεῦσιν ἐλαττωθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἔφεσον καὶ τοῖς εὐπόροις προεῖπε παρέχειν ἵππον[2] ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα, ἀπολυόμενον[3] τῆς στρατείας· ὥστε ταχὺ συνήχθησαν καὶ ἵπποι καὶ C ἄνδρες ἐπιτήδειοι ἀντὶ δειλῶν καὶ πλουσίων. καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἔφη ζηλοῦν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον θήλειαν ἵππον ἀγαθὴν λαβόντα κακὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πλούσιον τῆς στρατείας ἀπολῦσαι.

13. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους γυμνοὺς πωλεῖν ἐπίπρασκον οἱ λαφυροπῶλαι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐσθῆτος ἦσαν ὠνηταὶ πολλοί, τῶν δὲ σωμάτων λευκῶν καὶ ἁπαλῶν παντάπασι διὰ τὰς σκιατραφίας κατεγέλων ὡς ἀχρήστων καὶ μηδενὸς ἀξίων, ἐπιστὰς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, "ταῦτα μέν," εἶπεν, "ὑπὲρ ὧν μάχεσθε, οὗτοι δὲ οἷς μάχεσθε.[4]"

[1] ἀδικεῖν as in the *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. ix.: ἀδίκως.

[2] ἵππον] ἵππον ἕκαστον *ibid.*

[3] ἀπολυόμενον] ἀπολυομένους in some MSS.

[4] μάχεσθε] μαχεῖσθε in some MSS.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. ix. (600 C): Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 4. 5 ff., *Agesilaus*, 1. 10; Diodorus, xiv. 79; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 1. 8-9; Cornelius Nepos, xvii., *Agesilaus*, 2 and 3; Frontinus, *Strategemata*, i. 8. 12.

declared war on Agesilaus unless he should depart from Asia. Agesilaus gladly welcomed the transgression, and set forth as if he were intending to advance into Caria; and when Tissaphernes had concentrated his forces there, Agesilaus, by a rapid movement thence, invaded Phrygia; and having taken very many cities and a wealth of spoil, he said to his friends, "To do wrong after making a treaty is impious, but to outwit the enemy is not only right and reputable, but also pleasant and profitable." [a]

12. Finding himself inferior in horsemen, he retreated to Ephesus, and there made proclamation to the men of means that they should each provide a horse and a man, and thus gain their own release from service. As a result there were collected, in a very short time, both horses and capable men in place of wealthy cowards.[b] Agesilaus said he was emulating Agamemnon; for Agamemnon accepted a good mare and released from service a base man of wealth.[c]

13. When, in obedience to his orders that the prisoners of war be sold naked, those charged with selling the spoils so offered them, there were many buyers for the clothing, but as for the prisoners' bodies, altogether white and soft because of their indoor life, the buyers derided them as useless and worthless. And Agesilaus, stepping up, said, "These are the things for which you fight, and these are the men whom you fight."[d]

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. ix. (600 D); Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 4. 15, and *Agesilaus*, 1. 24.

[c] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 32 F. The reference is to Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 296 ff.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. ix. (600 E); Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 4. 19, *Agesilaus*, 1. 28; Polyaenus, ii. 1. 5; Athenaeus, 550 E.

(209) D 14. Τρεψάμενος δὲ περὶ Λυδίαν Τισσαφέρνην καὶ πλείστους ἀνελών, κατέτρεχε τῆς βασιλέως χώρας. τούτου δὲ χρήματα αὐτῷ προσπέμψαντος καὶ ἀξιοῦντος διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης ἔφη τὴν πόλιν εἶναι κυρίαν, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας πλουτίζων ἥδεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸς πλουτῶν· καλὸν δὲ νομίζειν Ἕλληνας οὐ δῶρα λαμβάνειν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ λάφυρα κτᾶσθαι.

15. Μεγαβάτου δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου παιδός, ὃς ἦν κάλλιστος τὴν μορφήν, προσελθόντος αὐτῷ ὡς ἀσπασομένου καὶ φιλήσοντος διὰ τὸ σφόδρα δοκεῖν ἀγαπᾶσθαι, ἐξέκλινεν· ὡς δ' ἐπαύσατο ἐκεῖνος προσιών, ἐπεζήτησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· τῶν δὲ φίλων φαμένων ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη αἴτιος τρέσας τὸ E τοῦ καλοῦ ἐντὸς[1] φιλήματος ἐλθεῖν, κἂν[2] μὴ ἀποδειλιᾷ,[3] ἥξειν ἐκεῖνον, χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς αὑτῷ γενόμενος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ διασιωπήσας "οὐδέν," ἔφη, "δεῖ[4] πείθειν ἐκεῖνον ἡμᾶς[5]· ἐγὼ γάρ μοι δοκῶ τῶν τοιούτων βούλεσθαι ἐπάνω εἶναι, ἢ τὴν εὐανδροτάτην τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἑλεῖν· ἄμεινον γὰρ ἑαυτῷ φυλάττειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοῦ ἑτέρων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι."

16. Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀκριβὴς ὢν καὶ νόμιμος, ἐν τοῖς φιλικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐνόμιζε πρόφασιν εἶναι τὸ

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[1] ἐντὸς added by F.C.B. [2] κἂν F.C.B.: καί.

[3] ἀποδειλιᾷ F.C.B.: ἀπὸ δειλίας (φίλημα, εἰ ἐθέλει καὶ μὴ ἀποδειλιάσει Kronenberg).

[4] δεῖ Wyttenbach (δεινὸν Kronenberg): δεῖν.

[5] ἡμᾶς] ὑμᾶς Kronenberg from the *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xi. There are more elaborate attempts to improve the passage (dependent mostly on the *Life of Agesilaus*, *ibid.*); *cf.* the editions of Wyttenbach and Bernardakis.

14. Having routed Tissaphernes in the Lydian country and slain a great many of his men, he proceeded to overrun the king's country. The king sent money to him, and in return asked for a cessation of hostilities, but Agesilaus said that the State alone had the power to make peace, and that it gave him more pleasure to enrich his soldiers than to be rich himself, and that he thought it a grand thing that the Greeks did not accept gifts from the enemy, but took spoils instead.[a]

15. When Megabates, Spithridates' son, who was most fair of form, came near to him as if to greet him with a kiss because the boy felt that he was held in affection by Agesilaus, Agesilaus drew back. And when the boy stopped coming to see him, Agesilaus asked for him; whereupon his friends said that he had only himself to blame, because he shrank from coming within kissing distance of the fair one, and if he would not act the coward, the boy would come again. Agesilaus, reflecting by himself for no brief time in uninterrupted silence, finally said, "There is no need of our trying to persuade him; for I feel that I had rather be above such things than to take by storm the most populous city of our opponents, since it is better to preserve one's own liberty than to deprive others of theirs." [b]

16. In almost all matters he was exact in observing the law, but in anything affecting his friends he thought that too rigid justice in dealings with them

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. x. (601 A-B), where the remark is made to Tithraustes, who was sent by the king to supplant Tissaphernes. *Cf.* also Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 4. 25, and *Agesilaus*, 4. 6.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xi. (602 A); *Moralia*, 31 C (81 A); Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 5. 4-5.

λίαν δίκαιον πρὸς αὐτούς. φέρεται γοῦν ἐπιστόλιον
F αὐτοῦ παραιτουμένου τινὰ τῶν φίλων πρὸς Ἱδριέα
τὸν Κᾶρα, οὕτω· "Νικίας εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, ἄφες·
εἰ δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἐμοὶ ἄφες· πάντως δὲ ἄφες."

17. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς πλείστοις ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων τοιοῦτος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· ἔστι δὲ ὅπου πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἐχρῆτο τῷ καιρῷ μᾶλλον. ἀναζυγῆς γοῦν ποτε γενομένης θορυβωδεστέρας, ἀσθενοῦντα καταλιπὼν τὸν ἐρώμενον, ἐκείνου δεομένου καὶ ἀνακαλοῦντος μετὰ δακρύων αὐτόν, ἐπιστραφεὶς εἶπεν "ὡς χαλεπόν ἐστιν ἐλεεῖν ἅμα καὶ φρονεῖν.'

18. Δίαιταν δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐδὲν ἀμείνονα
τῶν συνόντων εἶχε, κόρου μὲν καὶ μέθης τὸ παράπαν
ἀπεχόμενος, ὕπνῳ δὲ οὐ δεσπότῃ ἀλλ' ἀρχομένῳ
210 ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων χρώμενος· πρὸς δὲ θάλπος οὕτω
καὶ ψῦχος εἶχεν, ὥστε μόνος ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς
ὥραις· ἐν μέσοις δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις σκηνῶν
οὐδενὸς ἀμείνονα κοίτην εἶχεν.

19. Διετέλει δὲ λέγων τὸν ἄρχοντα προσήκειν οὐ μαλακίᾳ καρτερίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ δὴ[1] τῶν ἰδιωτῶν περιεῖναι.

20. Πυθομένου γοῦν τινος τί περιεποίησαν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι τῇ Σπάρτῃ, "καταφρονεῖν," ἔφη, "τῶν ἡδονῶν."

[1] δὴ F.C.B. (probably corrupted to δεῖ and then into the infinitive): δεῖν. προσήκειν in the line above should be kept, as it stands in Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 5. 2, the source of the quotation.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xiii. (603 B); *Moralia*, 191 B, *supra*.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xiii. (603 C); *Moralia*, 191 A, *supra*.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xiv. (603 D);

was but a poor excuse. At any rate, there is a note of his in circulation addressed to Hidrieus the Carian, in which he asks for the release of one of his friends in these words: "If Nicias is not guilty, let him go; but if he is guilty, let him go for my sake; but let him go anyway."[a]

17. Such, then, was Agesilaus in his friends' behalf in most matters; but there are instances when, in meeting a critical situation, he showed more regard for the general weal. At any rate, on a time when camp was being broken in some disorder, and Agesilaus was leaving behind his loved one who was ill, and the loved one implored him and called him back with tears, Agesilaus, turning round, exclaimed, "How hard it is to be merciful and sensible at the same time!"[b]

18. The mode of living which he followed personally was in no wise better than that of his associates. He refrained always from overeating and from heavy drinking. Sleep he treated, not as a master, but as governed at all times by what he had to do; and such was his attitude towards heat and cold that he alone was able to make good use of the different seasons; and in his tent, which was in the midst of his soldiers, he had no better bed than anybody else.[c]

19. He was continually saying that the commander ought rightly to be superior to the privates not in soft living and luxury, but in endurance and courage.[d]

20. At any rate, when someone inquired what advantage the laws of Lycurgus had brought to Sparta, he said, "Contempt for pleasures."

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 5. 2-3, and 9. 5; Cornelius Nepos, xvii., *Agesilaus*, 5. 2.

[d] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 5. 2.

(210) 21. *Πρὸς δε τὸν ἐπιθαυμάζοντα τὴν μετριότητα τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῆς τροφῆς αὑτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων "ἀντὶ ταύτης," ἔφη, "τῆς διαίτης, ὦ ξένε, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀμώμεθα.[1]"*

B 22. *Ἄλλου δὲ προτρεπομένου ἀνίεσθαι καὶ λέγοντος διὰ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἄδηλον μήποτε καιρὸς τούτου γένηται, "ἀλλ' ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "ἐμαυτὸν ἐθίζω μελετῶν[2] ὥστ' ἐν μηδεμιᾷ μεταβολῇ μεταβολὴν ζητεῖν."*

23. *Καὶ πρεσβύτης δὲ γενόμενος τῇ αὐτῇ ἀγωγῇ ἐχρῆτο· πρὸς οὖν τὸν πυθόμενον δι' ὅ τι σφοδροῦ χειμῶνος ὄντος ἀχίτων περιέρχεται εἰς τοῦτο ἡλικίας ἥκων, "ἵνα," ἔφη, "οἱ νέοι μιμῶνται, παράδειγμα ἔχοντες τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ ἄρχοντας."*

24. *Θάσιοι δὲ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν διαπορευομένῳ μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἄλφιτα καὶ χῆνας καὶ* C *τραγήματα καὶ μελίπηκτα καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ βρώματά τε καὶ πώματα[3] πολυτελῆ ἔπεμψαν· μόνα δὲ τὰ ἄλφιτα δεξάμενος τὰ λοιπὰ ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὀπίσω τοὺς κεκομικότας,[4] ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὄντα χρήσιμα. λιπαρούντων δὲ καὶ δεομένων πάντως λαβεῖν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὰ τοῖς εἵλωσι διαδοῦναι.[5] πυθομένων δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν, ἔφη, "τοὺς ἀνδραγαθίαν ἀσκοῦντας τὰς τοιαύτας λιχνείας οὐχ ἁρμόζει προσίεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ δελεάζοντα τοὺς ἀνδραποδώδεις τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀλλότρια."*

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[1] *ἀμώμεθα*] *μώμεθα* Valckenaer, *μνώμεθα* S. A. Naber.

[2] *μελετῶν* or *ἀσκῶν* F.C.B.: *λέγων*.

[3] *πώματα* the preferred form: *πόματα*.

[4] *κεκομικότας*] *κομίζοντας* some MSS.

[5] *διαδοῦναι*] *διαδιδοῦσθαι* some MSS.

21. In answer to the man who expressed surprise at the plainness of the clothes and the fare both of himself and of the other Spartans, he said, "From this mode of life, my friend, we reap a harvest of liberty."

22. When someone else urged him to relax, and said that, because of the uncertainty of fortune, the opportunity for this might never come to him, he replied, "I accustom myself by training to seek to find a change in no change."

23. Even when he had grown old, he followed the same course; and in answer to someone who asked him the reason why, at his age, he went about with no undergarment in such very cold weather, he said, "So that the young men may imitate, having the oldest men and the officials as an example."[a]

24. The Thasians, as he was marching through their country with his army, sent to him flour, geese, sweetmeats, honey-cakes, and other costly foods and drinks of all kinds. The flour alone he accepted, but the rest of the things he bade those who had brought them to carry back because these were of no use to the Spartans. But when the Thasians importuned him and begged him by all means to take all, he gave orders to distribute them among the Helots. And when the Thasians inquired the reason, he said, "It is not in keeping that those who practise manly virtues should indulge in such gormandizing, for things that allure the servile crowd are alien to free men."[b]

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[a] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, vii. 13.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxxvi. (616 F), where the scene is laid in Egypt, as also in Cornelius Nepos, xvii., *Agesilaus*, 8. 3-4. The story is found also in Athenaeus, 657 B, and in Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iii. 20, where it is told of Lysander.

(210) 25. Πάλιν δὲ τῶν Θασίων διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν μεγάλως D ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εὐεργετῆσθαι, ναοῖς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποθεώσεσι[1] τιμησάντων, καὶ περὶ τούτου πρεσβείαν ἀποστειλάντων, ἀναγνοὺς τὰς τιμάς, ἃς αὐτῷ προσήνεγκαν οἱ πρέσβεις, ἠρώτησεν εἰ ἡ πατρὶς αὐτῶν ἀποθεοῦν ἀνθρώπους δύναται· φαμένων δέ, "ἄγετ'," ἔφη, "ποιήσατε πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς θεούς[2]· καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν πράξητε, τότε πιστεύσω ὑμῖν ὅτι κἀμὲ δυνήσεσθε θεὸν ποιῆσαι."

26. Τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἑλληνικῶν ἐθνῶν ψηφισαμένων ἐν ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πόλεσιν εἰκόνας ἀνιστᾶν αὐτοῦ, προσέγραψεν, "ἐμοῦ μηδεμία εἰκὼν ἔστω μηδὲ γραπτὴ μηδὲ πλαστὴ μηδὲ κατασκευαστή."

E 27. Θεασάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας οἰκίαν τετραγώνοις ὠροφωμένην δοκοῖς ἠρώτησε τὸν κεκτημένον εἰ τετράγωνα παρ' αὐτοῖς φύεται ξύλα· φαμένου δὲ οὔ, ἀλλὰ στρογγύλα, "τί οὖν;" εἶπεν, "εἰ τετράγωνα ἦν, στρογγύλ' ἂν[3] ἐτελεῖτε;"

28. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δέ ποτε ἄχρι τίνος εἰσὶν οἱ τῆς Λακωνικῆς ὅροι, τὸ δόρυ κραδάνας εἶπεν "ἄχρις οὗ τοῦτο φθάνοι.[4]"

29. Ἄλλου δὲ ἐπιζητοῦντος διὰ τί ἀτείχιστος ἡ Σπάρτη, ἐπιδείξας τοὺς πολίτας ἐξωπλισμένους "ταῦτά ἐστιν," εἶπε, "τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων τείχη."

[1] *ἀποθεώσεσι*] *ἀποθεώσει* van Herwerden.

[2] *θεούς* added by Bernardakis, but it is not absolutely necessary.

[3] *στρογγύλ' ἂν* Bernardakis; *στρογγύλα*.

[4] *φθάνοι*] there are grounds for emending to *τοῦτ' ἂν φθάνῃ*.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 191 D, *supra*, and the note. By "constructed" he probably refers to the gold and ivory statues which were common among the Greeks.

25. At another time the Thasians, because of a feeling that they had been greatly befriended by him, honoured him with temples and deifications, and also sent an embassy to inform him of their action. When he had read the honours which the ambassadors proffered to him, he asked if their country had the power to deify men; and when they answered in the affirmative, he said, "Go to; make gods of yourselves first, and if you can accomplish this, then will I believe that you will be able to make a god of me also."

26. When the Greek peoples of Asia voted to erect statues of him in their most prominent cities, he wrote to them: "Let there be no image of me painted or sculptured or constructed." [a]

27. Seeing in Asia a house roofed with square beams, he asked the owner if timber in that country grew square. And when the man said, "No, but round," he said, "Well, then, if they were square, would you finish them round?" [b]

28. Being asked once how far the bounds of Sparta extended, he said, with a flourish of his spear, "As far as this can reach." [c]

29. When someone else wished to know why Sparta was without walls, he pointed to the citizens in full armour and said, "These are the Spartans' walls." [d]

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 227 C, *infra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xii. (47 C).

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 190 E (3), *supra*, and 217 E (7), 218 F (2), 229 C (6), *infra*, and 267 C.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 217 E, *infra* (Antalcidas); Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix. (52 B); Plato, *Laws*, 778 D; Epictetus, in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, v. iii.; Demosthenes, *Oration* xviii. (*De corona*), 299 (325); Claudius Claudianus, (viii.), *Panegyr. de quarto consulatu Honorii*, 508. *Cf.* also *Moralia*, 228 E (28), *infra*.

30. Ἄλλου δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιζητοῦντος, "οὐ λίθοις
F δεῖ καὶ ξύλοις τετειχίσθαι τὰς πόλεις," ἔφη, "ταῖς
δὲ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἀρεταῖς."

31. Τοῖς δὲ φίλοις παρήγγειλε μὴ χρήμασιν, ἀνδρείᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀρετῇ σπουδάζειν πλουτεῖν.

32. Ὁπότε δὲ βούλοιτο ἔργον τι ταχέως ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐφήπτετο ἐν ὄψει ἁπάντων.

33. Ἐμεγαλύνετο δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενὸς ἧττον πονεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρχειν ἑαυτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεύειν.

34. Θεωρήσας δέ τινα Λάκωνα χωλὸν ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξιόντα καὶ ἵππον ζητοῦντος, "οὐκ αἰσθάνῃ," ἔφη, "ὅτι οὐ φευγόντων ἀλλὰ μενόντων ὁ πόλεμος χρείαν ἔχει;"

35. Ἐρωτώμενος δὲ πῶς μεγάλην δόξαν περιεποιήσατο, "θανάτου καταφρονήσας," ἔφη.

36. Ἐπιζητοῦντος δέ τινος διὰ τί Σπαρτιᾶται
211 μετ' αὐλῶν ἀγωνίζονται, ἔφη, "ἵν', ὅταν πρὸς
ῥυθμὸν βαίνωσιν, οἵ τε δειλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀνδρεῖοι
φανεροὶ ὦσιν."

37. Μακαρίζοντος δέ τινος τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα νέον ὄντα κομιδῇ, εἶπεν "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Πρίαμος ταύτην ἔχων τὴν ἡλικίαν ἠτύχησε."

38. Πολλὴν δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιη-

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[a] See note *d* on previous page.

[b] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 5. 3. Plutarch tells the same sort of thing about C. Marius in his *Life*, chap. vii. (409 B).

30. When another person put the same question, he said, "Cities ought not to be fortified with stones and timbers, but with the strong virtues of their inhabitants."[a]

31. He advised his friends to endeavour to be rich, not in money, but in bravery and virtue.

32. Whenever he wished a task to be quickly performed by his soldiers, he himself took hold first in the sight of all.[b]

33. He found more cause for pride in his working quite as hard as anybody, and in his mastery over himself, rather than in his being king.[c]

34. When he saw a lame Spartan going forth to war and asking where he could get a horse, Agesilaus said, "Don't you realize that war has need, not of those who run away, but of those who stand their ground?"[d]

35. Being asked how he had fostered his great repute, he said, "By showing contempt for death."[e]

36. When someone desired to know why Spartans do battle amidst the sound of fifes, he said, "So that, as all keep step to the music, the cowardly and the brave may be plainly seen."[f]

37. When someone dwelt upon the great good fortune of the king of Persia, who was a very young man, Agesilaus said, "But even Priam at that time of life had not met with misfortune."[g]

38. When he had brought a great part of Asia

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[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 198 E (8), *supra*.

[d] *Cf.* 217 C, 234 E, *infra*; Valerius Maximus, iii. 7, ext. 8.

[e] *Cf.* 216 C (18), *infra*.

[f] *Cf.* Thucydides, v. 70; Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 13. 8; Lucian, *On Dancing*, 10; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, ii. 16 (37); Valerius Maximus, ii. 6. 2.

[g] *Cf. Moralia*, 113 E.

(211) σάμενος διέγνω χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν βασιλέα, ὅπως παύσῃ σχολὴν αὐτὸν ἄγοντα καὶ διαφθείροντα τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δημαγωγούς.

39. Μεταπεμφθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἕνεκα τῆς τοῦ περιεστηκότος τὴν Σπάρτην Ἑλληνικοῦ πολέμου αἰτίας διὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ[1] Πέρσου διαπεμφθέντα χρήματα, εἰπὼν τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄρχοντα δεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν
B νόμων ἄρχεσθαι, ἀπέπλευσε τῆς Ἀσίας πολὺν ἑαυτοῦ πόθον τοῖς ἐνταῦθα Ἕλλησι καταλιπών.

40. Τοῦ δὲ Περσικοῦ νομίσματος χάραγμα τοξότην ἔχοντος, ἀναζευγνύων ἔφη τρισμυρίοις τοξόταις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξελαύνεσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας· τοσούτων γὰρ εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ Θήβας κομισθέντων διὰ Τιμοκράτους χρυσῶν δαρεικῶν καὶ διαδοθέντων τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς, ἐξεπολεμώθησαν οἱ δῆμοι πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας.[2]

41. Καὶ ἀντέγραψε τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐπιστολὴν τήνδε, "Ἀγησίλαος τοῖς ἐφόροις χαίρειν·

Τὰν πολλὰν τᾶς Ἀσίας κατεστρεψάμεθα, καὶ τὼς βαρβάρως ἐλάσαμες, καὶ ἐν τᾷ Ἰωνίᾳ ὅπλα
C ἐποιήσαμες πολλά· ἐπεὶ δὲ κέλεσθέ με κατὰ τὰν προθεσμίαν παραγίνεσθαι, ἕπομαι τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ, σχεδὸν δ' αὐτὰν καὶ φθάσω· ἄρχω γὰρ οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ ἀρχάν, ἀλλὰ τᾷ πόλει καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις· καὶ τότε

[1] τοῦ, not in the MSS. apparently, seems necessary.

[2] Σπαρτιάτας in the *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xv.: στρατιώτας.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xv. (603 E); Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 5. 1, and iv. 1. 41, and *Agesilaus*, 1. 7.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xv. (p. 603 E); Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 2. 1-3, and *Agesilaus*, 1. 36; Cornelius Nepos, xvii., *Agesilaus*, 4. 1-4.

under his control, he decided to march against the king himself, so that he might put an end to the king's spending his time in leisure and corrupting the popular leaders among the Greeks.[a]

39. When he was summoned home by the Ephors because of the war declared against Sparta by the surrounding Greek states, influenced by the money which had been sent to them by the Persian, he said that the good commander ought to be subject to the command of the laws, and sailed away from Asia, leaving behind a great yearning for him among the Greeks there.[b]

40. Inasmuch as the Persian coinage was stamped with the figure of a bowman, he said, as he was breaking camp, that he was being driven out of Asia by the king with thirty thousand bowmen; for such was the number of gold pieces brought to Athens and Thebes through Timocrates and distributed among the popular leaders; and thus the people were stirred to hostilities against the Spartans.[c]

41. He wrote a letter in reply to the Ephors as follows:

"Agesilaus to the Ephors greeting.

"We hae conquered the maist pairt of Asia, and made the barbarians rin, an' in Ionia we hae built mony an armed camp. But gin ye bid me come back as ye hae set the limit, I'll come after the letter, or I'll mebbe get there afore it; for I rule, no for masel', but for the State and oor allies.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xv. (604 C); *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. xx. (1021 D); Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 5. 1. Xenophon (*l.c.*) says that the Persian gold went to Thebes, Corinth, and Argos, and the Athenians were eager for the war (naturally, as it was a war of revenge) without being bribed.

(211) ἄρχων ἄρχει ἀλαθέως κατὰ δίκαν, ὅταν καὶ ἄρχηται ὑπό τε νόμων καὶ ἐφόρων ἢ οἷοι ἂν ἄλλοι ἐν πόλει ἄρχοντες ὦσιν."

42. Ὡς δὲ διαβὰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης, ἐδεήθη μὲν οὐδενὸς τῶν βαρβάρων, πέμπων δὲ πρὸς ἑκάστους ἐπυνθάνετο πότερον D ὡς φιλίαν ἢ ὡς πολεμίαν διαπορεύηται τὴν χώραν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι φιλικῶς ἐδέχοντο καὶ παρέπεμπον· οἱ δὲ καλούμενοι Τραλλεῖς,[1] οἷς καὶ Ξέρξης, ὡς λέγεται, ἔδωκε[2] δῶρα, τῆς διόδου μισθὸν ᾔτουν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα καὶ γυναῖκας τοσαύτας· ὁ δὲ κατειρωνευσάμενος αὐτοὺς καὶ φήσας τί οὖν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἦλθον ληψόμενοι, προῆγε καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς παρατεταγμένοις τρεψάμενος καὶ διαφθείρας πολλοὺς διῆλθεν.

43. Τῷ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐρώτημα προσέπεμψε· φήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου βουλεύσεσθαι,[3] "βουλευέσθω τοίνυν," εἶπεν, "ἡμεῖς δὲ πορευσόμεθα." θαυμάσας οὖν τὴν τόλμαν καὶ δείσας ἐκέλευσεν ὡς φίλον προάγειν.[4]

E 44. Τῶν δὲ Θετταλῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις συμμαχούντων, ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν· εἰς δὲ Λάρισαν[5] ἔπεμψε Ξενοκλέα καὶ Σκύθην περὶ φιλίας· συλληφθέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ παραφυλαττομένων, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βαρέως φέροντες ᾤοντο δεῖν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον περιστρατοπεδεύσαντα πολιορκεῖν τὴν Λάρισαν[5]· ὁ

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[1] Τραλλεῖς in the *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xvi.: Τρωαδεῖς.

[2] ἔδωκε *ibid.*: δέδωκε.

[3] βουλεύσεσθαι *ibid.*: βουλεύεσθαι.

[4] προάγειν *ibid.* (Cobet): προαίρειν.

[5] Λάρισαν the regular spelling in inscriptions: Λάρισσαν.

An' a mon truly rules richt whan he gangs wi' the laws an' the Ephors or whatever ither rulers there may be in the State." [a]

42. When he had crossed the Hellespont and was marching through Thrace he made no request of any of the barbarian peoples, but sent to each to inquire whether, as he passed through their country, he should find it friendly or hostile. Nearly all received him in a friendly manner, and helped him on; but the people called Trallians, to whom as it is said even Xerxes gave gifts, demanded of Agesilaus, as the price for passing through their land, an hundred talents of silver and an equal number of women. And he, making fun of them, asked why they did not come at once to get all this, and, leading on his forces to where the Trallians were drawn up for battle, he engaged them, and, having routed them with great slaughter, he marched through.[b]

43. To the king of the Macedonians he sent to propound the same question; and when the king said that he would consider it, Agesilaus said, "Let him consider it, then, but we will be marching on." Amazed at his boldness, and fearful, the king accordingly bade him advance as a friend.[b]

44. Since the Thessalians were in alliance with his enemies, he ravaged their country. To Larissa, however, he sent Xenocles and Scythes to suggest an amicable agreement. But when these were seized and detained, the rest of his men bore it very ill, and thought that he ought to encamp about Larissa and

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[a] The letter contains a suspicious number of words for a Laconic letter!

[b] Nos. 42, 43, and 44 are to be found consecutively in nearly the same words in Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xvi. (604 D-E).

δὲ φήσας οὐκ ἂν ἐθελῆσαι Θετταλίαν ὅλην λαβεῖν ἀπολέσας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν ἕτερον ὑποσπόνδους αὐτοὺς ἀπέλαβεν.

F 45. Πυθόμενος δὲ μάχην γεγονέναι περὶ Κόρινθον, καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν μὲν παντάπασιν ὀλίγους τεθνᾶναι, Κορινθίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς παμπόλλους, οὐκ ὤφθη περιχαρὴς οὐδ' ἐπηρμένος τῇ νίκῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ βαρὺ στενάξας, "φεῦ τᾶς[1] Ἑλλάδος," ἔφη, "ἇ[1] τοσούτους ὑφ' αὑτᾶς ἀπολώλεκεν, ὅσοις ἀρκεῖ τὼς βαρβάρως νικᾶν ἅπαντας."

46. Φαρσαλίων δὲ προσκειμένων καὶ κακουργούντων[2] αὐτοῦ τὸ στράτευμα, πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσι τρεψάμενος αὐτοὺς τρόπαιον ἔστησεν ὑπὸ τῷ Ναρθακίῳ· καὶ τὴν νίκην ἐκείνην πάντων ὑπερηγάπησεν, ὅτι συστησάμενος τὸ ἱππικὸν αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ, τούτῳ μόνῳ τοὺς μέγιστον ἐφ' ἱππικῇ φρονοῦντας ἐκράτησεν.

212 47. Διφρίδα δὲ οἴκοθεν ἀπαγγείλαντος αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἐκ παρόδου ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, καίτοι ἐκ μείζονος παρασκευῆς ὕστερον τοῦτο ποιῆσαι διανοούμενος, οὐκ ἀπειθήσας τοῖς ἄρχουσι, μεταπεμψάμενος δύο μόρας[3] τῶν περὶ Κόρινθον στρατευομένων ἐπέβη τῆς Βοιωτίας. καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐν

[1] τᾶς and ἇ the Doric forms for the sake of consistency: τῆς and ᾗ.

[2] κακουργούντων] κακούντων *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xvi.

[3] μόρας Turnebus: μοίρας or μυριάδας.

lay siege to it. But he declared that he would not lose either one of those men for the whole of Thessaly, and got them back by coming to terms with the enemy.[a]

45. When he learned that a battle had been fought in the vicinity of Corinth,[b] and that only a very few of the Spartans had fallen, but a vast number of the Corinthians and Athenians and the others on their side, he was not observed to be overjoyful or elated at the victory, but with a very deep sigh said, "Hech, sirs, for Greece, wha her ane sel' has killed sae mony men—as mony as micht pit doon a' the barbarians." [c]

46. When the Pharsalians beset him and harassed his army, he routed them with five hundred horsemen, and set up a trophy at the foot of Mount Narthacium. And he was better satisfied with this victory than with all others, because he himself by his own efforts had built up this company of cavalry,[d] and with this alone he had overcome those who took the greatest pride in horsemanship.[e]

47. Diphridas[f] brought word to him from home that he should at once, as he passed by, invade Boeotia. It had been his purpose to do this later after making more adequate preparation, but he did not disobey those in authority, and, after sending for two divisions of the army in the field at Corinth, he entered Boeotia. At Coroneia he engaged

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[a] See note *b* on previous page.

[b] In 394 B.C. *Cf.* Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 2. 18 ff.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xv. (604 F); *Moralia*, 191 A (6), *supra*, and the note; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 3. 1, *Agesilaus*, 7. 4: Diodorus, xiv. 86; Cornelius Nepos, xvii., *Agesilaus*, 5. 2.

[d] See 209 B, *supra*.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xvi. (605 A); Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 3. 3-9, *Agesilaus*, 2. 2-5.

[f] One of the Ephors.

(212) Κορωνείᾳ Θηβαίοις Ἀθηναίοις Ἀργείοις Κορινθίοις Λοκροῖς ἀμφοτέροις ἐνίκησε, καίτοι ὑπὸ πολλῶν τραυμάτων κακῶς τὸ σῶμα διακείμενος, τὴν μεγίστην μάχην, ὥς φησι Ξενοφῶν, τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν γενομένων.

48. Οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν δίαιταν διὰ τὰς τοσαύτας εὐτυχίας καὶ νίκας ἤλλαξεν οἴκαδ' ἐπανελθών.

B 49. Ὁρῶν δ' ἐνίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπὸ ἱπποτροφίας δοκοῦντας εἶναί τινας καὶ μεγαλοφρονοῦντας ἔπεισε τὴν ἀδελφὴν Κυνίσκαν ἅρμα καθεῖσαν[1] Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἀγωνίσασθαι, βουλόμενος ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστιν ἀρετῆς πλούτου δὲ καὶ δαπάνης τὰ τοιαῦτα.

50. Ξενοφῶντα δὲ τὸν σοφὸν ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ σπουδαζόμενον ἐκέλευε τοὺς παῖδας ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τρέφειν μεταπεμψάμενον, ὡς[2] τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν μαθημάτων παιδευθησομένους, ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι.

C 51. Ἄλλοτε δ' ἐρωτώμενος διὰ τί μάλιστα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐδαιμονοῦσιν οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται, "διότι," εἶπε, "παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσκοῦσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι."

[1] *καθεῖσαν Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xx.: *καθίσασαν*.
[2] *ὡς ibid.* (Kronenberg).

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[a] *Hellenica*, iv. 3. 16, *Agesilaus*, 2. 9. Xenophon took part in the battle (*Anabasis*, v. 3. 6).

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chaps. xvii. and xviii. (605 A-F); Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 3. 15-20, *Agesilaus*, 2. 9-16.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xix. (606 B-C).

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xx. (606 D); Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 9. 6; Pausanias, iii. 8. 1-2; iii. 15. 1;

in battle Thebans, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, and the two Locrian peoples, and, although he was in desperate straits by reason of the many wounds in his body, he was victorious in the greatest battle, as Xenophon says,[a] of those fought in his day.[b]

48. After he returned home he made no change in anything touching his life and his manner of living on account of so many successes and victories.[c]

49. Seeing that some of the citizens thought themselves to be somebody and gave themselves great airs because they kept a racing stud, he persuaded his sister Cynisca to enter a chariot in the races at Olympia, for he wished to demonstrate to the Greeks that this sort of thing was no sign of excellence, but only of having money and being willing to spend it.[d]

50. He had with him Xenophon the philosopher, who was treated with marked consideration, and he urged Xenophon to send for his sons, and bring them up in Sparta, where they would be taught the fairest of all lessons—to rule and to be ruled.[e]

51. On one other occasion he was asked what was the especial reason why the Spartans were fortunate above all other peoples, and he replied, "Because they, above all others, make it their practice to rule and to be ruled."[f]

v. 12. 5; vi. 1. 6; and the epigram in the *Greek Anthology*, xiii. 16 (L.C.L. v. p. 10), which records Cynisca's victory. Fragments of the original inscription, which was cut on the pedestal on which the statue of Cynisca stood, were found in the excavations at Olympia. See J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, iv. p. 3; or Pausanias, ed. Hitzig and Blumner, ii. p. 532.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xx. (606 D), and Diogenes Laertius, ii. 51 and 54.

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 215 C, *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxx. (58 C), and *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. i. (596 D); Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 2. 16.

(212) 52. Λυσάνδρου δὲ τελευτήσαντος, εὑρὼν ἑταιρείαν πολλὴν συνεστῶσαν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος εὐθὺς ἐπανελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας συνέστησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ὥρμησεν αὐτὸν ἐξελέγχειν οἷος ἦν ζῶν πολίτης. καὶ λόγον ἀναγνοὺς ἐν βιβλίῳ ἀπολελειμμένον, ὃν ἔγραψε μὲν Κλέων ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεύς, ἔμελλε δὲ λέγειν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ πραγμάτων καινῶν καὶ μεταστάσεως τοῦ πολιτεύ-
D ματος, ἠθέλησεν εἰς μέσον ἐξενεγκεῖν· ἐπεὶ δέ τις τῶν γερόντων τὸν λόγον διελθὼν[1] καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὴν δεινότητα συνεβούλευσε μὴ τὸν Λύσανδρον ἀνορύττειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον μᾶλλον αὐτῷ συγκατορύττειν, ἐπείσθη καὶ ἡσύχασεν.

53. Τοὺς δὲ ὑπεναντιουμένους αὐτῷ φανερῶς μὲν οὐκ ἐτάραττε· διαπραττόμενος δὲ πέμπεσθαί[2] τινας ἀεὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπεδείκνυε γενομένους ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις πονηροὺς καὶ πλεονέκτας· εἶτα κρινομένοις πάλιν αὖ βοηθῶν καὶ συναγωνιζόμενος οἰκείους ἐποιεῖτο καὶ μεθίστη πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὥστε οὐδένα ἀντίπαλον εἶναι.

E 54. Ἐδεήθη τις αὐτοῦ γράψαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀσίας ξένους, ὅπως τύχῃ τοῦ δικαίου· "ἀλλ' οἱ ἐμοὶ ξένοι," εἶπε, "τὰ δίκαια δι' ἑαυτῶν, κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ γράψω, ποιοῦσιν."

55. Ἐπεδείκνυέ τις αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τεῖχος ὀχυρὸν καὶ καρτερῶς ἄγαν ἐξῳκοδομημένον, καὶ

[1] διελθὼν Hartman: ἐπελθὼν.

[2] πέμπεσθαι *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xx.: δ' ἕπεσθαι.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 229 F, *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxiv. (447 D), and chap. xxx. (450 E); *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xx. (606 E).

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xx. (606 F).

52. After Lysander's death he found a huge association banded together, which Lysander, immediately after his return from Asia, had organized against him, and he set out to show up Lysander by pointing out what kind of a citizen he had been when he was alive. So, after reading a speech which had been left among Lysander's papers, the author of which was Cleon of Halicarnassus, and which Lysander had been intending to appropriate and deliver before the people on the subject of revolution and changing the form of government, Agesilaus wished to make it public. But when one of the aged men read the speech, and was frightened at its cleverness, and advised him not to disinter the dead Lysander, but rather to inter the speech along with him, he took the advice and did nothing.[a]

53. Those who covertly opposed him he did not openly put to confusion, but managed to have some of them always sent out as generals and officers, and then he would proceed to demonstrate that they had proved themselves unprincipled and greedy in exercising their authority. Then later, when they were brought to trial, his rôle this time would be to help them and defend them at their trial; and thus he won their allegiance, and brought them over to his own side, so that there was nobody who opposed him.[b]

54. Somebody wanted him to write to his friends in Asia so that the petitioner might meet with right treatment there. "But," said Agesilaus, "my friends of themselves do what is right, even if I do not write to them."

55. Somebody in a foreign land pointed out to Agesilaus the city wall, high towering and exceedingly massive in its construction, and asked Agesilaus

ἠρώτα εἰ καλὸν αὐτῷ φαίνεται· "νὴ Δία," ἔφη, "καλὸν οὐχ ὡς ἀνδράσι δὲ ἀλλ' ὡς γυναιξὶν ἐνοικεῖν."

56. Μεγαρέως δέ τινος περὶ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς αὐτὸν μεγαλαυχουμένου, "μειράκιον," ἔφη, "οἱ λόγοι σου πολλῆς δυνάμεως δέονται."

F 57. Ἃ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἑώρα θαυμάζοντας ἐδόκει μηδὲ γινώσκειν. καί ποτε Καλλιππίδης ὁ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ὑποκριτής, ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ἔχων ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ σπουδαζόμενος ὑπὸ πάντων, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ προσεῖπεν, ἔπειτα σοβαρῶς εἰς τοὺς συμπεριπατοῦντας ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτόν, ἐπεδείκνυτο νομίζων ἐκεῖνον ἄρξειν[1] τινὸς φιλοφρονήσεως· τέλος δὲ εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐπιγιγνώσκεις με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐδ' ἤκουσας ὅστις εἰμί;" ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἀποβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν εἶπεν,[2] "ἀλλ' οὐ τύ ἐσσι Καλλιππίδας ὁ δεικηλίκτας;" οὕτω δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μίμους καλοῦσιν.

58. Τοῦ δὲ μιμουμένου τὴν τῆς ἀηδόνος φωνὴν ἀκοῦσαι παρακαλούμενος, παρῃτήσατο φήσας "αὐτᾶς ἄκουκα πολλάκις."

213 59. Μενεκράτους δὲ τοῦ ἰατροῦ, ἐπεὶ κατατυχὼν ἔν τισιν ἀπεγνωσμέναις θεραπείαις Ζεὺς ἐπεκλήθη, φορτικῶς ταύτῃ χρωμένου τῇ προσ-

[1] ἄρξειν *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxi.: ἄρξαι.

[2] εἶπεν added from *ibid.*

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 190 A, *supra*, 215 D, 230 C, *infra*, and Valerius Maximus, iii. 7, ext. 8.

[b] The remark is usually attributed to Lysander; *cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxii. (445 D); *Moralia*, 71 E, 190 E, *supra*, 229 C, *infra*; Themistius, *Oration* xxvii.

if it looked grand to him. "Yes," said Agesilaus, "grand indeed, not for men though, but for women to live in."[a]

56. When a man from Megara boasted greatly about his city, Agesilaus said, "Young man, your words need a great power to back them."[b]

57. Things which he saw other people admiring he seemed not even to notice. For example, once upon a time Callippides, the tragic actor,[c] who had a name and repute among the Greeks, and was received everywhere with the most flattering attention, first of all put himself in front of Agesilaus and addressed him, and then pompously thrust himself into the company that was walking with him, thus making it plain that he expected the king to begin some friendly conversation, and finally he said, "Your Majesty, do you not recognize me, and have you not heard who I am?" At that Agesilaus looked towards him and said, "Are ye no Callippidas the shawman?" That is what the Spartans call the strolling players.[d]

58. When he was invited to hear the man who imitated the nightingale's voice, he begged to be excused, saying, "I hae heard the bird itsel' mony a time."[e]

59. Menecrates the physician, who, because of his success in curing certain persons who had been given up to die, had come to be called Zeus, used to drag

334 C. The idea was originally expressed by Adeimantus to Themistocles in Herodotus, viii. 61.

[c] Famous for his impressive acting. *Cf.* Xenophon, *Symposium*, 3. 11; Aristotle, *Poetics*, chap. 26; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 348 E; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vi. 10.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxi. (607 D).

[e] *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxi. (607 E); *Moralia*, 191 B; *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 E). A similar remark is attributed to Pleistarchus, *Moralia*, 231 C, *infra*.

(213) ωνυμίᾳ, καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐπιστεῖλαι τολμήσαντος οὕτω,

“Μενεκράτης Ζεὺς βασιλεῖ Ἀγησιλάῳ χαίρειν,” οὐκ ἀναγνοὺς τὰ λοιπὰ ἀντέγραψε,

“βασιλεὺς Ἀγησίλαος Μενεκράτει ὑγιαίνειν.”

B 60. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κόνων καὶ Φαρνάβαζος τῷ βασιλέως ναυτικῷ θαλαττοκρατοῦντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὰ παράλια τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἐτειχίσθη δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Φαρναβάζου χρήματα δόντος, εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς βασιλέα· καὶ πέμπουσι πολίτην Ἀνταλκίδαν πρὸς Τιρίβαζον,[1] τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἕλληνας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπολέμησεν Ἀγησίλαος, βασιλεῖ παραδιδόντες. ὅθεν δὴ ἥκιστα[2] συνέβη τῆς κακοδοξίας ταύτης Ἀγησιλάῳ μετασχεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀνταλκίδας ἐχθρὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐξ ἅπαντος ἔπραττεν, ὡς τοῦ πολέμου τὸν Ἀγησίλαον αὔξοντος καὶ ποιοῦντος ἐνδοξότατον καὶ μέγιστον.

61. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα μηδίζειν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπεκρίθη μᾶλλον τοὺς Μήδους λακωνίζειν.

C 62. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δέ ποτε ὁποτέρα βελτίων τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἀνδρεία ἢ δικαιοσύνη, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἀνδρείας ἔφασκεν εἶναι μὴ παρούσης δικαιοσύνης· εἰ

[1] Τιρίβαζον the usual spelling: τηρίβαζον.

[2] ἥκιστα *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxiii.: κάκιστα.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 191 A (5), *supra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxi. (607 E). Ascribed to Philip of

in this title on all occasions, and even went so far in his effrontery as to write to Agesilaus in this fashion : “ Menecrates Zeus to King Agesilaus, health and happiness.” Agesilaus did not read any further, but wrote in reply,

“King Agesilaus to Menecrates, health and sanity!”[a]

60. When Conon and Pharnabazus with the Great King's fleet were masters of the sea and blockaded the Spartans' coast, and the walls of Athens had been rebuilt[b] with the money provided by Pharnabazus, the Spartans made peace with the king.[c] They sent one of their citizens, Antalcidas, to Tiribazus, and surrendered into the king's power those Greeks in Asia Minor for whose freedom Agesilaus had fought. It follows, therefore, that Agesilaus could not have had the slightest thing to do with this disreputable business ; for Antalcidas was at enmity with him, and employed every resource in working for the peace, because he felt that the war made Agesilaus great and enhanced his repute and importance.[d]

61. Yet, in answer to a man who said that the Spartans were becoming pro-Persian, Agesilaus said that rather the Persians were becoming pro-Spartan![e]

62. Being asked once which was better of the virtues, bravery or justice, he said that there is no use for bravery unless justice is also in evidence, and

Macedon by Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 51, and Athenaeus, 289 B.

[b] In 393 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 8. 10).

[c] The peace of Antalcidas, 387 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, v. 1. 29 ; Plutarch, *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. xxi. (1022 A)).

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxiii. (608 C).

[e] *Ibid.* 608 D ; *cf.* also Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. xxi. (1022 C).

(213) δὲ δίκαιοι πάντες γένοιντο, μηδὲν ἀνδρείας δεηθήσεσθαι.[1]

63. Εἰθισμένων δὲ τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα μέγαν προσαγορεύειν, " τί δαὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμοῦ μείζων," ἔφη, " εἰ μὴ δικαιότερος καὶ σωφρονέστερος; "

64. Ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντας ἐλευθέρους μὲν κακούς, δούλους δὲ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι.

65. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πῶς ἄν τις μάλιστα εὐδοκιμοίη παρ' ἀνθρώποις, " εἰ λέγοι," εἶπε, " τὰ ἄριστα, πράττοι δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα."

66. Τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν δεῖν ἔφασκε πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἐναντίους τόλμαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους εὔνοιαν ἔχειν.[2]

D 67. Ἐπιζητοῦντος δέ τινος τίνα δεῖ μανθάνειν τοὺς παῖδας, " ταῦτ'," εἶπεν, " οἷς καὶ ἄνδρες γενόμενοι χρήσονται."

68. Δικάζοντος δέ τινα δίκην αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν κατηγόρου εὖ εἰρηκότος τοῦ δὲ ἀπολογουμένου φαύλως, λέγοντος δὲ πρὸς ἕκαστα, " Ἀγησίλαε, δεῖ τὸν βασιλέα τοῖς νόμοις βοηθεῖν," " καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν," ἔφη, " εἴ τίς σοι διέσκαπτε καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον εἰ ἀφῃρεῖτο, προσεδέχου ἂν τὸν οἰκοδόμον ἢ τὸν τὸ ἱμάτιον ὑφάναντα ἐπικουρήσειν σοι; "

69. Ἐπιστολῆς δὲ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως κομισθείσης, τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης, ἣν

[1] δεηθήσεσθαι] δεήσεσθαι in the *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxiii., and in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, vii. 72.

[2] Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, liv. 49, adds πρὸς δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς λογισμόν.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 190 F (3), *supra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxiii. (608 F).

[b] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 190 F (2), *supra*.

if all men should become just they would have no need of bravery.[a]

63. The inhabitants of Asia were accustomed to give to the king of Persia the title of 'The Great,' but Agesilaus said, " In what, pray, is he greater than I, unless he is more just and more self-controlled ? " [b]

64. He used to say that the inhabitants of Asia were poor freemen, but good slaves.[c]

65. Being asked how one might most surely have a good name among men, he said, " If one say what is best and do what is most honourable."

66. He used to say that a general ought to be possessed of boldness towards the enemy and kindness towards the men under him.[d]

67. When someone desired to know what boys ought to learn, he said, " That which they will use when they become men." [e]

68. Once when he was sitting as judge the accuser spoke well and the defendant poorly, merely repeating in answer to each point, " Agesilaus, a king must uphold the laws ; " whereat Agesilaus said, " And if somebody had broken into your house, and if somebody had robbed you of your coat, should you expect that the builder of the house or the maker of the coat would come to your assistance ? "

69. After the peace was made,[f] a letter from the king of Persia was brought to him, of which the

[c] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia* 190 F (1), *supra*.

[d] Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, liv. 49, adds, " and reasoning power to meet crises."

[e] Leotychidas (224 D, *infra*) and Aristippus (Diogenes Laertius, ii. 80) expressed the same opinion, which has been repeated *ad nauseam* by professors of paedagogy.

[f] The peace of Antalcidas, 387 B.C. See *Moralia*, 213 A-B, *supra*.

(213) ὁ μετὰ Καλλίου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Πέρσης E ἤνεγκε περὶ ξενίας καὶ φιλίας, οὐκ ἔλαβεν εἰπὼν ἀπαγγεῖλαι βασιλεῖ ὡς ἰδίᾳ μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν δέοι ἐπιστολὰς πέμπειν· ἢν δὲ φίλος τῇ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι εὔνους ὢν φαίνηται, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς φίλος αὐτῷ κατὰ κράτος ἔσοιτο· ἐὰν μέντοι ἐπιβουλεύων ἁλίσκηται, "μηδ' ἂν πάνυ πολλὰς δέχωμαι ἐπιστολάς, πιστευέτω φίλον με ἕξειν."

70. Φιλοτεκνότατος δ' ὢν διαφερόντως, λέγεται ὅτι μικροῖς τοῖς παιδίοις[1] κάλαμον περιβεβηκὼς ὥσπερ ἵππον οἴκοι συνέπαιζεν· ὀφθεὶς δὲ ὑπό τινος τῶν φίλων παρεκάλει μηδενὶ φράζειν, πρὶν ἂν[2] καὶ αὐτὸς πατὴρ παίδων γένηται.

F 71. Συνεχῶς δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς Θηβαίοις πολεμοῦντος καὶ τρωθέντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, φασὶ τὸν Ἀνταλκίδαν εἰπεῖν, "καλὰ τὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θηβαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις, μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐπισταμένους μάχεσθαι διδάξας." τῷ γὰρ ὄντι Θηβαίους αὐτοὺς ἑαυτῶν πολεμικωτάτους τότε φασὶ γενέσθαι ταῖς πολλαῖς στρατείαις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτούς. διὸ καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις Ῥήτραις ἀπεῖπε πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς στρατεύειν, ὅπως πολεμεῖν μὴ μανθάνωσιν.

[1] παιδίοις] παιδίοις οὖσι, *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxv.

[2] πρὶν ἂν *ibid.*: πρίν.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxiii. (608 F); Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 8. 3 (in almost the same words as here); Aelian, *Varia Historia*, x. 20.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxv. (610 C): Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 15. Diogenes Laertius and Valerius Maximus (viii. 8, ext. 1), tell this story of Socrates.

[c] In the invasion of Boeotia in 378 B.C.

Persian with Callias the Spartan was the bearer, in regard to hospitality and friendship; but Agesilaus would not receive it, bidding the man to take back word to the king that there was no need to send letters to him personally; that if the king showed himself to be a friend to Sparta and well disposed towards Greece, he himself, to the very best of his power, would be a friend to the king. But if the king should be caught plotting against Greece, he went on to say, "even if I receive many letters, let him not believe that he shall have me for a friend."[a]

70. He was unusually fond of children, and it is said that at home he used to mount astride a stick as a hobby-horse and play with his children when they were little. But when he was seen thus by one of his friends, he begged the man to tell nobody before he had children of his own.[b]

71. He made war continually upon the Thebans, and when he was wounded in the battle,[c] they say that Antalcidas exclaimed, "This is a fine reward which you are receiving from the Thebans for giving them lessons in fighting when they had no desire to fight, and no knowledge even of fighting!" For, as a fact, they say that the Thebans at that time were more warlike than they had ever been before, owing to the many campaigns of the Spartans against them.[d] It was for this reason that Lycurgus of old, in his so-called 'Decrees,' forbade campaigning frequently against the same peoples, so that these should not learn to make war.[e]

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[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxvi. (610 D); *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xv. (285 D); *Moralia*, 227 C, *infra*.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiii. (47 D), *Moralia*, 189 F, *supra*; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, i. 16. 2.

72. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσέ ποτε δυσχερᾶναι τοὺς συμ-
214 μάχους διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς στρατείας, ὀλίγοις οὖσι
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πολλοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας,[1] ἐλέγξαι
βουλόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέλευσεν ἅπαντας
τοὺς συμμάχους καθίσαι μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀναμεμιγ-
μένους, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν·
εἶτα ἐκήρυττε τοὺς κεραμεῖς ἀνίστασθαι πρώτους,
ὡς δὲ ἀνέστησαν οὗτοι, δευτέρους ἐκήρυττε τοὺς
χαλκεῖς, εἶτα τέκτονας ἐφεξῆς καὶ οἰκοδόμους, καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν ἑκάστην. πάντες οὖν ὀλίγου
δεῖν ἀνέστησαν οἱ σύμμαχοι, τῶν δὲ Λακεδαι-
μονίων οὐδείς· ἀπείρητο γὰρ αὐτοῖς τέχνην ἐργά-
ζεσθαι ἢ μανθάνειν βάναυσον. οὕτω δὴ γελάσας
ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, "ὁρᾶτε," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅσῳ
B πλείονας ὑμῶν στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπομεν ἡμεῖς;"

73. Ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ Λεῦκτρα μάχῃ, πολλῶν Λα-
κεδαιμονίων φυγόντων καὶ τούτων ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ
νόμου ἀτιμίαις[2] ὑπευθύνων ὄντων, οἱ ἔφοροι ἔρημον
ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶντες δεομένην στρατιωτῶν
ἐβούλοντο τὴν ἀτιμίαν λῦσαι καὶ τοὺς νόμους
τηρεῖν. αἱροῦνται οὖν νομοθέτην τὸν Ἀγησίλαον·
ὁ δὲ προσελθὼν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, "νομοθέτης μὲν
οὐκ ἂν γενοίμην ἑτέρων νόμων," εἶπε, "τοῖς γὰρ
οὖσιν οὔτ' ἂν προσθείην τι οὔτ' ἂν ἀφέλοιμι οὔτε
C μεταποιήσαιμι· τοὺς δὲ ὄντας ἡμῖν νόμους κυρίους
εἶναι καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὔριον."

74. Τὸν δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐπελθόντα μετὰ το-

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[1] πολλοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας Meziriacus: πολλοὶ ἀκολουθοῦντες.

[2] ἀτιμίαις Xylander (as clearly indicated by *Moralia*, 191 c, and the *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxx.): αἰτίαις.

72. When he heard once that the allies had come to be disaffected because of the continual campaigning (for they in great numbers followed the Spartans who were but few), wishing to bring their numbers to the proof, he gave orders that the allies all sit down together indiscriminately and the Spartans separately by themselves; and then, through the herald, he commanded the potters to stand up first; and when these had done so, he commanded the smiths to stand up next, and then the carpenters in turn, and the builders, and each of the other trades. As a result, pretty nearly all of the allies stood up, but of the Spartans not a single one; for there was a prohibition against their practising or learning any menial calling. And so Agesilaus, with a laugh, said, "You see, men, how many more soldiers we send out than you do."[a]

73. In the battle of Leuctra many Spartans ran away to escape the enemy, and these were liable to disgrace as provided by the law. The Ephors, seeing the State bereft of men when it was in great need of soldiers, wished to do away with the disgrace, and also to observe the laws. Accordingly they chose Agesilaus as lawgiver; and he, coming into the public meeting, said, "I would not become a lawgiver to enact another set of laws, for in the present laws I would make no addition, subtraction, or revision. It is good that our present laws be in full force, beginning with the morrow."[b]

74. Although Epameinondas came on with such

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxvi. (610 E); Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 1. 7.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxx. (612 F); and the note on *Moralia*, 191 c (10), *supra*.

(214) σούτου ῥεύματος καὶ κλύδωνος, τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ συμμάχων μεγαλαυχουμένων ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, ὅμως εἶρξε τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀναστρέψαι ἐποίησεν, ὀλίγων ὄντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει.

75. Ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ Μαντίνειαν μάχῃ παρεκελεύσατο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς ἄλλους ἐάσαντας πάντας Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ μάχεσθαι, μόνους λέγων τοὺς ἔμφρονας ἀνδρείους εἶναι καὶ μόνους νίκης αἰτίους ὑπάρχειν· εἰ οὖν τοῦτον ἀνέλοιεν,[1] ῥᾷστα τοὺς ἄλλους ὑποχειρίους ποιήσειν· ἄφρονας γὰρ D εἶναι καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίους. ὃ καὶ συνέβη· τῆς γὰρ νίκης σὺν Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ οὔσης καὶ φυγῆς γενομένης, ἐπιστραφέντα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνακαλούμενον τοὺς ἰδίους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τις καιρίως[2] ἐπάταξε, καὶ πεσόντος ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς οἱ σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐφάμιλλον τὴν νίκην ἐποίησαν, παρὰ πολὺ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων χειρόνων, παρὰ πολὺ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμεινόνων φανέντων.

76. Χρημάτων δὲ δεομένης τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς πόλεμον καὶ ξενοτροφούσης, ἐπορεύθη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εἰς Αἴγυπτον μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Αἰγυπτίων ἐπὶ μισθῷ· διὰ δὲ τὸ λιτὸν τῆς ἐσθῆτος εἰς καταφρόνησιν ἦλθε τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις· προσεδόκων E γὰρ τὸν Σπάρτης βασιλέα καθάπερ τὸν Περσῶν κεκοσμημένον ὄψεσθαι διαπρεπῶς τὸ σῶμα, φαύλην ἔχοντες περὶ βασιλέων δόξαν. ἔδειξε γοῦν

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[1] ἀνέλοιεν Bases and E. Kurtz: ἀνέλοιμεν.

[2] καιρίως] καιρίαν Cobet.

an overwhelming tide,[a] and the Thebans and their allies were boasting mightily over the victory, nevertheless Agesilaus kept him out of the city and made him turn back, although the number of persons in the city was very small.[b]

75. In the battle of Mantineia he urged the Spartans to pay no attention to any of the others, but to fight against Epameinondas, for he said that only men of intelligence are valiant and may be counted upon to bring victory; if, therefore, they could make away with that one man, they would very easily reduce the others to subjection; for these were unintelligent and worthless. And so it came to pass. For while the victory rested with Epameinondas, and the rout of the enemy was complete, as he turned and was cheering on his men, one of the Spartans struck him a fatal blow; and when he had fallen, Agesilaus's men, rallying from their flight, made the victory hang in the balance, and the Thebans showed themselves far inferior, and the Spartans far superior.

76. When Sparta was in need of money for war, and was supporting a mercenary force, Agesilaus set out for Egypt, having been summoned by the king of the Egyptians for a goodly remuneration. But because of the simplicity of his clothes he came into contempt among the people there; for they had been expecting that they should see the king of Sparta, like the king of Persia, with his person magnificently apparelled—a sorry opinion for them to hold regarding kings. At any rate, he showed them, before they

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[a] The expression is that of Theopompus, as Plutarch tells us in his *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxxi. (613 B).

[b] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 5. 10; Diodorus, xv. 83; Cornelius Nepos, xvii., *Agesilaus*, 6. 1-3.

αὐτοῖς μεταξύ, ὡς τὸ μεγαλεῖον καὶ ἀξιόλογον νοήσει καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ κτᾶσθαι προσήκει.

77. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῷ παραστήσεσθαι
μέλλοντας ἑώρα δεδιότας τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον διὰ
τὸ τῶν πολεμίων πλῆθος (εἴκοσι γὰρ ἦσαν μυριάδες)
καὶ τὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὀλιγότητα, πρὸ τῆς παρα-
F τάξεως ἔγνω προμηθήσεσθαι[1] ἀσυνειδήτως τοῖς ἄλ-
λοις· καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀριστερὰν ὑπεστραμμένην[2] τῇ
χειρὶ ΝΙΚΗΝ προσέγραψε. καὶ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ
μάντεως τὸ ἧπαρ ἐπέθηκε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπογεγραμ-
μένην χεῖρα· κρατῶν δὲ ἐφ' ἱκανὸν χρόνον ὑπέφαινε
δισταγμὸν καὶ προσποίησιν εἶχεν[3] ἀποροῦντος,
μέχρι τῷ ἥπατι συναναληφθέντες[4] ἐτυπώθησαν οἱ
τῶν γραμμάτων χαρακτῆρες. καὶ τότε τοῖς συν-
αγωνίζεσθαι μέλλουσιν ἐπεδείκνυε, φάμενος τοὺς
θεοὺς διὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐκφῆναι νίκην.
ἀσφαλὲς οὖν τεκμήριον δόξαντες ἔχειν τοῦ κρατῆσαι
ἐθάρρησαν πρὸς τὴν μάχην.

78. Περιταφρευόντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ στρα-
τόπεδον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ Νεκταναβίος,[5] ᾧ
συνεμάχει, ἀξιοῦντος ἐπεξιέναι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι,
οὐκ ἔφη διακωλύσειν[6] τοὺς πολεμίους ἴσους αὐτοῖς
215 γενέσθαι βουλομένους. ἔτι δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολιπούσης
τῆς τάφρου συνάψαι, κατὰ τοῦτο παρατάξας τὸ
διαλεῖπον καὶ πρὸς ἴσους ἴσοις ἀγωνισάμενος

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[1] προμηθήσεσθαι F.C.B.: προθυμήσεσθαι or προθύσασθαι.
[2] ὑπεστραμμένην Meziriacus: ὑπεστρωμένῃ.
[3] εἶχεν Pantazides and E. Kurtz: ἔχειν.
[4] συναναληφθέντες] συναλειφθέντες Pantazides.
[5] Νεκταναβίος Wyttenbach (as in the *Life of Agesilaus*, chaps. xxxvii.-xxxix.): νεκτάβιος.
[6] διακωλύσειν Hatzidakis and E. Kurtz (from *Moralia*, 191 D): διακωλύειν.

were done with him, that the proper way to acquire greatness and distinction is by understanding and manly virtues.[a]

77. When he saw that his men were on the point of capitulating, for fear of the oncoming danger because of the vast number of the enemy (two hundred thousand) and the small number with him, he determined, before drawing up the battle-line, to forestall this by a plan unknown to the others. And upon his hand he wrote the word VICTORY with the letters turned towards the left. Then, as he received the liver from the priest, he placed it on the hand which had the writing upon it. Holding it for rather a long time, he showed perplexity, and kept up a pretence of not knowing what to do, until the marks of the letters had been taken up by the liver and imprinted upon it. Then he exhibited it to those who with him were to engage in the struggle, saying that the gods through the letters had revealed victory. So his men, feeling that they had a sure sign that they were to overcome the enemy, became bold for the battle.[b]

78. While the enemy were digging a ditch to surround his position (as they could do by reason of their vast numbers), and Nectanabis, with whom he was allied, was insistent upon a sortie and a decisive battle, Agesilaus said that he would not hinder the enemy in their desire to put themselves on equal terms with the defenders. And when the trench lacked but little of completion, he drew up his men in the open space between the ends, and, fighting with equal numbers against equal numbers,

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxxvi. (616 B); Cornelius Nepos, xvii., *Agesilaus*, 7. 2.
[b] A similar trick of Alexander's is told by Frontinus, *Strategemata*, i. 11. 14.

(215) τροπὴν ἐποιήσατο καὶ πολὺν φόνον τῶν πολεμίων ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιώταις καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ τῇ πόλει διεπέμψατο.

79. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτου[1] ἀπόπλουν ἀποθνήσκων ἐνετείλατο τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν μήτε πλαστὰν μήτε γραπτὰν μήτε μιμηλὰν τοῦ σώματος εἰκόνα ποιήσασθαι, " εἰ γάρ τι καλὸν ἔργον πεποίηκα, τοῦτό μου μνημεῖον ἔσται· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδ' οἱ πάντες ἀνδριάντες, βαναύσων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ἔργα ὄντες."

B

ΑΓΗΣΙΠΟΛΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ

1. Ἀγησίπολις ὁ Κλεομβρότου, εἰπόντος τινὸς ὅτι Φίλιππος ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις Ὄλυνθον κατέσκαψε, " μὰ τοὺς θεούς," εἶπεν, " ἄλλην τοιαύτην ἐν πολλαπλασίονι χρόνῳ οὐκ οἰκοδομήσει."

2. Ἄλλου δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι μετὰ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων βασιλεύων ὡμήρευσε καὶ οὐχ οἱ παῖδες οὐδ' αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, " δικαίως," εἶπεν, " αὐτοὺς γὰρ ἡμᾶς καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶ τὰς αὐτῶν ἁμαρτίας φέρειν."

3. Βουλομένου δ' αὐτοῦ σκύλακας οἴκοθεν μεταπέμψασθαι, ὥς τις εἶπεν, " οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξαγωγὴ
C παρ' αὐτῶν," " οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν," ἔφη, " πρόσθεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐγένετο."

ΑΓΗΣΙΠΟΛΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ

Ἀγησίπολις ὁ Παυσανίου, Ἀθηναίων πρὸς αὐτὸν

[1] Αἰγύπτου] Bernardakis prefers ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxxix. (618 A), *Moralia*, 191 c (11), *supra*, and the note.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 191 D (12), *supra*, and the note.

he routed the enemy with great slaughter by means of few soldiers with him, and sent home much money for the State.[a]

79. On his way home from Egypt death came to him, and in his last hours he gave directions to those with him that they should not cause to be made any sculptured or painted or imitative representation of his person. " For if I have done any goodly deed, that shall be my memorial; but if not, then not all the statues in the world, the works of menial and worthless men, will avail." [b]

AGESIPOLIS, SON OF CLEOMBROTUS[c]

1. Agesipolis, son of Cleombrotus, when somebody said that Philip in a few days had razed Olynthus to the ground, said, " By Heaven, he will not build another like it in many years ! " [d]

2. When someone else remarked that he while king had been made hostage with those in the prime of life, and not their children or their women, he said, " That is but just, for it is good that we ourselves should bear the consequences of our own mistakes."

3. When he wished to send for some dogs from home, and someone said, " There is no such export permitted from there," he said, " Nor was there of men before this ; but now it has been done ! "

AGESIPOLIS, SON OF PAUSANIAS[e]

Agesipolis, the son of Pausanias, when the Atheni-

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[c] Agesipolis II., king of Sparta, 371–370 B.C.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 40 E and 458 B.

[e] King of Sparta, 394–380 B.C.

(215) περὶ ὧν εἶχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλημάτων τὴν τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλιν ἔκκλητον λαμβανόντων, "αἰσχρόν," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἀφηγησαμένους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἧττον εἰδέναι Μεγαρέων τὸ δίκαιον."

ΑΓΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΥ

1. Ἆγις ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου, τῶν ἐφόρων ποτὲ εἰπόντων, "βάδιζε τοὺς ἡβῶντας ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν τούτου
D πατρίδα· ἡγήσεται δέ σοι αὐτὸς οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν," "καὶ πῶς," εἶπε, "καλῶς ἔχον ἐστίν, ὦ ἔφοροι, τοσούτους νέους πιστεύειν τῷ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα προδιδόντι;"

2. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ τί μάλιστα μάθημα ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀσκεῖται, "τὸ γιγνώσκειν," εἶπεν, "ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι."

3. Οὐκ ἔφη δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐρωτᾶν πόσοι εἰσὶν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλὰ ποῦ εἰσίν.

4. Ἐν δὲ Μαντινείᾳ κωλυόμενος διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις πλείοσιν οὖσιν, εἶπεν, "ἀνάγκη πολλοῖς μάχεσθαι τὸν ἄρχειν πολλῶν βουλόμενον."

5. Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος πόσοι εἰσὶν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, "ὅσοι ἱκανοί," εἶπε, "τοὺς κακοὺς ἀπερύκειν."

6. Διερχόμενος δὲ τὰ τῶν Κορινθίων τείχη καὶ θεασάμενος ὑψηλά τε καὶ ὀχυρὰ ἐπὶ πολὺ

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[a] Agis II., king of Sparta, 427–401 B.C. Some of the sayings attributed to him here should doubtless be assigned to the younger Agis (Agis III.).

ans offered to accept the city of Megara as arbitrator regarding some complaints which they had each against the other, said, "It is a shame, men of Athens, that those who have held the hegemony of the Greeks should know less about justice than the Megarians."

AGIS, SON OF ARCHIDAMUS[a]

1. Once upon a time the Ephors said to Agis the son of Archidamus, "Take the young men and march against the country of this man here. He will himself guide you to its citadel." "And how, sirs," said Agis, "is it right to entrust so many youths to a man who is betraying his own country?"[b]

2. Being asked what form of instruction was most in vogue in Sparta, he said, "Knowledge of how to rule and to be ruled."[c]

3. He said that the Spartans did not ask 'how many are the enemy,' but 'where are they?'[d]

4. When, at Mantineia, he was not permitted to risk a decisive battle with the enemy, who outnumbered his men, he said, "He who would rule over many must fight with many."[e]

5. When someone inquired how many Spartans there were, he said, "Enough to keep all bad men away."[f]

6. As he was going about among the walls of the Corinthians and observed that they were high and

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[b] See the note on *Moralia*, 191 E (2), *supra*, where the saying is attributed to the younger Agis.

[c] *Cf.* the note on 212 C (51), *supra*.

[d] *Cf.* the note on 190 C (1), *supra*.

[e] *Cf.* the note on 190 C (2), *supra*.

[f] *Cf.* the note on 190 D (5), *supra*.

E τε παρατείνοντα, “ τίνες,” εἶπεν, “ αἵ τὸν τόπον (215) κατοικοῦσαι[1] γυναῖκες; ”

7. Σοφιστοῦ δέ τινος εἰπόντος, “ πάντων λόγος ἐστὶ κράτιστον,” “ οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη, “ σὺ ἐὰν σιωπᾷς οὐδενὸς ἄξιος εἶ.”

8. Ὡς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν ἀπήντων αὐτῷ πάλιν θρασύτερον, ταραττομένους ὁρῶν τοὺς συμμάχους, “ θαρρεῖτε,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ ἄνδρες· ὅπου γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ νικῶντες ὀρρωδοῦμεν, τί δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν τοὺς ὑφ’ ἡμῶν νενικημένους; ”

9. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἀβδήρων πρεσβευτήν, F ὅτε κατεπαύσατο πολλὰ εἰπών, ἐρωτῶντα τί τοῖς πολίταις ἀπαγγείλῃ, “ ὅτι,” ἔφη, “ ὅσον σὺ χρόνον λέγειν ἔχρῃζες, τοσοῦτον ἐγὼ σιωπῶν ἤκουον.”

10. Ἐπαινούντων δέ τινων Ἠλείους, ὅτι δικαιότατοί εἰσι περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, “ καὶ τί μέγα,” εἶπεν, “ ἢ θαυμαστὸν ποιοῦσιν, εἰ ἐν ἔτεσι πέντε μιᾷ μόνον ἡμέρᾳ δικαιοσύνῃ χρῶνται; ”

11. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φάσκοντας ὅτι φθονοῦσί τινες αὐτῷ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας οἰκίας, “ οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη, “ τὰ ἴδια αὐτοὺς κακὰ λυπήσει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τά τε ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐμῶν φίλων ἀγαθά.”

12. Συμβουλεύοντος δέ τινος ὅτι δεῖ τοῖς φεύγουσι τῶν πολεμίων διδόναι δίοδον, “ καὶ πῶς,”

[1] αἱ . . . κατοικοῦσαι Wyttenbach in his note on 190 A, and E. Kurtz: αἳ . . . κατοικοῦσι.

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[a] *Cf.* the note on 190 A, *supra.*
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 232 E (2), *infra.*

towering and vast in extent, he said, “ What women live in that place ? ” [a]

7. When a lecturer said, “ Speech is the most important thing of all,” he retorted, “ Then if you are silent, you are of no worth at all ! ”

8. When the Argives, after their defeat, met him again with greater boldness, and he saw that his allies were greatly perturbed, he said, “ Do not be afraid, men ; for when we who are victorious are frightened, what do you think those vanquished by us are doing ? ”

9. In answer to the ambassador from Abdera, who, after winding up a long discourse, asked him what report he should make to his people at home, he said, “ Report that during all the time you wanted to speak I listened in silence.” [b]

10. When some commended the people of Elis because they were very just in conducting the Olympic games, he said, “ What great or marvellous accomplishment is it if they practise justice on one day only in four years ? ” [c]

11. In answer to those who said that some members of the other royal house [d] were jealous of him he said, “ So then, their own ill fortune will make them miserable and, besides that, the good fortune of myself and of my friends.”

12. When someone proffered the advice that they ought to give a passage-way to those of the enemy who were fleeing,[e] he said, “ And how, if we do not

[c] *Cf.* the note on 190 C (3), *supra.*
[d] The Spartans had two kings and consequently two royal families.
[e] This was a part of the tactics of Agesilaus according to Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 1. 4. *Cf.* Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 2. 22 and iv. 3. 19.

ἔφη, “ τοῖς διὰ δειλίαν φεύγουσι μὴ μαχόμενοι τοῖς δι' ἀνδρείαν μένουσι μαχεσόμεθα;”

216 13. Προφερομένου[1] δέ τινος περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας οὐκ ἀγεννῆ μέν, δυσχερῆ δὲ ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, “ προσδέονταί σου, ὦ ξένε,” ἔφη, “ οἱ λόγοι δυνάμεως καὶ χρημάτων.”

14. Λέγοντος δέ τινος ὅτι Φίλιππος αὐτοῖς ἀνεπίβατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποιήσει, “ ἱκανὴ ἡμῖν,” ἔφη, “ ὦ ξένε, ἡ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀναστροφή.”

15. Πρεσβευτὴς ἐκ Περίνθου παραγενόμενος εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐμακρηγόρει· ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων καὶ ἠρώτα τὸν Ἆγιν τί δεῖ τοῖς Περινθίοις ἀπαγγεῖλαι, “ τί δ' ἄλλο,” ἔφη, “ ἢ ὅτι σὺ μὲν μόλις ἐπαύσω λέγων, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσιώπων[2];”

B 16. Πρεσβεύων δὲ μόνος ἧκε πρὸς Φίλιππον· εἰπόντος δ' ἐκείνου, “ τί τοῦτο; μόνος ἥκεις;” ἔφη, “ καὶ γὰρ πρὸς ἕνα.”

17. Φήσαντος δέ τινος τῶν πρεσβυτέρων πρὸς αὐτὸν γηραιὸν ὄντα, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἀρχαῖα νόμιμα ἐκλυόμενα ἑώρα ἄλλα δὲ παρεισδυόμενα μοχθηρά, διότι τὰ ἄνω κάτω ἤδη γίγνεται ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, παίζων εἶπε, “ κατὰ λόγον οὕτω προβαίνει τὰ πράγματα, εἰ τοῦτο γίνεται· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ παῖς ὢν ἤκουον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ὅτι τὰ ἄνω κάτω γέγονε παρ' αὐτοῖς· ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῷ παιδὶ

[1] προφερομένου Wyttenbach: προσφερομένου.

[2] δ' ἐσιώπων Eusebius and Wyttenbach: δὲ σιωπῶν.

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[a] The same idea which is expressed in *Moralia*, 212 E (56), *supra*.

[b] This remark must have been made by the younger Agis (Agis III.).

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 232 E (2), *infra*.

fight those who because of cowardice are fleeing, shall we fight those who because of bravery stand their ground ? ”

13. When someone brought forward a plan, for the freedom of the Greeks, which, while not lacking idealism, was difficult to put into practice, he said, ‘ Your words, my friend, need the backing of power and money.” [a]

14. When someone said that Philip would make Greece forbidden ground to them, he said, “ It is quite enough, my friend, for us to go and come within the confines of our own land.” [b]

15. An ambassador who had come from Perinthus to Sparta made a long harangue ; and when he had stopped speaking and asked Agis what report he should make to the people of Perinthus, Agis said, “ What else except that it was hard for you to stop speaking, and that I said nothing ? ” [c]

16. He came alone on an embassy to Philip, and when Philip exclaimed, “ What is this ? Have you come all alone ? ”, he said, “ Yes, for I came to only one man.” [d]

17. When one of the elderly men said to him in his old age, inasmuch as he saw the good old customs falling into desuetude, and other mischievous practices creeping in, that for this reason everything was getting to be topsy-turvy in Sparta, Agis said humorously, “ Things are then but following a logical course if that is what is happening ; for when I was a boy, I used to hear from my father that everything was topsy-turvy among them ; and my father said that,

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[d] This remark also must be assigned to the younger Agis. *Cf. Moralia*, 233 F (29), *infra*, and 511 A, where an unnamed Spartan makes this retort to Demetrius.

(216) C ὄντι τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι· ὥστε οὐ χρὴ θαυμάζειν, εἰ χείρω τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν προτέρων, ἀλλ' εἴ που βελτίω καὶ παραπλήσια γένοιτο."

18. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πῶς ἄν τις ἐλεύθερος διαμένοι, "θανάτου καταφρονῶν," ἔφη.

ΑΓΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Ἆγις ὁ νεώτερος, Δημάδου λέγοντος ὅτι τὰ Λακωνικὰ ξίφη διὰ μικρότητα καταπίνουσιν οἱ θαυματοποιοί, "καὶ μήν," ἔφη, "οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πολεμίων τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐφικνοῦνται."

2. Πρὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπον πονηρὸν ἐρωτῶντα πολλάκις τίς ἄριστος εἴη Σπαρτιάτης, εἶπεν,[1] "ὁ σοὶ ἀνομοιότατος."

ΑΓΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΟΥ

D Ἆγις ὁ τελευταῖος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέων ἐξ ἐνέδρας συλληφθεὶς καὶ καταδικασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων χωρὶς δίκης, ἀπαγόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν βρόχον ἰδών τινα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν κλαίοντα, "παῦσαι," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἐπ' ἐμοὶ κλαίειν[2]· καὶ γὰρ οὕτω παρανόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἀπολλύμενος, κρείττων εἰμὶ τῶν ἀναιρούντων." καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν παρέδωκε τῷ βρόχῳ τὸν τράχηλον ἑκουσίως.

[1] εἶπεν (as in *Moralia*, 190 D), F.C.B.: not in MSS.
[2] κλαίειν] κλαίων *Life of Agis*, chap. xx.

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[a] The latter part of this has been suspected on account of the length. For the sentiment *cf.* Homer, *Od.* 276-277; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 6. 46; Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 123-127.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 210 F (35), *supra*.

when he was a boy, his father had said this to him; so nobody ought to be surprised if conditions later are worse than those earlier, but rather to wonder if they grow better or remain approximately the same."[a]

18. Being asked how one could be a free man all his life, he said, "By feeling contempt for death."[b]

THE YOUNGER AGIS[c]

1. The younger Agis, when Demades said that the jugglers who swallow swords use the Spartan swords because of their shortness, retorted, "But all the same the Spartans reach their enemies with their swords."[d]

2. In answer to a base man who asked repeatedly who was the best Spartan, he said, "The one most unlike you."[e]

THE LAST AGIS[f]

Agis, the last of the kings of Sparta, was arrested as the result of treachery and condemned by the Ephors without a trial. As he was being led away to the halter he saw one of the officers weeping, and said, 'Stop your weeping for me, man. For in spite of my being put to death in such defiance of law and justice, I am superior to those who are taking my life." With these words he willingly offered his neck for the noose.[g]

[c] Agis III., king of Sparta, 338–331 B.C.
[d] *Cf.* the note on 191 E (1).
[e] *Cf.* the note on 190 D (4).
[f] Agis IV., king of Sparta, 245–241 B.C.
[g] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agis*, chaps. xix.-xx. (p. 803 C).

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ΑΚΡΟΤΑΤΟΥ

Ἀκρότατος, ἐπεὶ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτὸν ἄδικόν τι συμπρᾶξαι
αὐτοῖς ἠξίουν, μέχρι τινὸς ἀντέλεγεν· ὡς
δὲ ἐνέκειντο, εἶπεν, “ ἕως μὲν παρ’ ὑμῖν ἦν, οὐκ
E ἠπιστάμην δικαιοσύνης οὐδεμίαν ἔννοιαν· ἐπεὶ δέ
με τῇ πατρίδι παρέδοτε καὶ τοῖς ταύτης νόμοις,
ἔτι δὲ[1] δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ καλοκαγαθίᾳ ἐπαιδεύσατε
ὡς ἐδύνασθε,[2] τούτοις πειράσομαι μᾶλλον[3] ἢ ὑμῖν
ἕπεσθαι· καὶ ἐπεὶ θέλετέ μ’[4] ἄριστα[5] πράττειν,
ἄριστα δὲ τὰ δίκαιά ἐστι καὶ ἰδιώτῃ καὶ πολὺ
μᾶλλον ἄρχοντι, πράξω ἃ θέλετε· ἃ δὲ λέγετε
παραιτήσομαι.”

ΑΛΚΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΚΛΟΥ

1. Ἀλκαμένης ὁ Τηλέκλου,[6] πυθομένου τινὸς πῶς ἂν τις ἄριστα βασιλείαν διατηροίη, “ εἰ περὶ πλείονος,” ἔφη, “ τὸ κέρδος μὴ ποιοῖτο.”

2. Ἑτέρου δὲ ἐπιζητοῦντος διὰ τί παρὰ Μεσσηνίων
F δῶρα οὐκ ἐδέξατο, “ ὅτι λαβόντος μου,”
ἔφη, “ πρὸς τοὺς νόμους εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἀδύνατον.”

3. Λέγοντος δέ τινος ὅτι συνεσταλμένως ζῇ ἱκανὴν οὐσίαν κεκτημένος, “ καλὸν γάρ,” ἔφη, “ πολλὰ κεκτημένον ζῆν κατὰ λογισμὸν καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν.”

[1] δὲ] Bernardakis would write δ’ ἐν: Kronenberg τε.

[2] ἐδύνασθε F.C.B.: ἠδύνασθε.

[3] μᾶλλον added by Bernardakis.

[4] μ’ added by F.C.B.

[5] ἄριστα] τὰ ἄριστα Kronenberg.

[6] Τηλέκλου Xylander: τηλέκρου.

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[a] Son of Cleomenes II. He died before his father, and so never became king.

ACROTATUS[a]

Acrotatus, when his parents claimed it was his duty to co-operate with them in some unjust action, spoke in opposition up to a certain limit. But when they insisted, he said, “ While I was with you, I had not the slightest idea of justice ; but since you have surrendered me to our country and its laws, and, besides, have had me instructed in justice and honourable conduct so far as lay in your power, I shall try to follow these rather than you. And since your wish is for me to do what is best, and since what is just is best both for a private citizen, and much more so for a ruler, I will do what you wish ; but as for what you propose I shall beg to be excused.”[b]

ALCAMENES, SON OF TELECLUS[c]

1. Alcamenes, the son of Teleclus, when somebody inquired how a man could best keep a kingdom secure, said, “ If he should not hold his own advantage too high.”

2. When another person sought to know the reason why he did not accept gifts from the Messenians, he said, “ Because if I took the gifts, it would be impossible to maintain peace with impartial regard for the laws.”

3. When someone said that he lived a straitened life while possessed of plenty of property, he said, “ Yes, for it is a noble thing for one who possesses much to live according to reason and not according to his desires.”

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[b] *Cf.* a similar remark of Agesilaus, *Moralia*, 534 D.

[c] King of Sparta, 779–742 B.C. (the date is uncertain).

ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΙΔΟΥ

1. Ἀναξανδρίδας ὁ Λέοντος πρὸς τὸν δυσφοροῦντα διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῷ γενομένην φυγήν, "ὦ λῷστε," ἔφη, "μὴ τὴν πόλιν φεύγων ὀρρώδει, ἀλλὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην."

2. Τῷ δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις τὰ δέοντα μὲν λέγοντι πλείω δὲ τῶν ἱκανῶν, "ὦ ξένε," ἔφη, "οὐκ ἐν δέοντι τῷ δέοντι χρῇ."

3. Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος διὰ τί τοῖς εἵλωσι
217 τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐγχειρίζουσι καὶ οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἐπιμελοῦνται, "ὅτι," ἔφη, "οὐ τούτων ἐπιμελούμενοι, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν, αὐτοὺς ἐκτησάμεθα."

4. Ἑτέρου δέ τινος λέγοντος, ὅτι βλάπτουσιν αἱ δόξαι καὶ ὅτι τούτων ὁ ἀπαλλαγεὶς εὐδαιμονήσει, "οὐκοῦν οἱ τὰ ἄδικα ποιοῦντες," ἔφη, "κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον εὐδαίμονες ἂν εἶεν· πῶς γὰρ ἄν τις ἱεροσυλῶν ἢ ἀδικῶν δόξης ἐπιμελοῖτο;"

5. Ἄλλου δὲ ἐρωτῶντος διὰ τί ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις Σπαρτιᾶται θαρσαλέως κινδυνεύουσιν, "ὅτι," ἔφη, "αἰδεῖσθαι περὶ βίου μελετῶμεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι φοβεῖσθαι."

6. Ἐρωτῶντος δέ τινος αὐτὸν διὰ τί τὰς περὶ
B θανάτου δίκας πλείοσιν ἡμέραις οἱ γέροντες κρίνουσιν, κἂν ἀποφύγῃ τις, ἔτι οὐδὲν ἧττόν ἐστιν ὑπόδικος, "πολλαῖς μέν," ἔφη, "ἡμέραις κρίνουσιν, ὅτι περὶ θανάτου τοῖς διαμαρτάνουσιν οὐκ ἔστι

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[a] King of Sparta, *circa* 560–520 B.C.

ANAXANDRIDAS [a]

1. Anaxandridas, the son of Leo, in answer to a man who took much to heart the sentence imposed upon him of exile from the country, said, "My good sir, be not downcast at being an exile from your country but at being an exile from justice."

2. To a man who told the Ephors of things that were needful, but spoke at greater length than would have sufficed, he said, "My friend, in needless time you dwell upon the need!" [b]

3. When someone inquired why they put their fields in the hands of the Helots, and did not take care of them themselves, he said, "It was by not taking care of the fields, but of ourselves, that we acquired those fields."

4. When someone else said that high repute works injury to men and that he who is freed from this will be happy, he retorted, "Then those who commit crimes would, according to your reasoning, be happy. For how could any man, in committing sacrilege or any other crime, be concerned over high repute?"

5. When another person asked why the Spartans, in their wars, ventured boldly into danger, he said, "Because we train ourselves to have regard for life and not, like others, to be timid about it."

6. When someone asked him why the elders continue the trials of capital cases over several days, and why, even if the defendant is acquitted, he is none the less still under indictment, he said, "They take many days to decide, because, if they make an error in a capital case, there can be no reversal of

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[b] Attributed to Leo, the father of Anaxandridas, in *Moralia*, 224 F (3), and to Leonidas, the son of Anaxandridas, in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 B).

(217) *μεταβουλεύσασθαι· νόμῳ δὲ ὑπόδικον δεήσει εἶναι, ὅτι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἂν εἴη καὶ τὸ κρείττονα βουλεύσασθαι."*

ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΡΥΚΡΑΤΕΟΣ

Ἀνάξανδρος ὁ Εὐρυκράτεος, πυνθανομένου τινὸς διὰ τί χρήματα οὐ συνάγουσιν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, "ὅπως," ἔφη, "μὴ οἱ φύλακες αὐτῶν γιγνόμενοι διαφθείρωνται."

ΑΝΑΞΙΛΑ [1]

C Ἀναξίλας πρὸς τὸν θαυμάζοντα διὰ τί οἱ ἔφοροι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐχ ὑπεξανίστανται, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων καθιστάμενοι, "διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν," ἔφη, "δι' ἣν καὶ ἐφορεύουσιν."

ΑΝΔΡΟΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ

Ἀνδροκλείδας ὁ Λάκων πηρωθεὶς τὸ σκέλος κατέταξεν αὑτὸν εἰς τοὺς πολεμιστάς· ὡς δ' ἐνίσταντό[2] τινες διακωλύοντες ὅτι ἐπεπήρωτο, "ἀλλ' οὐ φεύγοντα," εἶπε, "μένοντα δὲ δεῖ τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις μάχεσθαι."

ΑΝΤΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ

1. Ἀνταλκίδας ἐν Σαμοθρᾴκῃ μυούμενος, ἐρω-

[1] *αναξιλα* Wyttenbach: *αναξιλου.*
[2] *δ' ἐνίσταντο* Wyttenbach: *δὲ ἵσταντο.*

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[a] For the fact *cf.* Plato, *Apology*, chap. xxvii. (37 A); Thucydides, i. 132.

[b] King of Sparta in the earlier part of the seventh century B.C.

[c] Son of Archidamus, perhaps one of the arbiters between Athens and Megara over Salamis, seventh century B.C.

the judgement; and the accused continues, perforce, to be under indictment of the law, because, under this law, it may be possible, by deliberation, to arrive at a better decision."[a]

ANAXANDER, SON OF EURYCRATES [b]

Anaxander, the son of Eurycrates, when someone inquired why the Spartans did not amass money in the public treasury, said, "So that those made the guardians of it may not become corrupt."

ANAXILAS [c]

Anaxilas, in answer to the man who wondered why the Ephors did not rise and offer their places to the kings,[d] and this, too, although they were appointed to their position by the kings, said, "For the very same reason that they hold the office of Ephor."

ANDROCLEIDAS [e]

Androcleidas the Spartan, who had a crippled leg, enrolled himself among the fighting-men. And when some persons were insistent that he be not accepted because he was crippled, he said, "But I do not have to run away, but to stay where I am when I fight the opposing foe."[f]

ANTALCIDAS [g]

1. When Antalcidas was being initiated into the mysteries at Samothrace, he was asked by the priest

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[d] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 15. 6; and Nicolaus quoted by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xliv. 41 *ad fin.*

[e] Possibly the opponent of Lysander, mentioned in Plutarch's *Life of Lysander*, chap. viii. (437 c).

[f] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 210 F (34), *supra.*

[g] See the note on *Moralia*, 192 B, *supra.*

D (217) τηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως τί δεινότερον δέδρακεν ἐν τῷ βίῳ, “ εἴ τί μοι πέπρακται τοιοῦτον, εἴσονται,” εἶπεν, “ αὐτοὶ οἱ θεοί.”

2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀμαθεῖς καλοῦντα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους Ἀθηναῖον, “ μόνοι γοῦν,” εἶπεν, “ ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν μεμαθήκαμεν παρ' ὑμῶν κακόν.”

3. Ἑτέρου δ' Ἀθηναίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, “ ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ πολλάκις ὑμᾶς ἐδιώξαμεν,” “ ἡμεῖς δέ,” ἔφη, “ οὐδέποτε ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα.”

4. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πῶς ἂν τις μάλιστα ἀρέσκοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, “ εἰ ἥδιστα μέν,” ἔφη, “ αὐτοῖς διαλέγοιτο, ὠφελιμώτατα δὲ προσφέροιτο.”

5. Σοφιστοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος ἀναγινώσκειν ἐγκώ-
E μιον Ἡρακλέους, “ τίς γὰρ αὐτόν,” ἔφη, “ ψέγει; ”

6. Πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον πληγέντα ἐν μάχῃ ὑπὸ Θηβαίων, “ ἀπέχεις,” εἶπε, “ τὰ διδασκάλια, μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐπισταμένους μάχεσθαι διδάξας.” ἐδόκουν γὰρ ταῖς συνεχέσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου στρατείαις μάχιμοι γεγονέναι.

7. Τείχη δὲ ἔλεγεν εἶναι τῆς Σπάρτης τοὺς νέους, ὅρια δὲ τὰς ἐπιδορατίδας.

8. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐπιζητοῦντα διὰ τί[1] ἐγχειριδίοις βραχέσι κατὰ πόλεμον χρῶνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι, “ διότι,” εἶπε, “ πλησίον τοῖς πολεμίοις μαχόμεθα.”

[1] διὰ τί F.C.B. (the usual formula): ὅτι.

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[a] The same story is told of Lysander in *Moralia*, 229 D (10), *infra*, and of an unknown Spartan in *Moralia*, 236 D (68), *infra*.

[b] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 192 B (1), *supra*.

[c] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 192 C (2), *supra*.

[d] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 213 C (65), *supra*.

what especially dreadful thing he had done during his life, and he replied, “ If any such deed has been committed by me, the gods themselves will know it.”[a]

2. In answer to the Athenian who called the Spartans unlearned, he said, “ At any rate we are the only people who have learned no evil from you.” [b]

3. When another Athenian said to him, “ You must admit that we have many a time put you to rout from the Cephisus,” he retorted, “ But we have never put you to rout from the Eurotas.” [c]

4. Being asked how anybody could best make himself agreeable to people, he said, “ If his conversation with them is most pleasant and his suggestions most profitable.” [d]

5. When a lecturer was about to read a laudatory essay on Heracles, he said, “ Why, who says anything against him ? ” [e]

6. When Agesilaus was wounded in battle by the Thebans, Antalcidas said to his face, “ You have your just reward for the lessons in fighting you have given to that people who had no desire to fight and no knowledge even of fighting.” For it appeared that they had been made warlike by the continual campaigns of Agesilaus against them.[f]

7. He used to say that the young men were the walls of Sparta, and the points of their spears its boundaries.[g]

8. In answer to the man who sought to know why the Spartans use short daggers in war, he said, “ Because we fight close to the enemy.” [h]

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[e] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 192 C (3), *supra*.

[f] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 189 F (5), *supra*.

[g] *Cf.* the notes on *Moralia*, 210 E (28, 29, 30), *supra*.

[h] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 191 E, *supra*.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

F ᾿Αντίοχος ἐφορεύων ὡς ἤκουσεν ὅτι Μεσσηνίοις Φίλιππος τὴν χώραν ἔδωκεν, ἠρώτησεν εἰ καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς παρέσχετο ὥστε μαχομένους περὶ τῆς χώρας κρατεῖν.

ΑΡΕΩΣ

1. Ἄρευς,[1] ἐπαινούντων τινῶν οὐκ ἰδίας ἀλλά τινας τῶν ἀλλοτρίων γυναικῶν, "μὰ τοὺς θεούς," εἶπε, "περὶ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν γυναικῶν οὐδένα δεῖ λόγον εἰκῇ λέγεσθαι, ἀγνοεῖσθαι δ' αὐτὰς τὸ παράπαν, ὁποῖαι τυγχάνουσι, πλὴν μόνοις τοῖς συμβιοῦσι."

2. Διὰ Σελινοῦντος δέ ποτε τῆς Σικελίας πορευόμενος ἰδὼν ἐπὶ μνήματος ἐλεγεῖον ἐπιγεγραμμένον,

> σβεννύντας ποτὲ τούσδε τυραννίδα χάλκεος Ἄρης
> εἷλε· Σελινοῦντος δ' ἀμφὶ πύλαις ἔθανον,

"δικαίως," ἔφη, "ἀπεθάνετε τυραννίδα καιομένην ἀποσβεννύναι ἐπιχειρήσαντες· τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἔδει ὅλην αὐτὴν ἀφεῖναι κατακαῆναι."

ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ

218 1. Ἀρίστων, ἐπαινοῦντός τινος τὴν τοῦ Κλεομένους χρείαν, ὅτι ἐρωτηθεὶς τί δεῖ τὸν ἀγαθὸν βασιλέα ποιεῖν, εἶπε, "τοὺς μὲν φίλους εὐεργετεῖν τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ποιεῖν," "καὶ πόσῳ

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[1] Αρεως. Ἄρευς Cobet: αρηγεως. Ἀρηγεύς.

ANTIOCHUS

Antiochus, when he was Ephor, hearing that Philip had given the Messenians their land, asked if he had also provided them with the power to prevail in fighting to keep it.[a]

AREUS[b]

1. Areus, when some men commended, not their own wives, but certain wives of other men, said, "By Heaven, there ought to be no random talk about fair and noble women, and their characters ought to be totally unknown save only to their consorts."[c]

2. Once upon a time, when he was passing through Selinus in Sicily, he saw inscribed upon a monument this elegiac couplet:

> Here at Selinus these men, who tyranny strove to extinguish,
> Brazen-clad Ares laid low; nigh to our gates were they slain.

Whereupon he said, "You certainly deserved to die for trying to extinguish tyranny when it was ablaze; rather you ought to have let it burn itself out completely."[d]

ARISTON[e]

1. When someone commended the maxim of Cleomenes, who, on being asked what a good king ought to do, said, "To do good to his friends and evil to his enemies," Ariston said, "How much better,

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[a] Repeated in *Moralia*, 192 B, *supra*.

[b] Areus I., king of Sparta, 309–265 B.C.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 220 D and 242 E, *infra*; Thucydides, ii. 45.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 E).

[e] King of Sparta, *circa* 560–510 B.C.

(218) *κρεῖττον," ἔφη, " ὦ λῷστε, τοὺς μὲν φίλους εὐεργετεῖν τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς φίλους ποιεῖν;" αὕτη Σωκράτους ὁμολογουμένη πρὸς πάντων χρεία οὖσα καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεται.*

2. *Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος πόσοι Σπαρτιᾶται τὸ πλῆθος, " ὅσοι ἱκανοί," εἶπε, " τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀπερύκειν."*

3. *Τῶν Ἀθηναίων δέ τινος ἔπαινον ἐπιτάφιον* B *ἀναγινώσκοντος τῶν πεσόντων ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, " ποδαποὺς οὖν, ἔφη, " τοὺς ἡμετέρους νομίζεις εἶναι νικήσαντας τούτους;"*

ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΙΔΟΥ

1. *Ἀρχιδαμίδας πρὸς τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα Χάριλλον,*[1] *ὅτι πρὸς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως πρᾶος ἦν, " καὶ πῶς τις," ἔφη, " δικαίως ἂν ἐπαινοῖτο, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς πρᾶος εἴη;"*

2. *Μεμφομένου δέ τινος Ἑκαταῖον τὸν σοφιστήν, ὅτι παραληφθεὶς εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἔλεγεν, " ἀγνοεῖν μοι δοκεῖς," εἶπεν, " ὅτι ὁ εἰδὼς λόγον καὶ τὸν τοῦ λέγειν καιρὸν οἶδεν."*

C

ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΖΕΥΞΙΔΑΜΟΥ

1. *Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου, πυθομένου τινὸς αὐτοῦ τίνες προεστήκασι τῆς Σπάρτης, " οἱ νόμοι καὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα," ἔφη, " κατὰ τοὺς νόμους."*

[1] *Χάριλλος* is the usual spelling in Plutarch. The MSS. of other writers also show both forms: *Χαρίλαν*.

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[a] But not quite in these words; *cf.* Plato, *Republic*, i. chap. ix. (335 B ff.), *Crito*, chap. x. (49 A ff.), *Gorgias*, 469 A-B and 475 B-D.

[b] A similar remark is attributed to Cleobulus by Diogenes Laertius, i. 91.

my good sir, to do good to our friends, and to make friends of our enemies?" This, which is universally conceded to be one of Socrates' maxims,[a] is also referred to Ariston.[b]

2. When someone inquired how many Spartans there were in all, he said, "Enough to keep away our enemies."[c]

3. When one of the Athenians read a memorial oration in praise of those who fell at the hands of the Spartans, he said, "What kind of men, then, do you think ours must be who vanquished these?"[d]

ARCHIDAMIDAS

1. Archidamidas, in answer to a man who commended Charillus because he was gentle towards all alike, said, "And how could any man be justly commended if he be gentle towards the wicked?"[e]

2. When somebody found fault with Hecataeus the sophist because, when he was received as a member at the common table, he spoke not a word, Archidamidas said, "You do not seem to realize that he who knows how to speak knows also the right time for speaking."[f]

ARCHIDAMUS, SON OF ZEUXIDAMUS[g]

1. Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, when someone inquired of him who were at the head of Sparta, said, "The laws and the magistrates in accordance with the laws."

[c] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 190 D (5), *supra*.

[d] Perhaps the remark of another man named Ariston who lived later.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 55 E and 537 D.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 C).

[g] Archidamus II., king of Sparta, 469–427 B.C.

(218) 2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα κιθαρῳδὸν καὶ θαυμάζοντα τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, " ὦ λῷστε," ἔφη, " ποῖον γέρας παρὰ σοῦ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔσται, ὅταν κιθαρῳδὸν οὕτως ἐπαινῇς;"

3. Ἐπεὶ δέ τις αὐτῷ συνιστὰς ψάλτην εἶπεν, " οὗτος ἀγαθὸς ψάλτης ἐστίν," " παρ' ἡμῖν δέ γε οὗτος," ἔφη, " ἀγαθὸς ζωμοποιός," ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρον δι' ὀργάνων φωνῆς ἡδονὴν ἐμποιεῖν τῆς D δι' ὄψων καὶ ζωμοῦ σκευασίας.

4. Ὑπισχνουμένου δέ τινος αὐτῷ τὸν οἶνον ἡδὺν ποιήσειν, " πρὸς τί;" ἔφη, " καὶ γὰρ δαπανηθήσεται πλείων καὶ ποιήσει τὰ ἀνδρεῖα ἀχρηστότερα."

5. Στρατοπεδεύων δὲ περὶ Κόρινθον[1] εἶδεν ἔκ του[2] περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τόπου λαγωοὺς ἀναστάντας· εἶπεν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς συστρατιώτας, " εὐάλωτοι ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοί εἰσι."

6. Δύο δέ τινων διαιτητὴν αὐτὸν λαβόντων, ἀγαγὼν εἰς τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου τέμενος ἐξώρκισεν ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς κριθεῖσιν αὐτούς· ὀμοσάντων δὲ ἐκείνων, " κρίνω τοίνυν," ἔφη, " μὴ πρότερον ἀπελθεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ τεμένους, πρὶν ἂν τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους E διαλύσησθε."

7. Ταῖς δὲ θυγατράσιν αὐτοῦ ἱματισμὸν πολυτελῆ Διονυσίου τοῦ Σικελίας τυράννου πέμψαντος, οὐκ ἐδέξατο εἰπών, " φοβοῦμαι μὴ περιθέμεναι αἱ κόραι φανῶσί μοι αἰσχραί."

[1] Ἐπιὼν δὲ τὴν Κορινθίων πόλιν μετὰ στρατεύματος in some MSS. [2] ἔκ του Hartman: ἐκ τοῦ.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 223 F, *infra* (15), where the saying is attributed to Cleomenes.

2. In answer to a man who praised a harper and expressed amazement at his ability, he said, " My good sir, what honours shall you be able to offer to good men when you have such praise for a harper ? "

3. When someone, in introducing a musician to him, remarked, " This man is a good musician," he said, " And in this country of ours that man there rates as a good soup-maker," thus implying that there was no distinction between giving pleasure through the sound of instruments and giving it through the preparation of appetizing foods and soup.[a]

4. When somebody promised him to make the wine pleasant to the taste, he said, " What for ? For more of it will be used, and it will make the men's eating together less beneficial." [b]

5. As he was establishing his camp hard by the city of Corinth, he saw hares start up from a spot near the wall. He said therefore to his fellow-soldiers, " The enemy are ours." [c]

6. When two persons accepted him as arbiter, he took them to the sacred precinct of Athena of the Brazen House, and made them swear to abide by his decision ; and when they had given their oaths, he said, " My decision, then, is that you are not to leave this sacred precinct before you compose your differences."

7. When Dionysius, the despot of Sicily, sent costly raiment to Archidamus's daughters, he would not accept it, saying, " I am afraid that, if the girls should put it on, they would appear ugly to me." [d]

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[b] See *Moralia*, 240 D (2), *infra*, which makes the meaning of this passage quite clear.

[c] A similar remark is attributed to Lysander in *Moralia*, 190 E, *supra*, and 229 D, *infra*.

[d] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 190 D (1), *supra*.

(218) 8. Θεασάμενος δὲ τὸν υἱὸν προπετῶς μαχόμενον Ἀθηναίοις, "ἢ τῇ δυνάμει πρόσθες," ἔφη, "ἢ τοῦ φρονήματος ὕφες.[1]"

ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΥ

1. Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου, Φιλίππου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην σκληροτέραν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴν
F γράψαντος, ἀντέγραψεν, "εἰ μετρήσαις τὴν σαυτοῦ σκιάν, οὐκ ἂν εὕροις αὐτὴν μείζονα γεγενημένην ἢ πρὶν νικᾶν."

2. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πόσης χώρας κρατοῦσιν οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται, "ὅσης ἄν," ἔφη, "τῷ δόρατι ἐφίκωνται."

3. Περιάνδρου δὲ τοῦ ἰατροῦ ἀξιολόγου κατὰ τέχνην ὄντος καὶ ἐπαινουμένου ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, φαῦλα δὲ ποιήματα γράφοντος, "τί δήποτε, ὦ Περίανδρε," εἶπεν, "ἀντὶ χαρίεντος ἰατροῦ κακὸς ποιητὴς καλεῖσθαι ἐπιθυμεῖς;"

4. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμῳ συμβουλευόντων τινῶν ὅτι πόρρω τῆς οἰκείας τὴν μάχην συνάπτειν δεῖ, "ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "ὁρᾶν δεῖ, ἀλλ' οὗ[2] μαχόμενοι[3] κρείττονες τῶν πολεμίων ἐσόμεθα."

5. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας αὐτόν, ὅτε τὴν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας μάχην ἐνίκησε, "βέλτιον ἂν ἦν, εἰ τῇ φρονήσει," ἔφη, "αὐτοὺς ἐνικῶμεν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἰσχύι."

[1] φρονήματος ὕφες] θράσους ἄφελε Stobaeus, *Flor.* liii. 12.
[2] οὗ Wyttenbach (οὗ or ᾗ Hatzidakis): οἱ (or εἰ).
[3] μαχόμενοι Pantazides: μαχούμενοι (εὐμαχούμενοι).

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[a] Archidamus III., king of Sparta, 361–338 B.C.
[b] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 210 E (28), *supra*.

8. Observing that his son was fighting impetuously against the Athenians, he said, "Either add to your strength, or subtract from your courage."

ARCHIDAMUS, SON OF AGESILAUS [a]

1. Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, when Philip, after the battle of Chaeroneia, wrote him a somewhat haughty letter, wrote in reply, "If you should measure your own shadow, you would not find that it has become any greater than before you were victorious."

2. Being asked how much land the Spartans controlled, he said, "As much as they can reach with the spear." [b]

3. Periander, the physician, was distinguished in his profession and commended very very highly, but was a writer of wretched verses. "Why in the world, Periander," said Archidamus, "do you yearn to be called a bad poet instead of a skilful physician?"

4. In the war against Philip, when some proffered the advice that they ought to engage him in battle at a good distance from their own land,[c] Archidamus said, "No, that is not what we ought to look to, but where, in fighting, we shall be superior to the enemy."

5. In answer to those who commended him when he had been victorious in battle [d] against the Arcadians, he said, "It would have been better if we had vanquished them by intelligence rather than by strength."

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[c] The policy of Demosthenes (*e.g. Olynthiac* i. *ad fin.*).
[d] The "tearless battle" in 368 B.C. described by Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 1. 28-32. *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxxiii. (614 E).

219 6. Ὅτε δὲ εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν ἐνέβαλε, πυθόμενος βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἠλείους ἐπέστειλεν αὐτοῖς, "Ἀρχίδαμος Ἠλείοις· καλὸν ἡσυχία.[1]"

7. Τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἐν τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ ἐπιζητούντων πόσα χρήματα ἀρκέσει, καὶ ἀξιούντων ὁρίσαι τοὺς φόρους, "ὁ πόλεμος," ἔφη, "οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται.[2]"

8. Καταπελτικὸν δὲ ἰδὼν βέλος τότε πρῶτον ἐκ Σικελίας κομισθὲν ἀνεβόησεν, "Ἡράκλεις, ἀπόλωλεν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετά."

9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐβούλοντο Ἕλληνες πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ λῦσαι τὰς πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον[3] καὶ Κρατερὸν B τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὁμολογίας καὶ ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι, ὡς χαλεπωτέρων ἐσομένων Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ Μακεδόνων, εἶπε, "πρόβατον μὲν ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φθέγγεται φωνήν, ἄνθρωπος δὲ πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας, ἕως ἂν τὸ δόξαν ἐπιτελέσῃ."

ΑΣΤΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ

Ἀστυκρατίδας, εἰπόντος τινὸς αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἡττηθῆναι Ἆγιν τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον[3] μάχῃ περὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν, "τί ποιήσετε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι; ἢ δουλεύσετε Μακεδόσιν;" εἶπε, "τί δέ; κωλῦσαι ἂν δύναιτο Ἀντίπατρος μαχομένους ἡμᾶς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης;"

[1] ἡσυχία] ἀσυχία Valckenaer.

[2] σιτεῖται] ζητεῖ in most MSS. But see 190 A, *supra*.

[3] Ἀντίπατρον Wyttenbach: Ἀντίγονον.

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[a] The saying is attributed to Periander by Diogenes Laertius, i. 97.

[b] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 190 A, *supra*. The saying plainly belongs to Archidamus II. (218 C, *supra*), who lived at the time of the Peloponnesian war. See Plutarch's *Life of Cleomenes*, chap. xxvii. (817 E).

6. When he invaded Arcadia, he learned that the Eleans were supporting the Arcadians, and so he sent this letter to them: "Archidamus to the Eleans. Quiet is a good thing." [a]

7. In the Peloponnesian war, when his allies sought to know how much money would be sufficient, and said it was only fair that he set a limit to their contributions, he said, "War does not feed on fixed rations." [b]

8. When he saw the missile shot by a catapult, which had been brought then for the first time from Sicily, he exclaimed, "Great Heavens! man's valour is no more!" [c]

9. When the Greeks were not willing to take his advice and break their agreements with Antipater [d] and Craterus the Macedonian, and be free, because of a feeling that the Spartans would be harsher than the Macedonians, he said, "A sheep or a goat bleats always in the same way, but a man talks in a great variety of ways until he accomplishes what he has set his mind upon."

ASTYCRATIDAS

When someone said to Astycratidas, after the defeat of Agis their king in the battle against Antipater in the vicinity of Megalopolis, "What will you do, men of Sparta? Will you be subject to the Macedonians?" he said, "What! Is there any way in which Antipater can forbid us to die fighting for Sparta?"

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 191 D, *supra*.

[d] Either Antipater (Wyttenbach's certain emendation) or Antigonus (MSS.) is too late for Archidamus III., who died in 338 B.C.

(219)

ΒΙΑΝΤΟΣ

C Βίας[1] ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰφικράτους τοῦ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, "τί γὰρ ἄλλο," ἔφη, "ἢ ὑμᾶς μὲν σῴζεσθαι, ἐμὲ δὲ μαχόμενον ἀποθανεῖν;"

ΒΡΑΣΙΔΟΥ

1. Βρασίδας ἐν ἰσχάσι συλλαβὼν μῦν καὶ δηχθεὶς ἀφῆκεν· εἶτα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, "οὐδὲν οὕτως," ἔφη, "μικρόν ἐστιν, ὃ οὐ[2] σῴζεται τολμῶν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας."

2. Ἐν δέ τινι μάχῃ διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἀκοντισθεὶς καὶ τὸ δόρυ τοῦ τραύματος ἐξελκύσας αὐτῷ τούτῳ D τὸν πολέμιον ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ πῶς ἐτρώθη ἐρωτηθείς, "προδούσης με," ἔφη, "τῆς ἀσπίδος."

3. Ἐξελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἔγραψε τοῖς ἐφόροις, "ἅσσα δήλωμαι[3] πράξω πὸτ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ τεθναξοῦμαι."

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη πεσεῖν αὐτὸν ἐλευθεροῦντα τοὺς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Ἕλληνας, οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀργιλεωνίδι προσῆλθον· πρῶτον μὲν ἠρώτησεν εἰ καλῶς ὁ Βρασίδας ἐτελεύτησεν· ἐγκωμιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν καὶ λεγόντων ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος, "ἀγνοεῖτε," εἶπεν, "ὦ ξένοι· Βρασίδας γὰρ ἦν μὲν

[1] Βιαντος, Βίας] αναξιβιου, Ἀναξίβιος Wyttenbach, rightly without much doubt.
[2] οὐ] μὴ 190 B (1), *supra*.
[3] δήλωμαι Valckenaer: δηλῶμαι.

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[a] It seems almost certain that this anecdote is the same as that told of Anaxibius by Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 8. 32-39,

BIAS[a]

Bias, caught in an ambush by Iphicrates the Athenian general, and asked by his soldiers what was to be done, said, "What else except for you to save your lives and for me to die fighting?"

BRASIDAS[b]

1. Brasidas caught a mouse among some figs, and, when he got bitten, let it go. Then, turning to those who were present, he said, "There is nothing so small that it does not save its life if it has the courage to defend itself against those who would lay hand on it."[c]

2. In a battle he was wounded by a spear which pierced his shield, and, pulling the weapon out of the wound, with this very spear he slew his foe. Asked how he got his wound, he said, "'Twas when my shield turned traitor."[d]

3. As he was going forth to war he wrote to the Ephors, "What I wull to dae I'll dae as regairds the war or be a deid mon."

4. When it came to pass that he fell in trying to win independence for the Greeks who were living in the region of Thrace, the committee which was sent to Sparta waited upon his mother Argileonis. Her first question was whether Brasidas had come to his end honourably; and when the Thracians spoke of him in the highest terms, and said that there was no other like him, she said, "You have no knowledge of that, sirs, being from abroad; for Brasidas was

but if so, the name is out of alphabetical order, and the mistake must be ancient.

[b] See the note on *Moralia*, 190 B, *supra*.
[c] *Ibid.* (1). [d] *Ibid.* (2).

E (219) ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, πολλοὺς δ' ἐκείνου κρείττονας ἔχει ἡ Σπάρτη."

ΔΑΜΩΝΙΔΟΥ

Δαμωνίδας ταχθεὶς ἔσχατος τοῦ χοροῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸν χορὸν ἱστῶντος, "εὖγε," εἶπεν, "ὦ χοραγέ, ἐξεῦρες πῶς καὶ αὕτη ἡ χώρα ἄτιμος οὖσα ἔντιμος γένηται."

ΔΑΜΙΔΟΣ

Δᾶμις πρὸς τὰ ἐπισταλέντα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου θεὸν εἶναι ψηφίσασθαι, "συγχωροῦμεν," ἔφη, "Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἐὰν θέλῃ, θεὸς καλεῖσθαι."

ΔΑΜΙΝΔΟΥ

F Δαμίνδας,[1] Φιλίππου ἐμβαλόντος εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ εἰπόντος τινός, "κινδυνεύουσι δεινὰ παθεῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ μὴ τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλλαγὰς ποιήσονται," "ἀνδρόγυνε," εἶπε, "τί δ' ἂν πάθοιμεν δεινὸν θανάτου καταφρονήσαντες;"

ΔΕΡΚΥΛΙΔΟΥ

Δερκυλίδας, Πύρρου τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τῆς Σπαρτιάτιδος ἔχοντος, πεμφθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβευτής, τοῦ Πύρρου προστάττοντος καταδέχεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Κλεώνυμον ἢ γνώσεσθαι ὡς οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρειότεροι τυγχάνουσιν, ὑποτυχὼν εἶπεν, "εἰ μὲν θεός ἐστιν, οὐ φοβούμεθα τοῦτον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀδικοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, οὐχ ἡμῶν γε κρείττων."

[1] Δαμίνδας] Δαμιάδας (a name found in Spartan inscriptions) is suggested by Bernardakis.

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[a] See the note on *Moralia*, 190 B (3), *supra*.
[b] See the note on *Moralia*, 191 F, *supra*.

indeed a good man, but Sparta has many better than he was."[a]

DAMONIDAS

Damonidas, being assigned to the last place in the chorus by the director, exclaimed, "Good! You have discovered, sir, how this place which is without honour may be made a place of honour."[b]

DAMIS

Damis, with reference to the instructions sent from Alexander that they should pass a formal vote deifying him, said, "We concede to Alexander that, if he so wishes, he may be called a god."[c]

DAMINDAS

When Philip invaded the Peloponnesus, and someone said, "There is danger that the Spartans may meet a dire fate if they do not make terms with the invader," Damindas exclaimed, "You poor womanish thing! What dire fate could be ours if we have no fear of death?"

DERCYLIDAS

Dercylidas, when Pyrrhus had his army near Sparta,[d] was sent to him as ambassador; and when Pyrrhus stated that they must receive their king Cleonymus, or they would find out that they were no braver than any of the rest, Dercylidas interrupted to say, "If this man is a god, we do not fear him, for we are guilty of no wrong; but if he is a man, he is surely not superior to us."

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[c] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii. 19.
[d] In 272 B.C.

ΔΗΜΑΡΑΤΟΥ

1. Δημάρατος,[1] Ὀρόντου πρὸς αὐτὸν σκληρό-
220 τερον ὁμιλήσαντος καὶ εἰπόντος τινός, " σκληρῶς
σοι κέχρηται Ὀρόντης, ὦ Δημάρατε," " οὐδὲν
ἥμαρτεν εἰς ἐμέ," εἶπεν· " οἱ γὰρ πρὸς χάριν
ὁμιλοῦντες βλάπτουσιν, οὐχ οἱ μετὰ ἀπεχθείας."

2. Ἐρωτήσαντος δέ τινος διὰ τί τοὺς μὲν τὰς ἀσπίδας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀποβαλόντας ἀτιμοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ τὰ κράνη καὶ τοὺς θώρακας οὐκέτι, " ὅτι," ἔφη, " ταῦτα μὲν ἑαυτῶν χάριν περιτίθενται, τὴν δὲ ἀσπίδα τῆς κοινῆς τάξεως ἕνεκα."

3. Ψάλτου δὲ ἀκροώμενος, " οὐ κακῶς," εἶπε, " φαίνεταί μοι φλυαρεῖν."

4. Ἐν δέ τινι συνεδρίῳ ἐρωτώμενος πότερον διὰ
B μωρίαν ἢ δι' ἀπορίαν λόγων σιωπᾷ, " ἀλλ' ὅ γε
μωρὸς οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο σιγᾶν," ἔφη.

5. Πυθομένου δέ τινος διὰ τί φεύγει τὴν Σπάρτην βασιλεὺς ὤν, " ὅτι," ἔφη, " κρείττονες αὐτῆς[2] οἱ νόμοι εἰσί."

6. Τῶν δὲ Περσῶν τινος διὰ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς δωροδοκίας τὸν ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ ἀπαγαγόντος καὶ λέγοντος, " ὦ Λάκων, τεθήρευκά σου τὸν ἐρώμενον," " μὰ τοὺς θεούς," ἔφη, " οὐχὶ σύ γε, ἀλλ' ἠγόρακας."

7. Ἀποστάντος δέ τινος τῶν Περσῶν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μεταπεισθέντος ὑπὸ Δημαράτου ἐπαν-

[1] Δημάρατος would be Δαμάρατος in Doric, but the Ionic influence of Herodotus may be seen.

[2] αὐτῆς] αὐτοῦ Pantazides.

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[a] King of Sparta *circa* 510 until 491 B.C., when he was deposed and went to Persia. In 490 B.C. he accompanied Xerxes in his invasion of Greece.

DEMARATUS[a]

1. Demaratus, when Orontes had talked to him rather haughtily and someone remarked, " Orontes has treated you haughtily, Demaratus," said, " He has committed no fault against me ; for it is those who talk to please that do harm, not those who talk with hatred at heart."

2. When someone asked why they visited disgrace upon those among them who lost their shields, but did not do the same thing to those who lost their helmets or their breastplates, he said, " Because these they put on for their own sake, but the shield for the common good of the whole line."

3. As he was listening to a musician, he said, " He seems to do his silly task fairly well."[b]

4. In a council meeting he was asked whether it was due to foolishness or lack of words that he said nothing. " But a fool," said he, " would not be able to hold his tongue."[c]

5. When someone inquired why he was an exile from Sparta, being a king, he said, " Because her laws are more powerful than I am."

6. When one of the Persians, by unremitting bribery, had got away from him his beloved youth, and said to him, " Ho, Spartan, I have captivated your beloved," he said, " Not you, I swear, but you have bought and paid for him ! "

7. When one of the Persians deserted from the king and was persuaded by Demaratus to change

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[b] *Cf.* the similar remarks in *Moralia*, 220 F (6) and 234 D (42), *infra*.

[c] *Cf.* the similar remark of Bias in *Moralia*, 503 F, and of Solon in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xxxiv. 15.

(220) ελθεῖν καὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Πέρσην
διαχειρίζεσθαι, "αἰσχρόν," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὅτε
μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦν σοι, μὴ δύνασθαι δίκην τῆς ἀπο-
C στάσεως παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὅτε δὲ φίλος γέγονεν,
ἀποκτείνειν."

8. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν παρασιτοῦντα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ περὶ τῆς φυγῆς πολλάκις ἐπισκώπτοντα αὐτόν, "οὐ μαχοῦμαί σοι," ἔφη, "ὦ ξένε· κατανάλωκα γὰρ τὴν τοῦ βίου τάξιν."

ΕΚΠΡΕΠΟΥΣ

Ἐκπρέπης[1] ἔφορος Φρύνιδος τοῦ μουσικοῦ σκεπάρνῳ τὰς δύο τῶν ἐννέα χορδῶν[2] ἐξέτεμεν, εἰπών, "μὴ κακούργει τὴν μουσικήν."

ΕΠΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ

Ἐπαίνετος πάντων ἔφη τοὺς ψεύστας τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων αἰτίους εἶναι.

D

ΕΥΒΟΙΔΟΥ

Εὐβοίδας ἀκούων τινῶν ἐπαινούντων γυναῖκα ἀλλοτρίαν οὐκ ἀπεδέχετο, φήσας, "ὅλως περὶ γυναικείας φύσεως παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω λόγον εἶναι οὐδένα δεῖ."

ΕΥΔΑΜΙΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΥ

1. Εὐδαμίδας ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἄγιδος, ἰδὼν Ξενοκράτην ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ[3] πρεσβύτερον ἤδη

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[1] Εκπρεπους, Ἐκπρέπης Xylander and Wyttenbach: Εμπρεπους, Ἐμπρεπὴς.

[2] χορδῶν added by Eusebius from the *Life of Agis*, chap. x., and *Moralia* 84 A.

[3] Ἀκαδημείᾳ the better spelling: ἀκαδημίᾳ.

his mind and return, and the king was going to have him put to death, Demaratus said, "For shame, your Majesty! To think that when this man was your enemy you could not punish him for his desertion but now that he has become your friend, you would put him to death!"

8. In answer to a man who was a parasite of the king and often jeered at him over his exile, he said, "I have no quarrel with you, my friend; for I have squandered my position in life."

ECPREPES

Ecprepes, an Ephor, cut out with an adze two of the nine strings of Phrynis the musician, saying, "Do not murder music."[a]

EPAENETUS

Epaenetus said that liars are to blame for all sins and crimes.

EUBOEDAS

Euboedas, on hearing some men praising the wife of another man, could not stomach it, saying, "In regard to a woman's endowments there should be absolutely no talk among those outside the family."[b]

EUDAMIDAS, SON OF ARCHIDAMUS[c]

1. Eudamidas, the son of Archidamus and the brother of Agis, seeing Xenocrates in the Academy,

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[a] The story is repeated in Plutarch's *Life of Agis*, chap. x. (799 F), and with variations in *Moralia*, 84 A, 238 C (*infra*); Athenaeus 636 E; Boethius, *De Musica*, i. 1.

[b] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 217 F, *supra*.

[c] Eudamidas I., king of Sparta, 330–300 (?) B.C.

(220) μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμων φιλοσοφοῦντα, ἐπύθετο τίς ὁ πρεσβύτης· φαμένου δέ τινος ὅτι σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τῶν ζητούντων τὴν ἀρετήν, “καὶ πότε,” ἔφη, “χρήσεται αὐτῇ, ἐὰν ἄρτι ζητῇ;”

E 2. Ἀκούσας δὲ φιλοσόφου διαλεχθέντος ὅτι μόνος ἀγαθὸς στρατηγὸς ὁ σοφός ἐστιν, “ὁ μὲν λόγος,” ἔφη, “θαυμαστός· ὁ δὲ λέγων ἄπιστος· οὐ γὰρ περισεσάλπισται.[1]”

3. Τὴν θέσιν δὲ Ξενοκράτους εἰρηκότος καὶ καταπαυομένου, παρῆν ὁ Εὐδαμίδας· ὡς δ' εἶπέ τις τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ “ὅτε πάρεσμεν ἡμεῖς, τότε πέπαυται·” “καλῶς γε,[2]” ἔφη, “εἴπερ ἤδη ἔλεξε ταῦτα ἃ ἔχρῃζε·” τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος “καλὸν ἦν ἀκοῦσαι·” “ἦ καὶ πρὸς δεδειπνηκότα μολόντες,” εἶπεν, “ἠξιοῦμεν ἂν[3] πάλιν αὐτὸν δειπνεῖν;”

4. Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος διὰ τί, τῶν πολιτῶν
F αἱρουμένων τὸν πρὸς Μακεδόνας πόλεμον, αὐτὸς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν δοκιμάζει, “ὅτι,” ἔφη, “οὐ χρῄζω ψευδομένους αὐτοὺς ἐλέγξαι.”

5. Ἑτέρου δὲ προφερομένου τὰ κατὰ Περσῶν ἀριστεῖα καὶ προτρέποντος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, “ἀγνοεῖν,” ἔφη, “μοι δοκεῖς γε ὅτι ταὐτόν ἐστι[4] χιλίων προβάτων κρατήσαντα πεντήκοντα λύκοις μάχεσθαι.”

6. Ψάλτου δέ τινος εὐημερήσαντος, ἠρώτησαν αὐτὸν ποδαπός τις αὐτῷ δοκεῖ εἶναι, “μέγας,” ἔφη, “κηληκτὰς ἐν μικρῷ πράγματι.”

[1] περισεσάλπισται] περισεσάλπιγκται Stobaeus, *Flor.* liv. 65.
[2] γε Wyttenbach: δὲ.
[3] ἂν added by van Herwerden and Pantazides.
[4] ἐστι] ἐστι τῷ E. Kurtz.

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[a] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 192 A, *supra.*

already well on in years, discussing philosophy with his acquaintances, inquired who the old man was. Somebody said that he was a wise man and one of the seekers after virtue. “And when will he use it,” said Eudamidas, “if he is only now seeking for it?”[a]

2. Hearing a philosopher discoursing to the effect that the wise man is the only good general, he said, “The speech is admirable, but the speaker is not to be trusted; for he has never been amid the blare of trumpets.”[a]

3. Xenocrates had been expounding his theme, and had just reached the stopping-point when Eudamidas arrived. One of the persons with him remarked, “Just when we arrive he comes to the stopping-point.” “Quite properly so,” said Eudamidas, “if he has already said all he wanted to say.” “It would have been nice to hear him,” said the other. “Indeed,” said Eudamidas, “and if we came to a man who had just dined, should we insist that he eat another dinner?”

4. Someone inquired why, when the citizens professed to be all for war against the Macedonians, he himself decided in favour of keeping the peace. He replied, “Because I do not need to prove that they are lying.”

5. When another man brought up their brave successes against the Persians, and was urgent for the war, Eudamidas said, “You do not seem to realize that your proposition is the same as fighting fifty wolves after overcoming a thousand sheep!”

6. When a certain musician made a great hit, they asked Eudamidas what he thought of the man, and he replied, “He has great power to charm in a trifling matter.”

7. Ἐπαινοῦντος δέ τινος τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἔφη, "καὶ τίς ἂν ταύτην τὴν πόλιν δεόντως ἐπαινοίη, ἣν οὐδεὶς ἔστερξε γενόμενος βελτίων;"

8. Ἀργείου δέ τινος λέγοντος, ὡς φαυλότεροι
γίγνονται κατὰ τὰς ἀποδημίας οἱ Λάκωνες ἐξ-
221 ιστάμενοι τῶν πατρίων νόμων, "ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑμεῖς
γε," ἔφη, "εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἐλθόντες χείρονες ἀλλὰ
βελτίονες γίνεσθε."

9. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κηρύξαντος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κατιέναι τοὺς φυγάδας ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πλὴν Θηβαίων, "ἀτυχὲς μέν," ἔφη, "ὦ Θηβαῖοι, τὸ κήρυγμα ἀλλ' ἔνδοξον· μόνους γὰρ ὑμᾶς φοβεῖται Ἀλέξανδρος."

10. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ τίνος ἕνεκα πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ταῖς Μούσαις σφαγιάζουσιν, "ὅπως," ἔφη, "αἱ πράξεις λόγων ἀγαθῶν τυγχάνωσιν."

ΕΥΡΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΙΔΟΥ

B Εὐρυκρατίδας ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδου, πυθομένου τινὸς διὰ τί τὰ περὶ[1] τῶν συμβολαίων δίκαια ἑκάστης ἡμέρας κρίνουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι, "ὅπως," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις πιστεύωμεν ἀλλήλοις."

ΖΕΥΞΙΔΑΜΟΥ

1. Ζευξίδαμος, πυνθανομένου τινὸς διὰ τί τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας νόμους ἀγράφους τηροῦσι καὶ

[1] τὰ περὶ Wyttenbach: περὶ τὰ or περί.

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[a] "Lions at home, but foxes abroad" was proverbial. *Cf.* Plutarch's *Comparison of Lysander and Sulla*, chap. iii. (476 E).

[b] In 323 B.C. *Cf.* Diodorus, xviii. 8.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 238 B, *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxi. (53 D).

7. When someone praised Athens, he said "And who could praise that city deservedly, towards which nobody has ever felt any affection for having been made a better man by it?"

8. When a man from Argos said that the Spartans became more unscrupulous on going abroad and being out of the control of their long-established laws,[a] he said, "But you, when you come to Sparta, do not become worse, but better."

9. When Alexander caused proclamation to be made at Olympia that all exiles might return to their own land,[b] save only the Thebans, Eudamidas said, "The proclamation for you, men of Thebes, is unfortunate, but very complimentary; for it is you only that Alexander fears."

10. Being asked for what purpose they offered sacrifice to the Muses before hazardous ventures, he said, "So that our deeds may find good words."[c]

EURYCRATIDAS, SON OF ANAXANDRIDAS[d]

Eurycratidas, the son of Anaxandridas, when someone inquired why the Ephors try cases involving contracts[e] each day, said, "So that also amid our enemies we may trust one another."

ZEUXIDAMUS[f]

1. When someone inquired why they kept the laws in regard to bravery unwritten, and did not have

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[d] Presumably Eurycratidas, son of Anaxander, mentioned by Herodotus, vii. 204, in the genealogy of Leonidas. He was king of Sparta in the first half of the sixth century B.C.

[e] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Politics*, iii. 1, 10 (1275 b).

[f] Presumably the son of Leotychidas II., king of Sparta (*Moralia*, 224 E). He died before his father, and so never became king.

(221) τοῖς νέοις ἀπογραψάμενοι οὐ διδόασιν ἀναγινώσκειν,
C "ὅτι," ἔφη, "συνεθίζεσθαι δεῖ[1] ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις κρεῖττον ὂν[2] ἢ ταῖς γραφαῖς προσέχειν."

2. Αἰτωλοῦ δέ τινος λέγοντος ὅτι τοῖς ἀνδραγαθεῖν δυναμένοις κρείττων τῆς εἰρήνης ὁ πόλεμος, "οὐ μὰ τοὺς θεούς," ἔφη, "ἀλλὰ τούτοις κρείττων ὁ θάνατος τῆς ζωῆς."

ΗΡΩΝΔΟΥ

Ἡρώνδας, Ἀθήνησιν ἁλόντος τινὸς γραφὴν ἀργίας, παρὼν καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκέλευσεν ἐπιδεῖξαι αὐτῷ τὸν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν δίκην ἡττηθέντα.

ΘΕΑΡΙΔΟΥ

Θεαρίδας ξίφος ἀκονῶν ἠρωτήθη εἰ ὀξύ ἐστιν, καὶ εἶπεν, "ὀξύτερον διαβολῆς."

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΕΟΥ

Θεμιστέας[3] προεῖπε μὲν Λεωνίδᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν
D γενησομένην ἀπώλειαν περὶ Θερμοπύλας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν συστρατευομένων αὐτῷ, μάντις ὤν· ἀποπεμπόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεωνίδα εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προφάσει τοῦ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τὰ συμβησόμενα, ταῖς δ' ἀληθείαις ἵνα μὴ παραπόληται, οὐκ ἠνέσχετο ἀλλ' εἶπε, "μαχητὴς ἐπέμφθην οὐκ ἀγγελιαφόρος."

[1] δεῖ] ἀεὶ is suggested by Wyttenbach.
[2] ὂν added by F.C.B.
[3] Θεμιστέας] Μεγιστίης in Herodotus, vii. 221.

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[a] On the subject see Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* (Munich, 1926), p. 815.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxiv. (54 E). The free population of Sparta did no labour.

them written down and thus give them to the young men to read, Zeuxidamus said, "Because the young ought to accustom themselves to deeds of manly valour, a better thing than to apply their mind to writings."

2. When a certain Aetolian asserted that, for those who are able to play the part of real men, war is better than peace, Zeuxidamus said, "By Heaven, no; but for such men death is better than life."

HERONDAS

Herondas was at Athens when a man there was found guilty on a charge of not having any occupation,[a] and, when he heard of this, he bade them point out to him the man who had been convicted of the freeman's crime! [b]

THEARIDAS

Thearidas, as he was whetting his sword, was asked if it was sharp, and he replied, "Sharper than slander."

THEMISTEAS

Themisteas foretold to Leonidas, the king, the coming destruction both of himself and of his fellow-soldiers at Thermopylae, for he was a prophet. He was sent away by Leonidas to Sparta, on the pretext of announcing there what would come to pass, but in reality so that he should not suffer death with the rest. He, however, would not brook this, but said, "I was sent out to fight, not to carry messages." [c]

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[c] A somewhat different version is to be found in *Moralia*, 866 C. The original is in Herodotus, vii. 221, where the seer's name is given as Megistias.

(221)

ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΥ

1. Θεόπομπος πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα πῶς ἄν τις ἀσφαλέστατα τηροίη τὴν βασιλείαν, "εἰ τοῖς μὲν φίλοις," ἔφη, "μεταδιδοίη παρρησίας δικαίας, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχομένους κατὰ δύναμιν μὴ περιορῴη ἀδικουμένους."

2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ξένον τὸν λέγοντα ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς E αὑτοῦ πολίταις καλεῖται φιλολάκων, "κρεῖττον," ἔφη, "ἦν σε φιλοπολίτην ἢ φιλολάκωνα καλεῖσθαι."

3. Τοῦ δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἤλιδος πρεσβευτοῦ εἰπόντος ὅτι διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ἐξαπέστειλαν οἱ πολῖται, ὅτι μόνος τὸν Λακωνικὸν ἐζήλωσε βίον, "καὶ πότερον," ἔφη, "ὁ σὸς ἢ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν βίος βελτίων ἐστί;" τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος τὸν αὑτοῦ, "πῶς οὖν ἄν," ἔφη, "αὕτη ἡ πόλις σῴζοιτο, ἐν ᾗ πολλῶν ὄντων εἷς μόνος ἀγαθός ἐστι;"

4. Λέγοντος δέ τινος ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη σῴζεται διὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀρχικοὺς ὄντας, "οὐκ," ἔφη, "ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς πολίτας πειθαρχικοὺς ὄντας."

F 5. Πυλίων δὲ αὐτῷ μείζονας τιμὰς ψηφισαμένων, ἀντέγραψεν[1] ὅτι τὰς μὲν μετρίας ὁ χρόνος αὔξει, τὰς δ' ὑπεραιρούσας ἀφανίζει.

6. Ἐπιδεικνυμένου δέ τινος αὐτῷ τεῖχος καὶ πυνθανομένου εἰ καρτερὸν καὶ ὑψηλόν, "οὐ δὴ γυναικῶν[2];" εἶπεν.

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[1] *ἀντέγραψεν* Wyttenbach: *ἐνέγραψεν*.

[2] *οὐ δὴ γυναικῶν* as in 190 A, F.C.B. (*γυναικῶν* also S. A. Naber): *οὐδ' εἰ γυναικῶν εἶπεν ἦν*.

THEOPOMPUS[a]

1. Theopompus, in answer to a man who asked how anyone could keep a kingdom most securely, said, "If he concede to his friends their just share of frank speech, and, so far as lies in his power, do not suffer any of his subjects to be wronged."

2. In answer to a man from abroad who said that among his own citizens he was called a lover of Sparta, he said, "It would be better to be called a lover of your own country than a lover of Sparta."

3. When the ambassador from Elis said that his citizens had sent him for the especial reason that he alone emulated the Spartan way of living, Theopompus said, "Is your way of living or that of the other citizens better?" And when the man said that his own was, Theopompus said, "How, then, can that State be saved in which, among many citizens, only one is a good man?"

4. When someone said that Sparta was saved through its kings, because they were competent to rule, he said, "Not so, but through its citizens, because they are obedient to the rulers."[b]

4. When the people of Pylos voted him some unusually high honours, he wrote in reply that time increases modest honours, but obliterates those that are extravagant.

6. When someone pointed out to him a wall, and inquired if it was strong and high, he said, "Is it not a place where women live?"[c]

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[a] King of Sparta at the time of the first Messenian war, eighth (?) century B.C.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 816 E, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxx. (58 D).

[c] *Cf.* the note on 190 A, *supra*. This paragraph is not found in some MSS.

ΘΩΡΥΚΙΩΝΟΣ

Θωρυκίων ἐκ Δελφῶν παραγενόμενος, ἰδὼν τὸ Φιλίππου στρατόπεδον ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τὰ στενὰ κατειληφότος,[1] "κακούς," ἔφη, "πυλωροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὦ Κορίνθιοι, ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἔχει."

ΘΕΚΤΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ

Θεκταμένης, καταγνόντων αὐτοῦ θάνατον τῶν ἐφόρων, ἀπῄει μειδιῶν· καί τινος τῶν παρόντων ἐρωτήσαντος εἰ καὶ καταφρονεῖ τῶν τῆς Σπάρτης νομίμων, "οὐχί," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ γέγηθα ὅτι δεῖ με τὴν ζημίαν ἐκτεῖσαι ταύτην, παρ' οὐδενὸς οὔτε τι αἰτήσαντα[2] οὔτε δανεισάμενον."

ΙΠΠΟΔΑΜΟΥ

222 Ἱππόδαμος, ὅτε Ἆγις Ἀρχιδάμῳ παρετάττετο, συμπεμφθεὶς[3] τῷ Ἄγιδι εἰς Σπάρτην ἐκεῖ τὰς χρείας παρέχεσθαι, "ἀλλ' οὗτος," ἔφη, "οὔτοι καλλίω[4] θάνατον ἀποθανοῦμαι ἢ[5] ὑπὲρ Σπάρτας ἀνδραγαθῶν"· ἦν δὲ βεβιωκὼς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ στὰς ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ βασιλέως, μαχόμενος ἀποθνῄσκει.

ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ

1. Ἱπποκρατίδας πρὸς τὸν τῆς Καρίας σατράπην ἐπιστείλαντα δι' ὅ τι Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀνὴρ ἐπιβου-

[1] κατειληφότος] κατειληφὸς S. A. Naber.
[2] τι αἰτήσαντα Madvig: διαιτήσαντά με.
[3] Ἀρχιδάμῳ . . . συμπεμφθεὶς] Ἀντιπάτρῳ . . . πεμφθεὶς Wyttenbach.
[4] καλλίω Wyttenbach (καλλίονα van Herwerden): κάλλιον.
[5] ἢ added by F.C.B.

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[a] *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 42 (100).

[b] The attempt has been made to identify Hippodamus

THORYCION

Thorycion, arriving from Delphi and seeing in the Isthmus the forces of Philip, who had already gained possession of the narrow entrance, said, "The Peloponnesus has poor gate-keepers in you, men of Corinth!"

THECTAMENES

Thectamenes, when the Ephors condemned him to death, went away smiling. Someone among the bystanders asked him if he felt such contempt for the laws of Sparta. "No," said he, "but I rejoice to think that I must pay this penalty myself without begging or borrowing anything from anybody."[a]

HIPPODAMUS[b]

Hippodamus, when Agis was taking his place on the field of battle beside Archidamus, was sent with Agis to Sparta to render his services there. "But look you," said he, "I shall meet no more honourable death than in playing the part of a brave man for Sparta's sake." (He was over eighty years old.) And thereupon, seizing his arms and taking his stand at the king's right hand, he fell fighting.

HIPPOCRATIDAS[c]

1. This is the answer of Hippocratidas to the governor of Caria who wrote a letter to him because

with the Hippodamus mentioned in Athenaeus, 452 A and in Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 15, and, by emendation, to reconcile this passage with the time of Agis IV.; but both Agis II. and Agis III. had fathers named Archidamus, and it is quite possible that the incident of sending away from danger the old man and the young heir to the throne took place as here narrated.

[c] The name occurs in Herodotus, viii. 131, as one of the earlier kings of Sparta.

B λευόντων τινῶν συνειδὼς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν κατεσιώ-
(222) πησε, καὶ προσθέντα[1] πῶς χρήσεται αὐτῷ, ἀντ-
έγραψεν, "εἰ μὲν μέγα τι ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸν πεποίηκας,
κατάκτανε· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἔκβαλε δειλὸν
πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὄντα."

2. Ἀπαντήσαντος δέ ποτε αὐτῷ μειρακίου, ᾧ ἠκολούθει ἐραστής τις, καὶ διατραπέντος, "μετὰ τοιούτων" ἔφη "βαδίζειν δεῖ, μεθ' ὧν ὀφθεὶς τὴν αὐτὴν χρόαν τηρήσεις."

ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ

1. Καλλικρατίδας ναύαρχος, τῶν Λυσάνδρου φί-
λων ἀξιούντων ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτοῖς ἕνα τινὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
C ἀνελεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα, καίτοι
σφόδρα δεόμενος χρημάτων εἰς ὀψώνια τοῖς ναύταις,
οὐ συνεχώρησε. Κλέανδρος δὲ σύμβουλος ὤν,
"ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ἂν ἔλαβον," εἶπεν, "εἰ σὺ ἤμην·"
"καὶ γὰρ αὐτός," εἶπεν, "εἰ σὺ ἦν."

2. Παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς Κῦρον τὸν νεώτερον
εἰς Σάρδεις, σύμμαχον ὄντα Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπὶ
χρήματα τῷ ναυτικῷ, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκέλευ-
σεν εἰσαγγεῖλαι ὅτι βούλεται Κύρῳ ἐντυχεῖν· ὡς δ'
ἤκουσε πίνειν, "προσμενῶ," εἶπεν, "ἕως ἂν πίῃ·"
D καὶ τότε μὲν ἀπηλλάγη, ὡς ἔγνω οὐχ οἷόν τε εἶναι
συμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, δόξας ἀγροικό-
τερος εἶναι. τῇ δ' ἐχομένῃ, ὡς πάλιν αὐτὸν πίνειν
ἤκουσε καὶ οὐ προϊόντα,[2] φήσας, "οὐχ οὕτω σπου-

[1] προσθέντα F.C.B.: προσθέντος.

[2] προϊόντα] παριέντα Kronenberg from *Life of Lysander*, chap. vi.

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[a] Upright and straightforward Spartan who commanded the Spartan fleet at the battle of Arginusae in 406 B.C. He was killed in the battle.

a man from Sparta had been privy to the plot of certain conspirators, and had said nothing about it; and the governor added a line, asking how he should deal with him. Hippocratidas wrote in reply: "If you have done him any great favour, put him to death; but if not, expel him from your country, for he is a poltroon so far as any virtue is concerned."

2. When a youth with a lover in attendance met him one day, and turned colour, he said, "You ought to walk with persons such that when you are seen with them you shall keep the same complexion."

CALLICRATIDAS[a]

1. Callicratidas, an admiral, when Lysander's friends made him a fair offer that he permit them to make away with one of their enemies and receive ten thousand pounds, although he was in sore need of money for rations for his sailors, would not consent. Cleander, who was a member of his council, said, "But I would take it, if I were you." "And so would I," said Callicratidas, "if I were you!"[b]

2. When he came to Cyrus the Younger at Sardis (who was allied with the Spartans) to get money for his fleet, on the first day he bade them send in word that he wished to have an audience with Cyrus. But when he was told that Cyrus was busy drinking, he said, "I will wait till he has finished drinking." And at that time he withdrew, when he realized that it was not possible to meet Cyrus on that day, thus creating the impression that he was somewhat lacking in manners. On the succeeding day, when he was again told that Cyrus was drinking and would not come forth, he said, "We must not be so eager to

[b] *Cf.* the reply of Alexander, *Moralia*, 180 C (11).

(222) δαστέον χρήματα λαβεῖν ὡς μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς
Σπάρτης ποιεῖν,” ἀπηλλάγη εἰς Ἔφεσον, πολλὰ
μὲν ἐπαρώμενος κακὰ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐντρυφηθεῖσιν
ὑπὸ βαρβάρων καὶ διδάξασιν αὐτοὺς ὑβρίζειν διὰ
πλοῦτον· ὤμνυε δὲ[1] πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς, ὅταν
πρῶτον εἰς Σπάρτην παραγένηται, πάντα ποιήσει
ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαλλάξαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς φοβερώτεροι
τοῖς βαρβάροις εἶεν καὶ παύσαιντο τῆς ἐκείνων ἐπ’
E ἀλλήλους δεόμενοι δυνάμεως.

3. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ ὁποῖοι ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ Ἴωνες, “ ἐλεύθεροι μέν,” ἔφη, “ κακοί, δοῦλοι δὲ ἀγαθοί.”

4. Τοῦ δὲ Κύρου τὸν μισθὸν προπέμψαντος τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ ξένια αὐτῷ, μόνον ἔλαβε τὸν μισθὸν τὰ δὲ ξένια ἀντέπεμψε, φήσας μὴ δεῖν φιλίαν αὐτῷ ἰδίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν κοινὴν πρὸς ἅπαντας Λακεδαιμονίους γεγονυῖαν καὶ αὐτῷ ὑπάρχειν.

5. Μέλλων δὲ περὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας ναυμαχεῖν,
Ἕρμωνος τοῦ κυβερνήτου εἰπόντος ὅτι καλῶς ἔχει
F ἀποπλεῦσαι, αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῷ
πλείους εἰσίν, εἶπε, “ καὶ τί τοῦτο; ἀλλὰ φεύγειν
αἰσχρὸν καὶ βλαβερὸν τῇ Σπάρτῃ· μένοντα δὲ ἢ
ἀποθανεῖν ἢ νικᾶν ἄριστον.”

6. Προθυσάμενος δέ, ὡς ἤκουσε τοῦ μάντεως σημαίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἐμπύρων τῷ μὲν στρατῷ νίκην τῷ δὲ στρατηγοῦντι θάνατον, οὐδὲν καταπλαγεὶς εἶπεν, “ οὐ παρ’ ἕνα τὰ Σπάρτας[2]· ἀπο-

[1] δὲ Bernardakis: τε.

[2] τὰ Σπάρτας Bernardakis: τᾷ Σπάρτᾳ (τὰν Σπάρταν, *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ii.).

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lysander*, chap. vi. (436 c); Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 6. 6-7.

get money as to do anything unworthy of Sparta," and withdrew to Ephesus, invoking many evil curses on those who were first wantonly treated by the barbarians and had taught the barbarians to be arrogant because of wealth. And he swore to the persons present that, just so soon as he should arrive at Sparta, he would do everything to bring about a reconciliation among the Greeks, that they might become more formidable to the barbarians, and cease begging them for their resources to use against one another.[a]

3. Being asked what kind of men the Ionians were, he said, " Poor freemen, but good slaves." [b]

4. When Cyrus sent on money to pay the soldiers, and special presents for himself as a token of friendship, he took the money only and sent back the presents, saying that there was no need of any private friendship between him and Cyrus, but the general friendship which had been contracted with all the Spartans would serve also for him.[c]

5. As he was about to engage in the naval battle at Arginusae, Hermon the pilot said that it would be well to sail away, for the ships of the Athenians were many more in number; but Callicratidas said, " And what of that? To flee is a disgrace and an injury to Sparta. No; to stay here, be it death or be it victory, is best." [d]

6. As he offered sacrifice before the battle, and heard from the seer that the indications of the omens were victory for the army, but death for its commander, he said, not at all disconcerted, " Sparta's

[b] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 190 F (1), *supra*.

[c] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 213 D (69), *supra*.

[d] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 6. 32; Cicero, *De officiis*, i. 24 (84).

θανόντος γάρ μου οὐδὲν ἡ πατρὶς ἐλαττωθήσεται· εἴξαντος δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐλαττωθήσεται." ἀποδείξας οὖν ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ Κλέανδρον ἡγεμόνα ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν, καὶ μαχόμενσς τελευτᾷ.

ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ

223 Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Παυσανίου, ξένου τινὸς διαφερομένου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα περὶ ἀρετῆς, "μέχρι τούτου," εἶπεν, "κρείττων σού ἐστιν[1] ὁ πατήρ, μέχρι ἂν καὶ σὺ[2] γεννήσῃς."

ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΙΔΟΥ

1. Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδου[3] τὸν μὲν Ὅμηρον Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι ποιητὴν ἔφη, τὸν δὲ Ἡσίοδον τῶν εἱλώτων· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὡς χρὴ πολεμεῖν, τὸν δὲ ὡς χρὴ γεωργεῖν παρηγγελκέναι.

2. Ἀνοχὰς δὲ ἑφθημέρους πρὸς Ἀργείους ποιησάμενος, φυλάξας αὐτούς, τῇ τρίτῃ νυκτὶ κοιμωμένοις[4] διὰ τὸ πεποιθέναι ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἐπέθετο· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβεν.

B 3. Ὀνειδιζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παραβάσει τῶν ὅρκων, οὐκ ἔφη προσομωμοκέναι ταῖς ἡμέραις τὰς νύκτας· ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅ τι ἂν κακόν τις ποιῇ τοὺς πολεμίους, τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δίκης ὑπέρτερον νομίζεσθαι.

[1] ἐστιν] ἔσται S. A. Naber. [2] σὺ] σὺ υἱὸν S. A. Naber.
[3] Ἀναξανδρίδου F.C.B.: Ἀναξανδρίδεω.
[4] κοιμωμένοις F.C.B.: κοιμωμένους.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ii. (177 D).

[b] King of Sparta, 380–371 B.C.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 227 F (14), *infra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xv. (48 C).

[d] King of Sparta, *circa* 517–488 B.C.

fate rests not with one man. For, if I am killed, my country will not be impaired in any way; but if I yield to the enemy, it will be."[a] And so, after appointing Cleander to take his place as commander, he put forth without delay for the naval engagement, and met his death in the battle.

CLEOMBROTUS, SON OF PAUSANIAS[b]

Cleombrotus, the son of Pausanias, when a man from abroad was disputing with Cleombrotus's father about excellence, said, "My father is a better man than you—until you too have become a father."[c]

CLEOMENES, SON OF ANAXANDRIDAS[d]

1. Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandridas, said that Homer was the poet of the Spartans, and Hesiod of the Helots; for Homer had given the necessary directions for fighting, and Hesiod for farming.[e]

2. Having made an armistice of seven days with the Argives, he kept a watch on them, and on the third night, when they were sleeping because of their reliance on the truce, he attacked them, and slew some and took the others prisoners.[f] (3) When he was reproached for his violation of his oath, he said that he had not included the nights as well as the days in his plighted word; and anyway, whatever ill one can do to one's enemies is regarded, among both gods and men, as something vastly higher than justice.[g]

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[e] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 19.

[f] *Cf.* Cicero, *De officiis*, i. 10 (33). Herodotus, vi. 78-79 (followed by other writers), relates that Cleomenes defeated the Argives by a different trick.

[g] For the phrase *cf.* Euripides, *Electra*, 584; and Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, no. 758.

(223) 4. Συνέβη δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν Ἄργους, δι' ὃ παρεσπόνδησεν, ἀποπεσεῖν διὰ τὸ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν καθελούσας ὅπλα τούτοις αὐτὸν ἀμύνεσθαι· καὶ ὕστερον δὲ τῶν φρενῶν ἔξω γενόμενον
C δράξασθαί τινος μαχαιρίου καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνατεμεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν σφυρῶν ἕως ἐπὶ τοὺς καιρίους τόπους, καὶ οὕτως ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν βίον γελῶντα καὶ σεσηρότα.

5. Τοῦ δὲ μάντεως ἀποτρέποντος μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀργείων πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα, τὴν γὰρ ἐπάνοδον αἰσχρὰν γενήσεσθαι, προσελθὼν τῇ πόλει ὡς τὰς μὲν πύλας κεκλεισμένας εἶδε, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, "αὕτη σοι," ἔφη, "ἡ ἐπάνοδος αἰσχρὰ φαίνεται εἶναι, ἐν ᾗ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τεθνηκότων αἱ γυναῖκες τὰς πύλας κεκλείκασιν;"

6. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λοιδοροῦντας αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς ἐπίορκον καὶ ἀσεβῆ, "τοῦ μὲν[1] κακῶς με[1] λέγειν," ἔφη, "ὑμεῖς κύριοι, τοῦ δὲ κακῶς ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν ἐγώ."

D 7. Τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Σάμου πρέσβεσι παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν Πολυκράτει τῷ τυράννῳ πολεμεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μακρολογοῦσιν, "ὧν εἰρήκατε," ἔφη, "τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐ μέμνημαι, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὰ μέσα οὐ συνίημι· τὰ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οὐ δοκιμάζω."

8. Πειρατοῦ δὲ καταδραμόντος τὴν χώραν καί, ὡς ἑάλω, λέγοντος ὅτι "τροφὴν οὐκ εἶχον τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέχειν, πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας οὖν,

[1] μὲν] μὲν ἐμὲ Kronenberg. Better perhaps με after κακῶς.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 245 D, *infra*; Pausanias, ii. 20. 8; Polyaenus, viii. 33.

[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, vi. 75 and 84; Athenaeus, 427 C; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii. 41. His madness was traditionally ascribed to over-indulgence in strong drink.

4. It was his fortune to be repulsed from Argos, to gain which he had violated the truce, owing to the women's taking down the weapons in the shrines and defending themselves against him with these.[a] Later he went out of his mind, and, getting hold of a small dagger, he slashed himself, beginning with his ankles until he reached the vital parts, and thus departed this life laughing and grinning.[b]

5. The seer tried to dissuade him from leading his army against the city of the Argives, for the return, he said, would be made in disgrace. But when Cleomenes had advanced near the city, and saw the gates closed and the women upon the walls, he said, "Does it seem to you that the return from here can be made in disgrace, where, since the men are dead, the women have barred the gates?"

6. In answer to those of the Argives who upbraided him as an impious perjurer, he said, "You have the power to speak ill of me, but I have the power to do ill to you."

7. To the ambassadors from Samos who urged him to make war upon the despot Polycrates, and for this reason spoke at great length, he said, "What you said at the beginning I do not remember; for that reason I do not comprehend the middle part; and the conclusion I do not approve."[c]

8. A certain pirate overran the country, and, when he was captured, said, "I had not the means to provide subsistence for my soldiers; therefore, to

[c] *Cf.* Herodotus, iii. 46, and the note on 216 A (15), *supra*. The traditional date of the mission from Samos (525 B.C.) seems too early to fall within Cleomenes's reign, but the chronology is uncertain.

(223) ἑκοντὶ δ' οὐκ ἂν δόντας, βίᾳ ληψόμενος ἦλθον," ἔφη, " σύντομος ἡ πονηρία."

9. Φαύλου δέ τινος αὐτὸν κακῶς λέγοντος, " ἆρα διὰ τοῦτο," ἔφη, " πάντας σὺ κακῶς λέγεις, ἵνα ἀπολογούμενοι μὴ εὐκαιρῶμεν περὶ τῆς σῆς κακίας λέγειν; "

E 10. Τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν τινος λέγοντος ὅτι τὸν ἀγαθὸν βασιλέα πάντῃ πάντως πρᾶον εἶναι δεῖ, " οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, " ἄχρι τοῦ μὴ εὐκαταφρόνητον εἶναι."

11. Ἑλκυσθεὶς δὲ νόσῳ μακρᾷ, ἐπεὶ καθαρταῖς καὶ μάντεσι προσεῖχε τὸ πρὶν οὐ προσέχων, θαυμάζοντός τινος, " τί θαυμάζεις; " ἔφη, " οὐ γάρ εἰμι ὁ αὐτὸς νῦν καὶ τότε· οὐκ ὢν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὐδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ δοκιμάζω."

F 12. Σοφιστοῦ δέ τινος περὶ ἀνδρείας λέγοντος πλείω, ἐγέλασε· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, " τί γελᾷς, Κλεόμενες, περὶ ἀνδρείας λέγοντος ἀκούων, καὶ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς ὤν; " " ὅτι," ἔφη, " ξένε, καὶ ἡ χελιδὼν εἰ περὶ αὐτῆς ἔλεγε, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἂν ἐποίουν· εἰ δὲ ἀετός, πολλὴν ἂν εἶχον ἠρεμίαν."

13. Τῶν δὲ Ἀργείων τὴν προτέραν ἧτταν φασκόντων ἀναμαχεῖσθαι, " θαυμάζω," ἔφη, " εἰ δύο συλλαβῶν προσθήκῃ νῦν κρείττονες ἐγένεσθε ἢ πρόσθεν ἦτε."

14. Λοιδοροῦντος δέ τινος αὐτὸν καὶ φήσαντος " θρυπτικὸς εἶ, ὦ Κλεόμενες," " ἀλλὰ κρεῖττον,"

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[a] For a similar change in the attitude of Pericles and of Bion *cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*, chap. xxxviii. (173 A) and Diogenes Laertius, iv. 54.

[b] Presumably in the battle over Thyrea in 546 B.C. *Cf.* Herodotus, i. 82, and the reference in Plato, *Phaedo*, 89 C.

those who had it, but would not willingly give it, I came with the purpose of taking it by force." To this Cleomenes said, " Villainy is curt."

9. When a certain low fellow spoke ill of him, he said, " So it is for this reason, is it, that you speak ill of everyone, that we, busied in defending ourselves, may not have time to speak of your baseness ? "

10. When one of the citizens said that the good king ought to be mild at all times and in every way, he remarked, " Yes, but not to the extent of being despised."

11. When he was afflicted with a lingering illness, and began to give attention to mind-healers and seers, to whom formerly he had given no attention, someone expressed surprise. " Why are you surprised ? " said he ; " for I am not now the same man that I was, and, not being the same man, I do not approve the same things." [a]

12. When a public lecturer spoke at considerable length about bravery, he burst out laughing ; and when the man said, " Why do you laugh, Cleomenes, at hearing a man speak about bravery, and that, too, when you are a king ? " " Because, my friend," he said, " if it had been a swallow speaking about it, I should have done the same thing, but if it had been an eagle, I should have kept very quiet."

13. When the people of Argos asserted that they would wipe out their former defeat [b] by fighting again, he said, " I wonder if by the addition of a word of two syllables [c] you have now become more powerful than you were before ! "

14. When someone upbraided him, saying, " You are inclined to luxury, Cleomenes," he said, " Well,

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[c] The word "again." They had lost in the previous fighting.

ἔφη, “ ἢ ἄδικον εἶναι· σὺ δὲ φιλοχρήματος καίπερ ἱκανὰ κεκτημένος.”

15. Ψάλτην δέ τις αὐτῷ βουλόμενος συστῆσαι
224 τά τε ἄλλα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπῄνει καὶ ψάλτην αὐτὸν
ἔφη κράτιστον εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ὁ δὲ δείξας
τινὰ τῶν πλησίον,[1] “ νὴ τοὺς θεούς,” ἔφη, “ οὗτος
παρ' ἐμοὶ ζωμοποιός.”

16. Μαιανδρίου[2] δὲ τοῦ τῆς Σάμου τυράννου διὰ τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον εἰς Σπάρτην φυγόντος καὶ ἐπιδείξαντος ὅσα ἐκεκομίκει χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐκπώματα χαριζομένου τε ὅσα βούλεται, ἔλαβε μὲν οὐδέν, εὐλαβούμενος δὲ μὴ ἑτέροις τισὶ τῶν ἀστῶν διαδῷ, πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἄμεινον ἔφη εἶναι τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν ξένον ἑαυτοῦ Σάμιον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἵνα μὴ
B πείσῃ τινὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν κακὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ
δὲ ὑπακούσαντες ἐξεκήρυξαν τὸν Μαιάνδριον[2]
αὐτῆς ἡμέρας.

17. Εἰπόντος δέ τινος, “ διὰ τί πολεμοῦντας ὑμῖν Ἀργείους πολλάκις κρατήσαντες οὐκ ἀνῃρήκατε;” “ οὐδ' ἂν ἀνέλοιμεν,” ἔφη, “ ὡς ἂν γυμναστὰς τοῖς νέοισιν ἔχοιμεν.”

18. Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος αὐτοῦ διὰ τί Σπαρτιᾶται τοῖς θεοῖς οὐκ ἀνατιθέασι τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκῦλα, “ ὅτι,” ἔφη, “ ἀπὸ δειλῶν ἐστι.”[3]

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[1] πλησίον Bernardakis: πλησίων.

[2] Μαιανδρίου, Μαιάνδριον F.C.B. (as always elsewhere): Μαίανδρου, Μαίανδρον.

[3] Most MSS. add also τὰ γοῦν ἀπὸ τῶν κεκτημένων διὰ δειλίαν, κτλ. . . . θεοῖς ἀνατιθέναι, as in 224 F (4) *infra*.

that is better than being unjust. And you are avaricious although you possess property enough.”

15. When someone, wishing to introduce a musician to him, said, in addition to other commendations, that the man was the best musician among the Greeks, Cleomenes pointed to one of the persons near, and said, “ Yonder man, I swear, ranks with me as the best soup-maker.”[a]

16. Maeandrius, the despot of Samos, because of the inroad of the Persians, fled to Sparta, and exhibited all the gold and silver vessels which he had brought with him, and offered to favour Cleomenes with as many as he wished ; but he would have none, and, taking good care that the man should not distribute any among the rest of the citizens, he went to the Ephors and said that it was better for Sparta that his own friend and guest from Samos should withdraw from the Peloponnesus, so that he should not persuade anyone of the Spartans to become a bad man. And they listened to his advice and proclaimed the expulsion of Maeandrius that very day.[b]

17. When someone said, “ Why have you not killed off the people of Argos who wage war against you so often ? ” he said, “ Oh, we would not kill them off, for we want to have some trainers for our young men.”

18. When somebody inquired of him why Spartans do not dedicate to the gods the spoils from their enemies, he said, “ Because they are taken from cowards.”[c]

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 218 c (3) *supra*, where the saying is attributed to Archidamus II.

[b] The story is taken from Herodotus, iii. 148, in part word for word.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 224 F (4) *infra*.

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ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ

C Κλεομένης ὁ Κλεομβρότου, διδόντος αὐτῷ τινος μαχίμους ἀλεκτρυόνας καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι μαχόμενοι ἀποθνῄσκουσι περὶ νίκης, "τῶν κατακτεινόντων τοίνυν αὐτούς," ἔφη, "τινὰς δός μοι, ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τούτων ἀμείνους."

ΛΑΒΩΤΟΥ

Λαβώτας, μακρολογοῦντός τινος, εἶπε, "τί μοι μικρῶν πέρι μεγάλα φροιμιάζῃ; ὅσον γὰρ εἴη πρᾶγμα, τοσοῦτος[1] καὶ ὁ λόγος ᾧ χρῆσαι."

ΛΕΩΤΥΧΙΔΟΥ

1. Λεωτυχίδας ὁ πρῶτος, λέγοντός τινος ὡς
D ἔστιν εὐμετάβολος, "διὰ τοὺς καιρούς," ἔφη, "οὐχ ὡς ὑμεῖς διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν κακίαν."

2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐρωτῶντα πῶς ἄν τις μάλιστα διαφυλάττοι τὰ παρόντα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ πάντα τῇ τύχῃ πιστεύοι."

3. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ τί δεῖ μάλιστα μανθάνειν τοὺς ἐλευθέρους παῖδας, "ταῦτ'," ἔφη, "ὅσαπερ ἂν αὐτοὺς ὠφελήσειεν[2] ἄνδρας γενομένους."

4. Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ὀλιγοποτοῦσιν οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται, ἔφη, "ἵνα μὴ ἄλλοι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν βουλεύωνται, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἄλλων."

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[1] τοσοῦτος F.C.B.: τοσοῦτον.

[2] ὠφελήσειεν F.C.B.: ὠφελήσειαν.

CLEOMENES, SON OF CLEOMBROTUS

Cleomenes, the son of Cleombrotus, when someone offered him fighting cocks and said that they would die fighting for victory, said, "Well then, give me some of those that kill them, for those are better than these." [a]

LABOTAS [b]

Labotas, when someone spoke at very great length, said, "Why, pray, such a big introduction to a small subject? For proportionate to the topic should be the words you use." [c]

LEOTYCHIDAS [d]

1. Leotychidas the First, when somebody remarked to him that he was very changeable, said, "Yes, because of varying occasion; not like all you because of your baseness."

2. In answer to the man who asked how any man could best preserve his present state of good fortune, he said, "By not trusting everything to chance."

3. Being asked what freeborn boys had best learn, he said, "Those things which may help them when they become men." [e]

4. When someone inquired for what reason the Spartans drank so little, he said, "So that others may not deliberate over us, but we over others."

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[a] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 191 F, *supra*.

[b] An early king of Sparta.

[c] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 208 C (3), *supra*.

[d] King of Sparta in the seventh century B.C.

[e] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 213 D (67), *supra*.

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ΛΕΩΤΥΧΙΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ

1. Λεωτυχίδας ὁ Ἀρίστωνος πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα
E ὅτι κακῶς αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ Δημαράτου λέγουσι, “ μὰ τοὺς θεούς,” ἔφη, “ οὐ θαυμάζω, καλῶς γὰρ λέγειν οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν δυνηθείη.”

2. Τῆς δ' ἐγγυτέρω πύλης[1] δράκοντος περὶ τὴν κλεῖν ἑλιχθέντος καὶ τῶν μάντεων τέρας ἀποφαινομένων εἶναι, “ οὔτι ἔμοιγ',” ἔφη, “ δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' εἰ ἡ κλεὶς τῷ δράκοντι περιειλίχθη, τέρας ἂν ἦν.”

3. Πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν ὀρφεοτελεστὴν παντελῶς πτωχὸν ὄντα, λέγοντα δ' ὅτι οἱ παρ' αὐτῷ μυηθέντες μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν εὐδαιμονοῦσι, “ τί οὖν, ὦ ἀνόητε,” εἶπεν, “ οὐ τὴν ταχίστην ἀπο-
F θνήσκεις, ἵν' ἅμα παύσῃ[2] κακοδαιμονίαν καὶ πενίαν κλαίων;”

4. Πυθομένου δέ τινος διὰ τί τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὅπλα τοῖς θεοῖς οὐκ ἀνατιθέασιν, ἔφη ὅτι τὰ διὰ τὴν δειλίαν τῶν κεκτημένων θηραθέντα οὔτε τοὺς νέους ὁρᾶν καλὸν οὔτε τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνατιθέναι.

ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΡΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ

1. Λέων ὁ Εὐρυκρατίδα ἐρωτηθείς, ποίαν τις ἂν πόλιν οἰκήσας ἀσφαλῶς οἰκοίη, “ ὅπου,” ἔφη, “ μήτε πλείω μήτε ἐλάττονα κεκτήσονται οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες· καὶ ὅπου τὸ μὲν δίκαιον ἰσχύσει, τὸ δὲ ἄδικον ἀσθενὲς ἔσται.”

[1] τῆς . . . πύλης F.C.B.: τῇ . . . πύλῃ.

[2] ἵν' ἅμα παύσῃ Bernardakis: ἵνα ἀναπαύσῃ.

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[a] Doubtless the son of Menares, Leotychidas II., king of Sparta, *circa* 491-469 B.C.

[b] The same story is found in Diogenes Laertius, ii. 35 (of Socrates), and in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xix. 5 (of Plato).

[c] The saying is attributed to the others also; *cf.* Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, viii. 843 ed. Potter; or iii. 18, ed. Stahlin; Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 28 (62).

LEOTYCHIDAS, SON OF ARISTON[a]

1. Leotychidas, the son of Ariston, in answer to a man who said that the sons of Demaratus were speaking ill of him, remarked, “Egad, I don't wonder; for not one of them could ever speak a good word.”[b]

2. When at the adjacent gate a snake had coiled around the key, and the soothsayers declared this to be a prodigy, he said, “ It doesn't seem so to me, but if the key had coiled around the snake, that would be a prodigy ! ”[c]

3. This is his retort to Philip, the priest of the Orphic mysteries, who was in the direst straits of poverty, but used to assert that those who were initiated under his rites were happy after the conclusion of this life ; to him Leotychidas said, “ You idiot ! Why then don't you die as speedily as possible so that you may with that cease from bewailing your unhappiness and poverty ? ”[d]

4. When someone inquired why they did not dedicate to the gods the arms taken from the enemy, he said that property wrested from its owners owing to cowardice it is not good either for the young men to see, or to dedicate to the gods.[e]

LEO, SON OF EURYCRATIDAS[f]

1. When Leo, the son of Eurycratidas, was asked what kind of a city one could live in so as to live most safely, he said, “ Where the inhabitants shall possess neither too much nor too little, and where right shall be strong and wrong shall be weak.”

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[d] *Cf.* Diogenes Laertius, vi. 4, where the remark is attributed to Antisthenes.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 224 B (18), *supra*.

[f] King of Sparta in the first half of the seventh century B.C.

2. Ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρομεῖς σπουδάζοντας περὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν ἵνα πλεονεκτήσωσιν, “ὅσῳ μᾶλλον,” ἔφη, “οἱ δρομεῖς σπουδάζουσι περὶ τῆς ταχυτῆτος ἢ περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης.”

3. Ἀκαίρως δέ τινος περὶ πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀχρήστων διαλεχθέντος, “ὦ ξένε,” εἶπεν, “οὐκ ἐν δέοντι χρῇ τῷ δέοντι.”

ΛΕΩΝΙΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΙΔΑ

1. Λεωνίδας ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδα, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Κλεο-
225 μένους, πρός τινα εἰπόντα, “πλὴν τοῦ βασιλεύειν
ἡμῶν οὐδὲν διαφέρεις,” “ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἄν,” ἔφη, “εἰ
μὴ βελτίων ὑμῶν ἤμην, ἐβασίλευον.”

2. Τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Γοργοῦς πυνθανομένης, ὅτε εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἐξῄει τῷ Πέρσῃ μαχούμενος, εἴ τι αὐτῇ ἐντέλλεται, ἔφη, “ἀγαθοῖς γαμεῖσθαι καὶ ἀγαθὰ τίκτειν.”

3. Λεγόντων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων ὀλίγους ἄγειν αὐτὸν εἰς Θερμοπύλας, “οὐκ ἀλλὰ πλέονας,”[1] ἔφη, “πρὸς ἣν βαδίζομεν πρᾶξιν.”

4. Πάλιν δὲ αὐτῶν εἰπόντων, “μή τι ἕτερον διέγνωκας ποιεῖν ἢ τᾶς παρόδω τὼς βαρβάρως[2] κωλύειν;” “τῷ λόγῳ,” ἔφη, “τῷ δ᾽ ἔργῳ ἀποθανούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.”

B 5. Γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις πρὸς τοὺς
συστρατιώτας εἶπε, “λέγοντι τὸν βάρβαρον ἐγγὺς

[1] *οὐκ, ἀλλὰ πλέονας* (*πλίονας?*) F.C.B.: *οὐκ, ἄλλας* or *οὐκ ὀλίγους*, or nothing at all (*οὔκ, ἀλλ᾽ ἅλις* or *οὔκ, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς* is suggested by Bernardakis).

[2] *τᾶς παρόδω τὼς βαρβάρως* Kronenberg: *τὰς παρόδους τῶν βαρβάρων*.

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[a] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 216 F (2), *supra*.

2. Seeing that the runners at Olympia were eager to gain some advantage in starting, he said, “How much more eager are the runners for a quick start than for fair play!”

3. When someone, at an inappropriate time, discoursed about some matters which were not unprofitable, he said, “My friend, in needless time you dwell upon the need!”[a]

LEONIDAS, SON OF ANAXANDRIDAS[b]

1. Leonidas, the son of Anaxandridas and the brother of Cleomenes, in answer to a man who remarked, “Except for your being king, you are no different from the rest of us,” said, “But if I were no better than you others, I should not be king.”

2. His wife Gorgo inquired, at the time when he was setting forth to Thermopylae to fight the Persian, if he had any instructions to give her, and he said, “To marry good men and bear good children.”[c]

3. When the Ephors said that he was taking but few men to Thermopylae, he said, “Too many for the enterprise on which we are going.”[d]

4. And when again they said, “Hae ye decided to dae aught else save to keep the barbarians from gettin' by?” “Nominally that,” he said, “but actually expecting to die for the Greeks.”

5. When he had arrived at Thermopylae, he said to his comrades in arms, “They say that the bar-

[b] The hero of Thermopylae. These sayings were doubtless incorporated, or meant to be incorporated, in Plutarch's *Life of Leonidas*, according to what he says in *Moralia*, 866 B; and some of them may be found in *Moralia*, 854 E–874 D (*De Herodoti malignitate*).

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 240 E (6), *infra*, and 866 B.

[d] *Ibid. Cf.* also 225 B (8 and 9), *infra*, and 866 B.

(225) γενόμενον προΐμεν,[1] ἆμε[2] δὲ χρονοτριβέειν· ἤδη γὰρ ἢ κανέομες[3] τὼς βαρβάρως ἢ αὐτοὶ τεθνάμεν μέλλομες."

6. Λέγοντος δέ τινος, " ἀπὸ τῶν ὀιστευμάτων τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἰδεῖν ἔστιν," " οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, " χάριεν, εἰ ὑπὸ σκιᾷ[4] αὐτοῖς μαχεσόμεθα."

7. Ἄλλου δὲ εἰπόντος, " πάρεισιν ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν," " οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, " καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν ἐγγύς."

8. Εἰπόντος δέ τινος " ὦ Λεωνίδα, πρὸς πολλοὺς
μετ' ὀλίγων διακινδυνεύσων οὕτω πάρει;" " εἰ
μὲν οἴεσθέ με," ἔφη, " τῷ πλήθει, οὐδὲ ἡ πᾶσα
C Ἑλλὰς ἀρκεῖ· βραχεῖα γὰρ μοῖρα τοῦ ἐκείνων
πλήθους ἐστίν· εἰ δὲ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, καὶ οὗτος ὁ
ἀριθμὸς ἱκανός."

9. Ἄλλου δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγοντος, " καὶ μήν," εἶπεν, "πολλοὺς ἐπάγομαι ὡς ἀποθανουμένους."

10. Ξέρξου δὲ γράψαντος αὐτῷ, " ἔξεστί σοι μὴ θεομαχοῦντι, μετ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ταττομένῳ, τῆς Ἑλλάδος μοναρχεῖν," ἀντέγραψεν, " εἰ τὰ καλὰ τοῦ βίου ἐγίγωσκες,[5] ἀπέστης ἂν τῆς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμίας· ἐμοὶ δὲ κρείττων ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος θάνατος τοῦ μοναρχεῖν τῶν ὁμοφύλων."

11. Πάλιν δὲ τοῦ Ξέρξου γράψαντος, " πέμψον
D τὰ ὅπλα," ἀντέγραψε, " μολὼν λάβε."

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[1] *προΐμεν* F.C.B.: a lacuna in one MS.: nothing in the rest.

[2] *ἆμε* F.C.B.: *ἄμμε.*

[3] *ἢ κανέομες* (*κανίομες? κανέμεν?*) F.C.B.: *ἢ κτάμεν* Bernardakis: *ἤκαμες* or *ἤκαμεν.*

[4] *σκιᾷ* F.C.B. (Herodotus, vii. 226, and Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, vii. 46): *σκιάν.*

[5] *ἐγίγνωσκες* F.C.B.: *ἐγίνωσκες* Bernardakis: *γιγώσκεις* or *γινώσκοις.*

barian has come near and is comin' on while we are wastin' time. Truth, soon we shall either kill the barbarians, or else we are bound to be killed oursel's."

6. When someone said, " Because of the arrows of the barbarians it is impossible to see the sun," he said, " Won't it be nice, then, if we shall have shade in which to fight them ? "[a]

7. When someone else said, " They are near to us," he said, " Then we also are near to them."[b]

8. When someone said, " Leonidas, are you here to take such a hazardous risk with so few men against so many ? " he said, " If you men think that I rely on numbers, then all Greece is not sufficient, for it is but a small fraction of their numbers ; but if on men's valour, then this number will do."

9. When another man remarked the same thing he said, " In truth I am taking many if they are all to be slain."[c]

10. Xerxes wrote to him, " It is possible for you, by not fighting against God but by ranging yourself on my side, to be the sole ruler of Greece." But he wrote in reply, " If you had any knowledge of the noble things of life, you would refrain from coveting others' possessions ; but for me to die for Greece is better than to be the sole ruler over the people of my race."

11. When Xerxes wrote again, " Hand over your arms," he wrote in reply, " Come and take them."

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[a] The remark is attributed to Dieneces by Herodotus, vii. 226. *Cf.* Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, vii. 46 ; Valerius Maximus, iii. 7, ext. 8 ; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 42 (101).

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 194 D, *supra*, and 234 B.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 225 A (3), *supra*, and 866 B.

(225) 12. Βουλομένου δ' αὐτοῦ ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι, οἱ πολέμαρχοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὅτι δεῖ προσμένειν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους· “οὐ γάρ,” ἔφη, “πάρεισιν οἱ μάχεσθαι μέλλοντες; ἢ οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι μόνοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μάχονται οἱ τοὺς βασιλέας αἰδούμενοι καὶ φοβούμενοι;”

13. Τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις παρήγγειλεν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι ὡς ἐν Ἅιδου δειπνοποιησομένους.

14. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί οἱ ἄριστοι τὸν ἔνδοξον θάνατον τῆς ἀδόξου προκρίνουσι ζωῆς, “ὅτι,” ἔφη, “τὸ μὲν τῆς φύσεως ἴδιον, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζουσιν.”

E 15. Τοὺς δὲ ἠιθέους βουλόμενος σῶσαι καὶ ἐπιστάμενος ἄντικρυς οὐκ ἀνεξομένους, σκυτάλας δοὺς καθ' ἕνα αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἔπεμψε. καὶ τῶν τελείων δὲ τρεῖς ἐβουλήθη διασῶσαι· οἱ δὲ συννοήσαντες οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο λαβεῖν τὰς σκυτάλας· ὧν ὁ μὲν εἶπεν, “οὐ κῆρυξ ἀλλὰ μαχητὰς ἀκολούθησα”· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, “αὐτοῦ μένων κρέσσων ἂν εἴην”· ὁ δὲ τρίτος, “οὐχ ὕστερος τούτων, πρῶτος δὲ μαχήσομαι.”

ΛΟΧΑΓΟΥ

Λόχαγος ὁ Πολυαινίδου καὶ Σείρωνος πατήρ, ἀπαγγείλαντός τινος αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν υἱῶν τεθνήκοι ὁ ἕτερος, “πάλαι ᾔδειν,” ἔφη, “ὅτι ἀποθανεῖν F αὐτὸν ἔδει.”

12. He wished to engage the enemy at once, but the other commanders, in answer to his proposal, said that he must wait for the rest of the allies. “Why,” said he, “are not all present who intend to fight?[a] Or do you not realize that the only men who fight against the enemy are those who respect and revere their kings?”

13. He bade his soldiers eat their breakfast as if they were to eat their dinner in the other world.[b]

14. Being asked why the best of men prefer a glorious death to an inglorious life, he said, “Because they believe the one to be Nature's gift but the other to be within their own control.”

15. Wishing to save the lives of the young men, and knowing full well that they would not submit to such treatment, he gave to each of them a secret dispatch,[c] and sent them to the Ephors. He conceived the desire to save also three of the grown men, but they fathomed his design, and would not submit to accepting the dispatches.[d] One of them said, “I came with the army, not to carry messages, but to fight;” and the second, “I should be a better man if I stayed here”; and the third, “I will not be behind these, but first in the fight.”

LOCHAGUS

Lochagus, the father of Polyaenides and Seiron, when word was brought to him that one of his sons was dead, said, “I have known this long while that he was fated to die.”

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 185 F, *supra*.

[b] *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 42 (101); Valerius Maximus, iii. 2, ext. 3.

[c] The reference is to a well-known form of cipher message in use among the Spartans. A narrow leather thong was wrapped around a cylinder, and on the surface thus formed the message was written. When the thong was received it was applied to a duplicate cylinder kept by the recipient, and so the message was read.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 866 B; and Herodotus, vii. 221, 229, 230.

ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΥ

1. Λυκοῦργος ὁ νομοθέτης βουλόμενος ἐκ τῆς
προϋπαρχούσης διαίτης τοὺς πολίτας εἰς σωφρονεστέραν
βίου τάξιν μετάγειν καὶ καλοκαγαθικοὺς
ἀπεργάζεσθαι (ἁβροδίαιτοι γὰρ ἦσαν) δύο σκύλακας
ἀνέθρεψε ταὐτοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς γενομένους·
καὶ τὸν μὲν εἴθισε περὶ λιχνείας οἴκοι ἐάσας· τὸν δὲ
ἐπαγόμενος ἤσκησε περὶ κυνηγέσια. ἔπειτα ἀγαγὼν
εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔθηκεν ἀκάνθας καὶ λιχνείας
τινάς, ἀφῆκε δὲ καὶ λαγών· ἑκατέρου δ' ἐπὶ τὰ
συνήθη ὁρμήσαντος καὶ θατέρου τὸν λαγὼν χειρωσαμένου,
εἶπεν, “ ὁρᾶτε, ὦ πολῖται, ὅτι ταὐτοῦ
226 γένους ὑπάρχοντες ἐν τῇ τοῦ βίου ἀγωγῇ παρὰ
πολὺ ἀλλήλων διάφοροι ἀπέβησαν, καὶ ποιητικωτέρα
τῆς φύσεως ἡ ἄσκησις πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τυγχάνει;”

Τινὲς δέ φασιν, ὥς[1] οὐ παρῆγε σκύλακας, οἷ ἐκ
τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες ἐτύγχανον, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐξ
οἰκουρῶν, ἕτερος δ' ἐκ κυνηγετικῶν· κἄπειτα τὸν
μὲν ἐκ τοῦ χείρονος γένους πρὸς τὰ κυνηγέσια
ἤσκησε, τὸν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀμείνονος περὶ λιχνείας
μόνον εἴθισεν· εἶθ' ἑκατέρου ἐφ' ἃ εἴθιστο ὁρμήσαντος,
φανερὸν ποιήσας ὅσον ἡ ἀγωγὴ πρὸς τὰ
ἀμείνω καὶ χείρω συλλαμβάνεται, εἶπεν, “ οὐκοῦν
καὶ ἡμᾶς, ὦ πολῖται, οὐδὲν ἡ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς
θαυμαζομένη εὐγένεια καὶ τὸ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους εἶναι
B ὀνίνησιν, εἰ μὴ πράττομεν δι' ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἁπάντων
ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδοξότερος καὶ εὐγενέστερος ἐφάνη,

[1] ὡς] omitted in most MSS.

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[a] The reputed founder of the Spartan constitution. A brief account of his laws may be found also in Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iv. 3 ff.

LYCURGUS [a]

1. Lycurgus, the lawgiver, wishing to recall the citizens from the mode of living then existent, and to lead them to a more sober and temperate order of life, and to render them good and honourable men (for they were living a soft life), reared two puppies of the same litter; and one he accustomed to dainty food, and allowed it to stay in the house; the other he took afield and trained in hunting. Later he brought them into the public assembly and put down some bones and dainty food and let loose a hare. Each of the dogs made for that to which it was accustomed, and, when the one of them had overpowered the hare, he said, “ You see, fellow-citizens, that these dogs belong to the same stock, but by virtue of the discipline to which they have been subjected they have turned out utterly different from each other, and you also see that training is more effective than Nature for good.” [b]

But some say that he did not bring in dogs which were of the same stock, but that one was of the breed of house dogs and the other of hunting dogs; then he trained the one of inferior stock for hunting, and the one of better stock he accustomed to dainty food. And afterwards, as each made for that to which it had become accustomed, he made it clear how much instruction contributes for better or worse, saying, “ So also in our case, fellow-citizens, noble birth, so admired of the multitude, and our being descended from Heracles does not bestow any advantage, unless we do the sort of things for which he was manifestly the most glorious and most noble of all mankind, and

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[b] As in *Moralia*, 3 A.

(226) ἀσκούμενοι καὶ μανθάνοντες καλὰ δι' ὅλου τοῦ βίου."

2. Ἀναδασμὸν δὲ τῆς γῆς ποιήσας καὶ ἅπασιν ἴσον κλῆρον τοῖς πολίταις νείμας, λέγεται ὕστερόν ποτε χρόνῳ τὴν χώραν διερχόμενον[1] ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἄρτι τεθερισμένην, ἰδόντα[1] τοὺς σωροὺς κειμένους παρ' ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁμαλοὺς ἡσθῆναι, καὶ μειδιάσαντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς ἡ Λακωνικὴ φαίνεται πᾶσα πολλῶν ἀδελφῶν εἶναι νεωστὶ νενεμημένων.

3. Καὶ τῶν χρεῶν δὲ ἀποκοπὰς εἰσηγησάμενος
C ἐπεχείρησε καὶ τὰ κατ' οἶκον ὄντα πάντα ἐξ ἴσου
διαιρεῖν, ὅπως παντάπασιν ἐξέλοι τὸ ἄνισον καὶ
ἀνώμαλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ χαλεπῶς ἑώρα προσδεξομένους
τὴν ἄντικρυς ἀφαίρεσιν, τό τε χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν
νόμισμα ἠκύρωσε, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ σιδηρῷ προσέταξε
χρῆσθαι· καὶ μέχρις οὗ δεῖ ἔχειν τὴν ὅλην
D ὕπαρξιν πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν τούτου, περιώρισε. τούτου
δὲ γενομένου, ἐξέπεσε τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀδικία
πᾶσα· οὔτε γὰρ κλέπτειν οὔτε δωροδοκεῖν οὔτε
ἀποστερεῖν ἢ ἁρπάζειν ἔτι ἐδύνατό τις, ὃ μήτε
κατακρύψαι δυνατὸν ἦν μήτε κτήσασθαι[2] ζηλωτὸν
μήτε χρήσασθαι ἀκίνδυνον, μήτε ἐξάγειν ἢ ἐπάγειν
ἀσφαλές. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἁπάντων τῶν περιττῶν
ξενηλασίαν ἐποιήσατο· διὸ οὔτε ἔμπορος οὔτε
σοφιστὴς οὔτε μάντις ἢ[3] ἀγύρτης οὔτε τῶν κατασκευασμάτων
δημιουργὸς εἰσῄει εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην.

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[1] *διερχόμενον* and *ἰδόντα* F.C.B. from the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. viii. (which has *ὁρῶντα*): *διέρχομενος* and *ἰδὼν* (or *μειδιάσαντα* might be changed to *μειδιάσας*).

[2] *κτήσασθαι*] *κεκτῆσθαι* in *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. ix.

[3] *ἢ*] Kronenberg would omit.

unless we practise and learn what is good our whole life long."

2. He made a redistribution of the land, and assigned an equal share to all the citizens; and it is said that a while later, on returning from abroad, as he passed through the country, where the harvesting had just been finished, and saw the cocks of grain standing near together in even lines, he was much pleased, and said with a smile to those who were with him that it looked as if all the Spartan land belonged to many brothers who had recently divided it.[a]

3. Having introduced the abolition of debts, he next undertook to divide equally all household furnishings, so as to do away completely with all inequality and disparity. But when he saw that the people were likely to demur about assenting to this outright spoliation, he decreed that gold and silver coin should in future have no value, and ordained that the people should use iron money only. He also limited the time within which it was lawful to exchange their present holdings for this money. When this had been done, all wrongdoing was banished from Sparta. For nobody was able to steal or to accept a bribe or to defraud or rob any more, when the result was something of which concealment was not possible, nor was its acquisition envied, nor its use without risk, nor its exportation or importation safe. As an added measure, he brought about the banishment from Sparta of everything not absolutely necessary. And, by reason of this, no merchant, no public lecturer, no soothsayer or mendicant priest, no maker of fancy articles ever made his way into

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[a] Related with more detail by Plutarch in his *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. viii. (44 A).

(226) *οὐδὲ γὰρ νόμισμα παρ' αὐτοῖς εὔχρηστον εἴασε, μόνον δὲ τὸ σιδηροῦν εἰσηγήσατο, ὅ ἐστι μνᾶ ὁλκῇ Αἰγιναία, δυνάμει δὲ χαλκοῖ τέσσαρες.*

4. *Ἐπιθέσθαι δὲ τῇ τρυφῇ καὶ τὸν ζῆλον ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ πλούτου διανοηθεὶς τὰ συσσίτια εἰσηγήσατο.* E *πρὸς γοῦν τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας διὰ τί ταῦτα συνεστήσατο καὶ μεθ' ὅπλων κατ' ὀλίγους τοὺς πολίτας διῄρηκεν, "ὅπως," εἶπεν, "ἐξ ἑτοίμου τὰ παραγγελλόμενα δέχωνται, καὶ ἐάν τι νεωτερίζωσιν, ἐν ὀλίγοις ᾖ τὸ ἀμπλάκημα, ἰσομοιρία τε τῆς τροφῆς καὶ πόσεως ᾖ καὶ μήτε πόσει τινὶ ἢ βρώσει ἀλλὰ μηδὲ στρωμνῇ ἢ σκεύεσιν ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὸ σύνολον πλέον ἔχῃ ὁ πλούσιος τοῦ πένητος."*

5. *Ἄζηλον δὲ ποιήσας τὸν πλοῦτον, οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ χρῆσθαι οὐδὲ ἐπιδεῖξαι δυναμένου, ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις, "ὡς καλόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἑταῖροι, διὰ* F *τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸν πλοῦτον ὁποῖός ἐστι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ὅτι τυφλός."*

6. *Παρεφύλαξε δὲ ὥστε μηδὲ οἴκοι προδειπνήσαντας ἐξεῖναι βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τὰ συσσίτια πεπληρωμένους ἑτέρων ἐδεσμάτων ἢ πωμάτων*[1]*· ἐκάκιζον δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ τὸν μὴ πιόντα ἢ φαγόντα μετ' αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀκρατῆ καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπομαλακιζόμενον δίαιταν· ἐζημιοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ φανερὸς γενόμενος. Ἄγιδος γοῦν μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπανελθόντος ἀπὸ στρατείας (καταπεπολεμήκει δὲ*

[1] *πωμάτων* the better spelling: *πομάτων*.

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[a] Plutarch tells all this, at somewhat greater length, in his *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. ix. (440). *Cf.* also Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 7. 5 and 6; Plato, *Eryxias*, 400 B; Pollux, *Onomasticon*, vii. 105, and ix. 79; Justin, *Historiae Philippicae*, iii. 2. 11-12.

Sparta. The reason was that he permitted no handy coinage to circulate among them, but instituted the iron coinage exclusively, which in weight was over a pound and a quarter, and in value not quite a penny.[a]

4. Having determined to make an attack upon the prevailing luxury, and to do away with the rivalry for riches, he instituted the common meals. And in answer to those who sought to know why he had established these, and had divided the citizens, when under arms, into small companies, he said, "So that they may get their orders promptly, and, in case they cherish any radical designs, the offence may be confined to a small number; also that there may be for all an equal portion of food and drink, and so that not only in drink or food, but in bedding or furniture or anything else whatsoever, the rich man may have no advantage at all over the poor man."[b]

5. Having made wealth unenviable, since nobody could make any use or show of it, he said to his intimate friends, "What a good thing it is, my friends, to show in actual practice the true characteristic of wealth, that it is blind!"[c]

6. He took good care that none should be allowed to dine at home and then come to the common meal stuffed with other kinds of food and drink. The rest of the company used to berate the man who did not drink or eat with them, because they felt that he was lacking in self-control, and was too soft for the common way of living.[d] Moreover, a fine was laid upon the man who was detected. A case in point is that of Agis, their king, who, returning from a long campaigning in which he had overcome the Athenians in

[b] Plutarch amplifies this account in his *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. x. (45 B). [c] *Ibid.* (45 C). [d] *Ibid.* (45 D).

227 Ἀθηναίους), βουλομένου παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ μιᾷ
ἡμέρᾳ δειπνῆσαι καὶ μεταπεμπομένου τὰς μερίδας,
οὐκ ἔπεμψαν οἱ πολέμαρχοι· μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ
φανεροῦ γενομένου τοῖς ἐφόροις, ἐζημιώθη ὑπ'
αὐτῶν.

7. Πρὸς οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν νομοθετημάτων
χαλεπήναντες οἱ εὔποροι ἐπισυνέστησαν καὶ ἐβλασφήμουν
αὐτὸν καὶ ἔβαλλον, καταλεῦσαι βουλόμενοι·
διωκόμενος δὲ διέπεσε διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς·
καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔφθασεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς
χαλκιοίκου Ἀθηνᾶς καταφυγών· Ἄλκανδρος δὲ
ἐπιστραφέντος αὐτοῦ διώκων τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὸν
ὀφθαλμὸν ἐξέκοψεν αὐτοῦ. τοῦτον δὲ κοινῷ δόγματι
παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ οὔτε κακῶς διέθηκεν
B οὔτε ἐμέμψατο, συνδιαιτώμενον δὲ ἔχων ἀπέδειξεν
ἐπαινέτην αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς διαίτης ἣν εἶχε σὺν
αὐτῷ, καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐραστήν. τοῦ δὲ
πάθους ὑπόμνημα ἱδρύσατο ἐν τῷ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου
τεμένει ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς, Ὀπτιλλέτιν προσαγορεύσας·
τοὺς γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀπτίλλους οἱ τῇδε Δωριεῖς
λέγουσιν.

8. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί οὐκ ἐχρήσατο νόμοις
ἐγγράφοις, "ὅτι," ἔφη, "οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι καὶ
ἀχθέντες τῇ προσηκούσῃ ἀγωγῇ τὸ τοῦ καιροῦ
χρήσιμον δοκιμάζουσι."

9. Πάλιν δ' ἐπιζητούντων τινῶν, διὰ τί ὀροφὴν
C ἀπὸ πελέκεως ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπιτιθέναι προσέταξε,

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xii. (46 c).

[b] Plutarch tells the story more fully in his *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xi. (45 D-46 A); *cf.* also Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 23, and Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xix. 13.

war, wished to dine at home with his wife on this one day, and sent for his allowance of food; but the military commanders would not send it; and the following day, when the matter was disclosed to the Ephors, he was fined by them.[a]

7. The well-to-do citizens resented legislation of this type, and, banding together, they denounced him and pelted him, wishing to stone him to death. As he was being pursued, he rushed through the market-place; and he out-distanced almost all his pursuers, and gained refuge in the shrine of Athena of the Brazen House; only, as he turned around, Alcander, who was pursuing him, put out one of his eyes by a stroke of his staff. But when, later, Lycurgus received Alcander, who was handed over to him for punishment by vote of the people, he did not treat him ill nor blame him, but, by compelling him to live under the same roof with him, he brought it to pass that Alcander had only commendation for Lycurgus and for the manner of living which he had found there, and was altogether enamoured of this discipline. Lycurgus dedicated a memorial of his unhappy experience in the shrine of Athena of the Brazen House, and gave to her the added epithet of Optilletis; for the Dorians in this part of the world call the eyes 'optics (*optilloi*).'[b]

8. Being asked why he had not made any use of written laws, he said, "Because those who are trained and disciplined in the proper discipline can determine what will best serve the occasion."[c]

9. At another time when some sought to know why he had ordained that the people should use only an axe in putting a roof on their houses, and make a

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[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiii. (47 A).

(227) θύραν δὲ ἀπὸ πρίονος μόνου καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐργαλείων, " ὅπως ἄν," ἔφη, " μετριάζοιεν οἱ πολῖται περὶ πάντα, ὅσα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσάγουσι, καὶ μηδὲν τῶν παρ' ἄλλοις ζηλουμένων ἔχωσιν."

10. Ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς συνηθείας φασὶ καὶ Λεωτυχίδην τὸν πρῶτον βασιλέα δειπνοῦντα παρά τινι, καὶ θεασάμενον τῆς στέγης τοῦ οἴκου τὴν παρασκευὴν πολυτελῆ καὶ φατνωματικήν, ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν ξένον εἰ τετράγωνα παρ' αὐτοῖς ξύλα φύεται.

11. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί ἐκώλυσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους πολλάκις στρατεύεσθαι, ἔφη, " ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις ἀμυνεσθαι συνεθιζόμενοι ἔμπειροι πολέμου γένωνται." διὸ καὶ Ἀγησιλάου[1] ἔγκλημα οὐ βραχὺ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ταῖς εἰς τὴν D Βοιωτίαν συνεχέσιν εἰσβολαῖς καὶ στρατείαις τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀντιπάλους Λακεδαιμονίοις κατασκευάσαντος.[1] τετρωμένον γοῦν ἰδὼν αὐτὸν Ἀνταλκίδας, " καλά," εἶπε, " τροφεῖα ἀπέχεις, μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς μηδὲ[2] εἰδότας μάχεσθαι διδάξας."

12. Ἄλλου δὲ ἐπιζητοῦντος, διὰ τί τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων δρόμοις καὶ πάλαις καὶ βολαῖς δίσκων καὶ ἀκοντίων διεπόνησεν, " ἵν'," ἔφη, " ἡ τῶν γεννωμένων ῥίζωσις ἰσχυρὰν ἐν ἰσχυροῖς σώμασιν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα καλῶς βλαστάνῃ, αὐταί τε μετὰ ῥώμης τοὺς τόκους ὑπομένουσαι ῥᾳδίως τε ἅμα καὶ καλῶς ἀγωνίζωνται πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας,

[1] Ἀγεσιλάου or Ἀγεσιλάῳ but usually κατασκευάσαντος; presumably they should agree as in the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiii.

[2] μηδὲ to accord with other quotations of the passage: μήτε.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiii. (47 c), and *Moralia*, 189 E (3), *supra*.

door with a saw only and none of the other tools, he said, " So that the citizens may be moderate in regard to all the things which they bring into the house, and may possess none of the things which are the cause of rivalry among other peoples." [a]

10. It was because of this custom also that their first king Leotychidas, dining at somebody's house [b] and observing the construction of the ceiling, which was expensive and embellished with panels, asked his host if timbers grew square in their country!

11. Being asked why he had prohibited frequent campaigns against the same foes, he said, " So that they may not, by becoming accustomed to defending themselves frequently, become skilled in war." It was for this reason also that there appeared to be no slight ground for complaint against Agesilaus, who by his almost continual inroads and campaigns into Boeotia had rendered the Thebans a match for the Spartans. At any rate Antalcidas, when he saw him wounded, exclaimed, " You have got a handsome reward as you deserve for your fostering care in teaching them to fight when they did not wish to fight and did not even know how." [c]

12. When someone else desired to know why he instituted strenuous exercise for the bodies of the maidens in races and wrestling and throwing the discus and javelin, he said, " So that the implanted stock of their offspring, by getting a strong start in strong bodies, may attain a noble growth, and that they themselves may with vigour abide the birth of their children and readily and nobly resist the pains

[b] In Corinth, according to Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiii. (47 c); *cf.* also *Moralia*, 189 E, *supra*, and the note.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiii. (47 D), and *Moralia*, 189 D, *supra*, and the note.

(227) καί, εἴ τις ἀνάγκη γένοιτο, δύνωνται ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος μάχεσθαι."

E 13. Μεμφομένων δέ τινων τὴν γύμνωσιν τῶν
παρθένων ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ζητούντων,
"ἵν'," ἔφη, "τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτηδεύουσαι
μηδὲν μεῖον ἔχωσι μήτε κατὰ σώματος
ἰσχὺν καὶ ὑγίειαν μήτε κατὰ ψυχῆς φιλοτιμίαν καὶ
ἀρετήν, δόξης δὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπερφρονῶσιν."
ὅθεν καὶ περὶ Γοργοῦς ἱστορεῖται τῆς Λεωνίδου
γυναικὸς τοιοῦτον· εἰπούσης γάρ τινος, ὡς
ἔοικε ξένης, πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς "μόναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν
F ἄρχετε ὑμεῖς αἱ Λάκαιναι," ἀπεκρίνατο, "μόναι
γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας τίκτομεν."

14. Εἴρξας δὲ τοὺς ἀγάμους τῆς ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις θέας καὶ ἀτιμίαν προσθείς, πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο τῆς παιδοποιίας· τιμῆς δὲ καὶ θεραπείας, ἣν νέοι πρεσβυτέροις παρεῖχον, ἐστέρησε. καὶ τὸ πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν ῥηθὲν οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο, καίπερ εὐδόκιμον ὄντα στρατηγόν· ἐπιόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν νεωτέρων τις ἕδρας οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν εἰπών, "οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ τὸν ὑπείξοντα ἐγέννησας."

15. Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος, διὰ τί τὰς κόρας ἐνομοθέτησεν ἀπροίκους ἐκδίδοσθαι, "ὅπως," ἔφη, "μήτε δι' ἔνδειαν ἄγαμοί τινες ἐαθῶσι μήτε διὰ περιουσίαν σπουδάζωνται, ἕκαστος δὲ εἰς τὸν τρό-

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiv. (47 F); Suidas, *Lexicon*, under Lycurgus.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 240 E (5) *infra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiv. (47 E-48 B).

[c] *Ibid.* chap. xv. (48 C); and *Moralia*, 223 A, *supra*.

of travail; and moreover, if the need arise, that they may be able to fight for themselves, their children, and their country."[a]

13. When some persons expressed disapproval of the nudity of the maidens in the processions, and sought to know the reason for it, he said, "So that they, by following the same practices as the men, may not be inferior to them either in bodily strength and health or in mental aspirations and qualities, and that they may despise the opinion of the crowd." Wherefore is recorded also in regard to Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, a saying to this effect: when some woman, a foreigner presumably, remarked to her, "You Spartan women are the only women that lord it over your men," she replied, "Yes, for we are the only women that are mothers of men!"[b]

14. By excluding the unmarried from looking on at the festival of the naked youth, and by laying upon them other additional disgrace, he created much concern about having children. He also deprived them of the honour and attention which the young bestowed on their elders. And nobody said a word against the remark which was made to Dercylidas, although he was a general and in high repute; for one of the younger men, as Dercylidas approached, did not rise to offer his seat, saying, "No, for you are not the father of any son who will rise and offer his seat to me."[c]

15. When someone inquired why he had made a law that girls should be given in marriage without any dowry, he said, "So that some of them shall not be left unwedded because of lack of means, and some shall not be eagerly sought because of abundant wealth, but that each man, with an eye to the ways

πον τῆς παιδὸς ἀφορῶν ἀρετῇ τὴν αἵρεσιν ποιῶν-
228 ται.[1]" διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὸν καλλωπισμὸν τῆς
πόλεως ἀπήλασεν.

16. Ὁρίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῶν τε γαμουμένων καὶ τῶν γαμούντων, πρὸς τὸν ζητοῦντα,[2] "ἵν'," ἔφη, "τὰ γεννώμενα ἰσχυρὰ ᾖ ἐκ τελείων γεννώμενα."

17. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν θαυμάζοντα, δι' ὅ τι τὸν γεγαμη-
κότα ἀπεῖρξε μὴ συγκοιμᾶσθαι τῇ γεγαμημένῃ,
προσέταξε δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας συνεῖναι τοῖς
ἡλικιώταις καὶ τὰς νύκτας ὅλας συναναπαύεσθαι,
τῇ δὲ νύμφῃ κρύφα καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας συνεῖναι,
"ὅπως," ἔφη, "καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἰσχυροὶ ὦσι
διακορεῖς μὴ γενόμενοι, καὶ τῷ φιλεῖν ἀεὶ καινοὶ
B ὑπάρχωσι καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα ἐρρωμενέστερα παρέχωσι."

18. Καὶ τὸ μὲν μύρον ἐξήλασεν ὡς τοῦ ἐλαίου φθορὰν καὶ ὄλεθρον, τὴν δὲ βαφικὴν ὡς κολακείαν αἰσθήσεως.

19. Πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν τοῦ σώματος καλλωπισμὸν δημιουργοῖς ἀνεπίβατον ἐποίησε τὴν Σπάρτην, ὡς διὰ τῆς κακοτεχνίας τὰς τέχνας λυμαινομένοις.

20. Τοσαύτη δ' ἦν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους σωφροσύνη τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπεῖχε τῆς ὕστερον περὶ αὐτὰς εὐχερείας, ὡς πρότερον ἄπιστον εἶναι τὸ τῆς μοιχείας παρ' αὐταῖς.[3] καὶ

[1] ποιῶνται] ποιεῖται in some mss.
[2] ζητοῦντα] Xylander would add τὴν αἰτίαν.
[3] αὐταῖς] αὐτοῖς Kronenberg from the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xv.

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[a] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, vi. 6.
[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xv. (48 D), and Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 1. 6.

of the maid, shall make virtue the basis of his choice." For this reason he also banished from the State all artificial enhancement of beauty.[a]

16. He set limits to the time of marriage for both men and women, and, in answer to the man who inquired about this, he said, "So that the offspring may be sturdy by being sprung from mature parents."[b]

17. In answer to a man who expressed surprise because he debarred the husband from spending the nights with his wife, but ordained that he should be with his comrades most of the day and pass the whole night in their company, and visit his bride secretly and with great circumspection, he said, "So that they may be strong of body and never become sated, and that they may be ever fresh in affection, and that the children which they bring into the world may be more sturdy."[c]

18. He banished perfume on the ground that it spoiled and ruined the olive oil,[d] and also the dyer's art on the ground that it was a flattery of the senses.

19. To all whose business was the enhancement of personal beauty he made Sparta forbidden ground, for the reason that they outraged the arts through the vileness of their art.[e]

20. So strict in those times was the virtue of the women, and so far removed from the laxity of morals which later affected them,[f] that in the earlier days the idea of adultery among them was an incredible

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xv. (48 E), and Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 1. 5.
[d] *Cf.* Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales*, iv. 13. 9. Perfumes in ancient times were made with a base of oil; *cf. Moralia*, 127 B.
[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. ix. (p. 44 F).
[f] Athenaeus, 142 F, quotes Phylarchus at some length regarding the degeneration of the Spartans.

C (228) λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται Γεραδάτα[1] τινὸς Σπαρτιάτου τῶν σφόδρα παλαιῶν, ὃς ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ ξένου, τί πάσχουσιν οἱ μοιχοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν γὰρ ὁρᾶν περὶ τούτου νενομοθετημένον ὑπὸ Λυκούργου, εἶπεν, "οὐδείς, ὦ ξένε, γίγνεται μοιχὸς παρ' ἡμῖν." ἐκείνου δὲ ὑπολαβόντος, "ἂν οὖν γένηται," "ταῦρον," ἔφη ὁ Γεραδάτας "ἐκτίνει μέγαν, ὃς ὑπερκύψας τὸ Ταΰγετον ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα πίεται." θαυμάσαντος δ' ἐκείνου καὶ φήσαντος, "πῶς δὲ ἂν γένοιτο βοῦς τηλικοῦτος;" γελάσας[2] ὁ Γεραδάτας[1] "πῶς γὰρ ἄν," ἔφη, "μοιχὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ γένοιτο, ἐν ᾗ πλοῦτος μὲν καὶ τρυφὴ καὶ καλλωπισμὸς ἀτιμάζονται, αἰδὼς δὲ καὶ εὐκοσμία καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων πειθὼ πρεσβεύονται;"

21. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀξιοῦντα δημοκρατίαν ἐν τῇ
D πόλει καταστήσασθαι ὁ Λυκοῦργος εἶπε, "σὺ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου ποίησον δημοκρατίαν."

22. Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος διὰ τί μικρὰς οὕτω καὶ εὐτελεῖς ἔταξε τῶν θεῶν τὰς θυσίας, "ὅπως," ἔφη, "μηδέποτε τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον διαλείπωμεν."

23. Μόνα δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἀθλημάτων ἐφέντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὅπου ἡ χεὶρ οὐκ ἀνατείνεται, ἐπύθετό τις τὴν αἰτίαν· ὁ δέ, "ὅπως,"

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[1] Γεραδάτα, Γεραδάτας] Γεράδα, Γεράδας in the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xv.

[2] ταῦρον ἐκτίνει μέγαν . . . τηλικοῦτος; γελάσας Xylander from the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xv.: the MSS. have only ταὐτὸν ἔφη ὁ Γεραδάτας.

thing. There is still recalled a saying of a certain Geradatas, a Spartan of the very early times, who, on being asked by a foreigner what was done to adulterers in their country, since he saw that there had been no legislation by Lycurgus on that subject, said, "Sir, there is never an adulterer in our country." But when the other retorted with, "Yes, but if there should be?" Geradatas said, "His penalty is to provide an enormous bull which by stretching his neck over Mount Taygetus can drink from the river Eurotas." And when the other in amazement said, "But how could there ever be a bull of that size?" Geradatas laughed and said, "But how could there ever be an adulterer in Sparta, in which wealth and luxury and adventitious aids to beauty are held in disesteem, and respect and good order and obedience to authority are given the highest place?" [a]

21. In answer to the man who was insistent that he establish a democracy in the State Lycurgus said, "Do you first create a democracy in your own house." [b]

22. When someone inquired why he ordained such small and inexpensive sacrifices to the gods, he said, "So that we may honour the Divine powers without ceasing." [c]

23. As he permitted the citizens to engage only in that kind of athletic contests in which the arm is not held up,[d] somebody inquired what was the reason.

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[a] In part this is in close agreement with Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xv. (49 C), but the main point, which is lacking in the MSS., is usually inserted here by the editors from the *Life*. See the critical note 2.

[b] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 189 E (2), *supra*.

[c] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 172 B, *supra*.

[d] As a sign of defeat; *cf.* E. Norman Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London. 1910), p. 415.

(228) εἶπε, “ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πονεῖν ἀπαυδᾶν ἐθίζηται.”

24. Ἐρωτῶντος δέ τινος, διὰ τί πυκνὰ μεταστρατοπεδεύειν κελεύει, “ ὅπως,” εἶπε, “ πλείω τοὺς ἐχθροὺς βλάπτωμεν.[1] ”

25. Ἄλλου δ' ἐπιζητοῦντος διὰ τί πυργομαχεῖν ἀπεῖπε, “ ἵνα,” ἔφη, “ μὴ ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἢ παιδὸς E ἤ τινος παραπλησίου ἀνθρώπου οἱ ἀμείνονες ἀποθνήσκωσιν.”

26. Τοῖς δὲ συμβουλευομένοις τῶν Θηβαίων περὶ τῆς ἱερουργίας καὶ τοῦ πένθους, ἣν ποιοῦνται τῇ Λευκοθέᾳ, συνεβούλευσεν εἰ μὲν θεὸν ἡγοῦνται, μὴ θρηνεῖν, εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωπον, μὴ ἱερουργεῖν ὡς θεῷ.

27. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας τῶν πολιτῶν, “ πῶς ἂν πολεμίων ἔφοδον ἀλεξοίμεθα;” “ ἐὰν πτωχοί,” ἔφη, “ μένητε[2] καὶ μὴ μείζων[3] ἅτερος θατέρου ἐρᾶτε εἶναι.[4] ”

28. Καὶ πάλιν ἐπιζητούντων περὶ τειχῶν, οὐκ ἔφη πόλιν εἶναι ἀτείχιστον, ἥτις ἀνδράσι καὶ οὐ πλίνθοις ἐστεφάνωται.

F 29. Ἐπεμέλοντο δὲ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται καὶ τῆς κόμης, ἀπομνημονεύοντές τινα Λυκούργου λόγον περὶ

[1] *βλάπτωμεν* E. Kurtz: *βλάπτοιμεν*.

[2] *μένητε Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix.: *ἦτε*.

[3] *μείζων* from *μέσδων* (*sic!*) *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix.: *μεῖζον*.

[4] *ἐρᾶτε εἶναι* F.C.B. from the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix.; with the omission of one syllable *-ατ-* gives almost exactly the queer MS. reading *ἐρεεινῃ* (or *ἐρεένει*): *ἐρέῃ εἶναι* Sintenis.

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[a] *Cf.* the note on 189 E (4), *supra*.

[b] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 12. 5.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Comparison of Lysander and Sulla*, 477 D.

He replied, “ So that no one of the citizens shall get the habit of crying quits in the midst of a hard struggle.” [a]

24. When someone asked why he ordered a frequent change of camping-place, he said, “ So that we may inflict greater injury upon our enemies.” [b]

25. When someone sought to know why he forbade assaults on walled places, he said, “ So that valiant men may not suffer death at the hands of a woman or a child or some such person.” [c]

26. When some of the Thebans advised with him in regard to the sacrifice and the lamentation which they perform in honour of Leucothea, he advised them that if they regarded her as a goddess they should not bewail her, but if they looked upon her as a woman they should not offer sacrifice to her as to a goddess.[d]

27. In answer to some of the citizens who desired to know, “ How can we keep off any invasion by enemies,” he said, “ If you remain poor, and no one of you desires to be more important than another.” [e]

28. And at another time, when they raised a question about fortifications, he said that a city is not unfortified whose crowning glory is men and not bricks and stones.[f]

29. The Spartans gave particular attention to their hair, recalling a saying of Lycurgus in reference to it,

As a matter of fact, the Spartans were quite without ability to attack a walled town, as is clear from Herodotus, ix. 70, and Thucydides, i. 102.

[d] This saying of Xenophanes seems to have been attributed by someone to Lycurgus. *Cf. Moralia*, 171 E, 379 B, and 763 C; also Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 23. 27.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix. (52 B).

[f] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 210 E (29), *supra*.

τούτου, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς εὐπρεπεστέρους ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσχροὺς φοβερωτέρους.

30. Παρήγγειλε δὲ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τρεψαμένους καὶ νικήσαντας μέχρι τοῦ βεβαιώσασθαι τὸ νίκημα ἐπιδιώκειν, εἶτα εὐθὺς ἀναχωρεῖν· οὔτε γενναῖον[1] οὔτε Ἑλληνικὸν φονεύειν τοὺς παρακεχωρηκότας φάσκων· εἶναι[2] δ᾽ οὐ μόνον καλὸν τοῦτο καὶ μεγαλόψυχον[2] ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήσιμον· εἰδότας γὰρ τοὺς μαχομένους πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι φείδονται μὲν τῶν ἐνδιδόντων, ἀναιροῦσι δὲ τοὺς ὑφισταμένους, τοῦ μένειν τὸ φεύγειν ὠφελιμώτερον ἡγήσεσθαι.[3]

31. Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος, διὰ τί τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς ἀπηγόρευσε σκυλεύειν, " ὅπως,"
229 ἔφη, " μὴ κυπτάζοντες περὶ τὰ σκῦλα τῆς μάχης ἀμελῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πενίαν ἅμα τῇ τάξει διασῴζωσι."

ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ

1. Λύσανδρος, Διονυσίου τοῦ τῆς Σικελίας τυράννου πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἱμάτια πολυτελῆ, οὐκ ἔλαβεν εἰπὼν δεδιέναι, μὴ διὰ ταῦτα μᾶλλον αἰσχραὶ φανῶσιν. ἀλλ᾽ ὀλίγον ὕστερον πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν τύραννον ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἀποσταλεὶς πρεσβευτής, προσπέμψαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Διονυσίου δύο στολὰς καὶ κελεύσαντος ἣν βούλεται ταύτην ἑλόμενον τῇ θυγατρὶ κομίζειν, αὐτὴν ἐκεί-

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[1] οὔτε γενναῖον supplied by the editors from the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxii.

[2] εἶναι F.C.B. to fit the construction: ἦν *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxii., from which the sentence εἶναι δ᾽ . . . μεγαλόψυχον is added here by most editors. But the whole paragraph looks like a memorandum.

[3] ἡγήσεσθαι] ἡγήσασθαι most MSS., perhaps rightly.

that it made the handsome more comely and the ugly more frightful.[a]

30. He gave instructions that in war, when they had put the enemy to flight and had gained a victory, they should continue the pursuit only far enough to make their success assured, and then return immediately; for he said that it was neither a noble trait nor a Greek trait to slay those who had yielded, and this policy was not only honourable and magnanimous, but useful as well; for the opposing army, knowing that they customarily spared those who surrendered, but made away with those who resisted, would regard it as more profitable to flee than to stay.[b]

31. When somebody inquired why he forbade spoiling the enemy's dead, he said, " So that the soldiers may not, by looking about covertly for spoil, neglect their fighting, but also that they may keep to their poverty as well as to their post." [c]

LYSANDER

1. When Dionysius, the despot of Sicily, sent costly garments for Lysander's daughters, he would not accept them, saying that he was afraid that because of them his daughters would appear ugly rather than beautiful.[d] But a little later, when he was sent as ambassador to the same despot from the same State, Dionysius sent to him two robes and bade him choose whichever one of them he would, and take it to his daughter; but Lysander said that

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[a] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 189 E (1), *supra*.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxii. (54 A); Thucydides, v. 73; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, i. 16. 3.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 224 B (16), *supra*.

[d] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 190 E (1), *supra*.

(229) νην ἔφη βέλτιον αἱρήσεσθαι· καὶ λαβὼν ἀμφοτέρας ἀπῆλθεν.

2. Ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος, δεινὸς σοφιστὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἀπάταις τὰ πολλὰ ποικίλλων, τὸ δίκαιον ἐν μόνῳ τῷ λυσιτελεῖ τιθέμενος καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐν τῷ συμφέροντι, τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔλεγε τοῦ ψεύδους κρεῖττον εἶναι, ἑκατέρου δὲ τῇ χρείᾳ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τὴν B τιμὴν ὁρίζεσθαι.

3. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ψέγοντας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δι' ἀπάτης τὰ πλεῖστα πράττειν, ὡς ἀνάξιον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ δόλῳ οὐκ ἄντικρυς κατορθοῦντα, γελῶν ἔλεγεν ὅπου μὴ ἐφικνεῖται τῇ λεοντῇ,[1] προσραπτέον εἶναι τὴν ἀλωπεκῆν.

4. Ἐπιμεμφομένων[2] δ' ἑτέρων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς παραβάσεσι τῶν ὅρκων, οὓς ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἐποιήσατο, ἔλεγε, "τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις δεῖ ἐξαπατᾶν, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ὅρκοις."

5. Νικήσας δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξ ἐνέδρας περὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς καὶ λιμῷ πιέσας αὐτοὺς παρεστήσατο τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἔγραψε τοῖς ἐφόροις, "ἑαλώκασιν αἱ Ἀθῆναι."

C 6. Πρὸς Ἀργείους δὲ περὶ γῆς ὅρων ἀμφισβητοῦντας πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ δικαιότερα λέγειν αὐτῶν φάσκοντας, σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν, "ὁ

[1] τῇ λεοντῇ] ἡ λεοντῆ, as in *Moralia*, 190 E, and the *Life of Lysander*, chap. vii., Car. Schmidt.

[2] ἐπιμεμφομένων Wyttenbach: ἀπομεμφομένων.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lysander*, chap. vii. (437 A).

[b] The legendary ancestor of both lines of Spartan kings; *cf.* Herodotus, vii. 204 and viii. 131.

[c] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 190 E (2), *supra.*

she herself would make a better choice, and, taking them both, he departed.

2. Lysander, who was a clever quibbler, and given to employing cunning deceptions to further most of his designs, counted justice as mere expediency, and honour as that which is advantageous. He said that the truth is better than falsehood, but that the worth and value of either is determined by the use to which it is put.[a]

3. In answer to those who blamed him because of his carrying out most of his designs through deception, which they said was unworthy of Heracles,[b] and gaining his successes by wile in no straightforward way, he said laughing that where he could not get on with the lion's skin it must be pieced out with the skin of the fox.[c]

4. When others censured him for his violation of his oaths which he had made in Miletus he said that one must trick children with knuckle-bones, but men with oaths.[d]

5. He conquered the Athenians by a ruse at Aegospotami, and by pressing them hard through famine he forced them to surrender their city, whereupon he wrote to the Ephors, "Athens is taken."[e]

6. In answer to the Argives, who were disputing with the Spartans in regard to the boundaries of their land and said that they had the better of the case,

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[d] Repeated in *Moralia*, 330 F, where it is attributed to Dionysius; *Moralia*, 741 C; Diodorus, x. 9. 1; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* lxxiv. (399 R., 640 M.); Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, i. 45. 3; and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, vii. 12, who says that some attribute it to Lysander, and others to Philip of Macedon.

[e] According to Plutarch, *Life of Lysander*, chap. xiv. (441 B), the Ephors objected to the verbosity of the dispatch!

(229) ταύτης,[1]" ἔφη, "κρατῶν βέλτιστα περὶ γῆς ὅρων διαλέγεται."

7. Τοὺς δὲ Βοιωτοὺς ἐπαμφοτερίζοντας, ὅτε διῄει τὴν χώραν, ὁρῶν, προσέπεμψε πυνθανόμενος πότερον ὀρθοῖς τοῖς δόρασιν ἢ κεκλιμένοις διαπορεύηται τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν.

8. Μεγαρέως δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐν τῷ κοινῷ συλλόγῳ παρρησίᾳ χρησαμένου πρὸς αὐτόν, "οἱ λόγοι σου," εἶπεν, "ὦ ξένε, πόλεως δέονται."

D 9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορινθίων ἀφεστώτων διερχόμενος παρὰ τὰ τείχη τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρα προσβάλλειν ὀκνοῦντας, καὶ λαγώς τις ὤφθη διαπηδῶν τὴν τάφρον, "οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε," εἶπεν, "ὦ Σπαρτιᾶται, τοιούτους φοβούμενοι πολεμίους, ὧν οἱ λαγωοὶ δι' ἀργίαν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐγκαθεύδουσιν;"

10. Ἐν δὲ Σαμοθρᾴκῃ χρηστηριαζομένῳ αὐτῷ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν, ὅ τι ἀνομώτατον ἔργον αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πέπρακται. ἐπηρώτησεν οὖν, "πότερον σοῦ τοῦτο κελεύοντος ἢ τῶν θεῶν τοῦτο δεῖ ποιεῖν;" φαμένου δέ, "τῶν θεῶν," "σὺ τοίνυν," ἔφη, "ἐκποδών μοι μετάστηθι,[2] κἀκείνοις ἐρῶ, ἐὰν πυνθάνωνται."

E 11. Πέρσου δ' ἐρωτήσαντος ποίαν μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖ πολιτείαν, "ἥτις," ἔφη, "τοῖς ἀνδρείοις καὶ δειλοῖς τὰ προσήκοντα ἀποδίδωσι."

12. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν εἰπόντα, ὅτι ἐπαινοίη αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπερασπάζοιτο, "δύο βοῦς ἔχω," ἔφη, "ἐν ἀγρῷ·

[1] ταύτης] ταύτῃ Pantazides.
[2] μετάστηθι Hatzidakis: κατάστηθι.

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[a] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 190 E (3), *supra.*
[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxii. (445 D).
[c] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 190 F (5), *supra.*

he drew his sword and said, "He who is master of this talks best about boundaries of land."[a]

7. Seeing that the Boeotians were wavering at the time when he was about to pass through their country he sent to them to inquire whether he should march through their land with spears at rest or ready for action.[b]

8. When a Megarian in the common council used plain words to him, he said, "My friend, your words need a city to back them."[c]

9. When the Corinthians had revolted and he was going through their country along by the walls and saw that the Spartans were reluctant to attack, a hare was seen leaping across the ditch, whereupon he said, "Are you not ashamed, men of Sparta, to be afraid of such enemies as these, who are so slack that hares sleep in the walls of their city?"[d]

10. As he was consulting the oracle in Samothrace, the priest bade him tell what was the most lawless deed that had ever been committed by him in his lifetime. Lysander asked, "Must I do this at your command or at the command of the gods?" When the priest said, "At the command of the gods," Lysander said, "Then do you take yourself out of my way, and I will tell them in case they inquire."[e]

11. When a Persian asked what kind of a government he commended most highly, he said, "The government which duly awards what is fitting to both the brave and the cowardly."

12. In answer to a man who said that he commended him and was very fond of him, he said "I have two oxen in a field, and although they

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[d] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 190 E (4), *supra.*
[e] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 217 C (1), *supra.*

σιγώντων δ' ἀμφοτέρων, ἀκριβῶς ἐπίσταμαι τόν τε ἀργὸν καὶ τὸν ἐργαζόμενον.”

13. Λοιδορουμένου δέ τινος αὐτῷ, εἶπε, “ λέγε πυκνῶς, ὦ ξενύλλιον, λέγε μηδὲν ἐλλείπων, ἂν σου δύνῃ τὰν ψυχὰν κενῶσαι κακῶν, ὧν ἔοικας πλήρης εἶναι.”

F 14. Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀντιλογίας συμμαχικῆς γενομένης, Ἀγησίλαος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Λυσάνδρου οἰκίαν, ὅπως τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς γράμματα διασκέψηται· ταῦτα γὰρ παρ' αὑτῷ κατέσχεν ὁ Λύσανδρος. εὗρε δὲ καὶ βιβλίον γεγραμμένον τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας, ὡς χρὴ τῶν Εὐρυπωντιδῶν[1] καὶ Ἀγιαδῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφελομένους εἰς μέσον θεῖναι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, ἀλλὰ τῶν οἷος[2] Ἡρακλῆς, τῇ ἀρετῇ κρινομένων, τὸ γέρας ᾖ, ᾗ κἀκεῖνος εἰς θεῶν τιμὰς ἀνήχθη. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὥρμησε μὲν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ παραδεικνύναι τὸν Λύσανδρον οἷος ὢν πολίτης διαλανθάνοι, καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων. Κρατίδην[3] δέ φασι τότε προεστῶτα τῶν ἐφόρων, εὐλαβηθέντα μὴ πείσῃ ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὁ λόγος, ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐ δεῖ ἀνορύττειν τὸν
230 Λύσανδρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτῷ συγκατορύττειν, πανούργως καὶ πιθανῶς συντεταγμένον.

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[1] Εὐρυπωντιδῶν Wyttenbach: εὐρυπρωτιδῶν.

[2] τῶν οἷος *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxiv.: οἷος.

[3] Κρατίδην] Λακρατίδαν *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxx.; but the name of Cratidas is recorded as an ephor in an inscription (*S.G.D.I.* iv. p. 690).

both may utter no sound, I know perfectly well which one is lazy and which one is the worker.”

13. When someone was reviling him, he said, “ Talk right on, you miserable foreigner, talk, and don't leave out anything if thus you may be able to empty your soul of the vicious notions with which you seem to be filled.”

14. Some time after his death, when a dispute arose regarding a certain alliance, Agesilaus came to Lysander's house to examine the documents in regard to this, for Lysander had kept these at his own house. Agesilaus found also a book written by Lysander in regard to the government, to this effect: that the citizens should take away the kingship from the Eurypontids and the Agiads[a] and put it up for election, and make their choice from the best men, so that this high honour should belong not to those who were descended from Heracles, but to men like Heracles, who should be selected for their excellence; for it was because of such excellence that Heracles was exalted to divine honours. This document Agesilaus was bent upon publishing to the citizens, and demonstrating what kind of a citizen Lysander had been in secret, and with the purpose also of discrediting the friends of Lysander. But they say that Cratidas, who at that time was at the head of the Ephors, anxious lest, if the speech should be read, it might convert the people to this way of thinking, restrained Agesilaus and said that he ought not to disinter Lysander, but to inter the speech along with him, since it was composed with a vicious purpose and in a plausible vein.[b]

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[a] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 231 C (1), *infra*.

[b] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 212 C (52), *supra*.

(230) 15. Τοὺς δὲ μνηστεύσαντας αὐτοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας, εἶτα μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν πένητος εὑρεθέντος ἀπειπαμένους, ἐζημίωσαν οἱ ἔφοροι, ὅτι πλούσιον μὲν νομίζοντες ἐθεράπευον, δίκαιον δὲ καὶ χρηστὸν ἐκ τῆς πενίας ἐπιγνόντες ὑπερεῖδον.

ΝΑΜΕΡΤΟΥ

Ναμέρτης πρεσβευτὴς ἀποσταλείς, μακαρίζοντός τινος αὐτὸν τῶν ἐκεῖθι διότι πολύφιλος εἴη, ἠρώτησεν
B εἰ δοκίμιον ἔχει τίνι τρόπῳ πειράζεται ὁ πολύφιλος· ἐπιζητοῦντος δὲ θατέρου μαθεῖν, "ἀτυχίᾳ," εἶπεν.

ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ

1. Νίκανδρος, εἰπόντος τινὸς ὅτι κακῶς αὐτὸν λέγουσιν Ἀργεῖοι, "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "δίκην τίνουσι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς κακῶς λέγοντες."

2. Πυθομένου δέ τινος διὰ τί κομῶσι καὶ πωγωνοτροφοῦσιν, "ὅτι," ἔφη, "πάντων κάλλιστος καὶ ἀδαπανώτατος ἀνδρὶ ὁ ἴδιος κόσμος."

3. Τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ εἰπόντος τινός, "λίαν ἀντέχεσθε, ὦ Νίκανδρε, τοῦ σχολάζειν," "ἀληθίζῃ," ἔφη, "ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ὅπως τύχοι σπουδάζομεν."

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxx. (451 A), and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, vi. 4, and x. 15.

[b] *Cf.* John Heywood, *Proverbs*, part i. chap. 11 : "But indeede a friend is never known till a man have neede."

[c] An early Spartan king, perhaps *circa* 809–770 B.C. He was the son of Charillus (*Moralia*, 189 F, *supra*).

15. The suitors of his daughters, when after his death he was found to be a poor man, renounced their obligations ; but the Ephors punished them because when they thought he was rich they courted his favour, but when they found from his poverty that he was just and honest they disdained him.[a]

NAMERTES

Namertes was sent as an ambassador, and when one of the people in that country congratulated him because he had many friends, he asked if this man had any sure means of testing the man of many friends ; and when the other desired to learn, Namertes said, "By means of misfortune."[b]

NICANDER[c]

1. Nicander, when someone said that the Argives were speaking ill of him, said, "Well then, they are paying the penalty for speaking ill of the good !"[d]

2. When someone inquired why the Spartans wore their hair long and cultivated beards, he said, "Because for a man his own adornment is the very best and cheapest."[e]

3. When one of the Athenians said, "Nicander, you Spartans insist too much on your principle of doing no work," he said, "Quite true ; we do not make work of this thing or that thing in your haphazard fashion."[f]

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[d] He was invading Argolis and laying waste the country ; see Pausanias, iii. 7. 4.

[e] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 189 F (3), *supra*.

[f] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 348 F and 710 F ; Plato, *Laws*, 803 C-D. See also the note on *Moralia*, 221 C, *supra*.

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ΠΑΝΘΟΙΔΟΥ

(230) 1. Πανθοίδας πρεσβεύων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐπιδεικνύντων αὐτῷ τεῖχος ἐχυρόν, εἶπε, "νὴ τοὺς θεούς, ὦ ξένοι, καλὴ γυναικωνῖτις."

2. Ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ[1] δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων διαλεγομένων πολλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα, ἐπερωτώντων δὲ τὸν Πανθοίδαν μετὰ ταῦτα τί δοκοῦσιν αὐτῷ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι εἶναι, "τί δ' ἄλλο," ἔφη, "ἢ σπουδαῖοι; ὄφελος δ' οὐδέν, μὴ χρωμένων ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς."

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ

1. Παυσανίας ὁ Κλεομβρότου, Δηλίων δικαιολογουμένων περὶ τῆς νήσου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ
λεγόντων ὅτι κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὔθ'[2]
D αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τίκτουσιν οὔθ' οἱ τελευτήσαντες
θάπτονται, "πῶς ἂν[3] οὖν," ἔφη, "αὕτη
πατρὶς ὑμῶν εἴη, ἐν ᾗ οὔτε γέγονέ τις ὑμῶν οὔτ'
ἔσται[4];"

2. Τῶν δὲ φυγάδων αὐτὸν προτρεπομένων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἄγειν τὴν στρατιὰν λεγόντων τε ὅτι τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις ἀνακηρυττομένου αὐτοῦ ἐσύριττον αὐτὸν μόνοι, "τί οὖν οἴεσθε," ἔφη, "τοὺς ὅτε εὖ ἔπασχον συρίττοντας παθόντας κακῶς ποιήσειν;"

3. Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος διὰ τί Τυρταῖον τὸν

[1] Ἀκαδημεία the usual spelling: ἀκαδημίᾳ.
[2] οὔθ' Bernardakis: οὐδ' or οὔτε.
[3] ἂν added by Cobet.
[4] ἔσται] κείσεται van Herwerden.

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[a] A Spartan harmost who fell at Tanagra, 377 B.C.
[b] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 190 A, *supra*.

PANTHOEDAS[a]

1. Panthoedas went on embassy to Asia and when they pointed out to him a very strong wall he said, "By Heaven, strangers, fine quarters for women!"[b]

2. When the philosophers in the Academy were conversing long and seriously, and afterwards some people asked Panthoidas how their conversation impressed him, he said, "What else than serious? But there is no good in it unless you put it to use."[c]

PAUSANIAS,[d] THE SON OF CLEOMBROTUS

1. Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, at the time when the people of Delos were asserting their rightful claims to the island against the Athenians, and said that according to the law[e] which prevailed among them there were no births and no burials in the island, said, "How can this be your native land in which no one of you has ever been born nor shall ever be hereafter?"[f]

2. When the exiles were inciting him to lead his army against the Athenians, and saying that, when his name was proclaimed at Olympia, they were the only people who hissed him, he said, "What do you think that those who hissed when they were being well treated will do if they are treated ill?"[g]

3. When someone inquired why the Spartans had

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[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 192 B, 220 D, and 1033 B-E.
[d] Regent of Sparta from 479 B.C.; commander at Plataea.
[e] The law seems to have been put into effect (426–425 B.C.) some years after the death of this Pausanias (468 B.C.).
[f] *Cf.* Thucydides, iii. 104.
[g] A similar remark is attributed to Philip of Macedon in *Moralia*, 143 F, 179 A, and 457 F.

(230) ποιητὴν ἐποιήσαντο πολίτην, “ὅπως,” ἔφη, “μηδέποτε ξένος φαίνηται ἡμῶν ἡγεμών.”

E 4. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀσθενῆ μὲν τῷ σώματι, συμβουλεύοντα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν διακινδυνεύειν, “θέλεις οὖν,” ἔφη, “δεῖξαι σεαυτὸν ἐκδύς, οἷος ὢν ἡμῖν μάχεσθαι συμβουλεύεις;”

5. Θαυμαζόντων δέ τινων ἐν τοῖς λαφύροις τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς ἐσθῆτος, κρεῖττον ἔφη αὐτοὺς εἶναι πολλοῦ ἀξίους ἢ κεκτῆσθαι πολλοῦ ἄξια.

6. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς κατὰ Μήδων γενομένην νίκην τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε τὸ προητοιμασμένον Περσικὸν δεῖπνον παραθεῖναι· τούτου δὲ F θαυμαστὴν πολυτέλειαν ἔχοντος, “νὴ τοὺς θεούς,” ἔφη, “λίχνος ἦν ὁ Πέρσης, ὅτι τοσαῦτα ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἦλθε μᾶζαν.”

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ

1. Παυσανίας ὁ Πλειστώνακτος πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα, διὰ τί τῶν ἀρχαίων νόμων οὐδένα κινεῖν ἔξεστι παρ’ αὐτοῖς, “ὅτι τοὺς νόμους,” ἔφη, “τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ τοὺς ἄνδρας τῶν νόμων κυρίους εἶναι δεῖ.”

2. Ἐπαινοῦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Τεγέᾳ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, εἶπέ τις, “διὰ τί οὖν οὐκ ἔμενες ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀλλ’ ἔφυγες;” “ὅτι οὐδ’ οἱ ἰατροί,” ἔφη, “παρὰ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσιν, ὅπου δὲ οἱ νοσοῦντες, διατρίβειν εἰώθασιν.”

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[a] Tyrtaeus, according to tradition, was a native of Athens.

[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Laws*, 870 B; Cicero, *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, vi. 1-3 (42-52).

[c] *Cf.* Herodotus, ix. 82.

made Tyrtaeus the poet a citizen, he said, “So that a stranger shall never appear as our leader.”[a]

4. In answer to the man who was weak in body, but was urging that they risk a battle against the enemy by both land and sea, he said, “Are you willing to strip yourself and show what kind of a man you are—you who advise us to fight?”

5. When some people were amazed at the costliness of the raiment found among the spoils of the barbarians, he said that it would have been better for them to be themselves men of worth than to possess things of worth.[b]

6. After the victory at Plataea over the Persians he ordered that the dinner which had been prepared for the Persians should be served to himself and his officers. As this had a wondrous sumptuousness, he said, “By Heaven, the Persian was a greedy fellow who, when he had all this, came after our barley-cake.”[c]

PAUSANIAS, THE SON OF PLEISTOANAX[d]

1. Pausanias, the son of Pleistoanax, in answer to the question why it was not permitted to change any of the ancient laws in their country, said, “Because the laws ought to have authority over the men, and not the men over the laws.”

2. When, in Tegea, after he had been exiled,[e] he commended the Spartans, someone said, “Why did you not stay in Sparta instead of going into exile?” And he said, “Because physicians, too, are wont to spend their time, not among the healthy, but where the sick are.”[f]

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[d] King of Sparta, 408–394 B.C.

[e] In 394 B.C.

[f] *Cf.* the similar saying which is attributed to Aristippus in Diogenes Laertius, ii. 70.

3. Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος αὐτοῦ πῶς ἂν δυνηθεῖεν τοὺς Θρᾷκας νικῆσαι, "εἰ τὸν ἄριστον," εἶπε, "στρατηγὸν καταστήσαιμεν."

231 4. Ἰατροῦ δ' ἐπισκεπτομένου αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντος, "οὐδὲν κακὸν ἔχεις," "οὐ γὰρ σοί," ἔφη, "ἰατρῷ χρῶμαι."

5. Μεμφομένου δέ τινος αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων, διότι ἰατρόν τινα κακῶς λέγει, πεῖραν οὐκ ἔχων αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ἀδικηθείς τι, "ὅτι," εἶπεν, "εἰ ἔλαβον αὐτοῦ πεῖραν, οὐκ ἂν ἔζων."

6. Τοῦ δὲ ἰατροῦ εἰπόντος αὐτῷ, "γέρων γέγονας," "διότι," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐχρησάμην σοὶ ἰατρῷ."

7. Κράτιστον δὲ ἔλεγε τοῦτον ἰατρὸν εἶναι, τὸν μὴ κατασήποντα τοὺς ἀρρωστοῦντας ἀλλὰ τάχιστα θάπτοντα.

ΠΑΙΔΑΡΗΤΟΥ

B 1. Παιδάρητος, λέγοντός τινος ὅτι πολλοὶ εἴησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "ἡμεῖς εὐκλεέστεροι ἐσόμεθα· πλείους γὰρ ἀποκτενοῦμεν."

2. Ἰδὼν δέ τινα τῇ μὲν φύσει μαλακὸν δι' ἐπιείκειαν δὲ ἐπαινούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἔφη, "οὔτε ἄνδρας γυναιξὶν ὁμοίους ὄντας ἐπαινεῖν δεῖ οὔτε γυναῖκας ἀνδράσιν, ἐὰν μὴ τὴν γυναῖκα χρεία τις καταλάβῃ."

3. Οὐκ ἐγκριθεὶς δ' εἰς τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἥτις ἐν τῇ πόλει πρωτεύουσα τιμὴ τῇ τάξει ἦν, ἱλαρὸς καὶ μειδιῶν ἀπῄει· ἀνακαλεσαμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ πυνθανομένων δι' ὅ τι γελᾷ, εἶπε,

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[a] See the note on *Moralia*, 191 F, *supra*.

3. When someone inquired of him how they could become able to conquer the Thracians, he said, "If we should make the best man our general."

4. When a physician paid him a visit and said, "You have nothing wrong with you," he said, "No, for I do not employ you as my physician."

5. When one of his friends blamed him because he spoke ill of a certain physician, although he had never had anything to do with him, and had not suffered any harm at his hands, he said, "Because if I had ever had anything to do with him I should not now be alive."

6. When the physician said to him, "You have lived to be an old man," he said, "That is because I never employed you as my physician."

7. He said that the best physician was the man who did not allow his patients to rot, but buried them quickly.

PAEDARETUS [a]

1. Paedaretus, when someone said that the enemy were many in number, remarked, "Then we shall be the more famous, for we shall kill more men."

2. Seeing a certain man who was effeminate by nature, but was commended by the citizens for his moderation, he said, "People should not praise men who are like to women nor women who are like to men, unless some necessity overtake the woman."

3. When he was not chosen as one of the three hundred,[b] which was rated as the highest honour in the State, he went away cheerful and smiling; but when the Ephors called him back, and asked why he was laughing, he said, "Because I congratulate

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[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, viii. 124; Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 4. 3.

(231) “ δι’ ὅ τι συγχαίρω τῇ πόλει τριακοσίους κρείττονάς μου πολίτας ἐχούσῃ.”
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ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ

1. Πλείσταρχος ὁ[1] Λεωνίδου πρὸς τὸν ἐπερωτήσαντα, διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων προσαγορεύονται, “ ὅτι,” ἔφη, “ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἄγαν[2] βασιλεύειν ἔχρῃζον, οἱ δ’ ἐκείνων ὕστεροι οὐδαμῶς.”

2. Συνηγόρου δέ τινος γελοῖα λέγοντος, “ οὐ φυλάξῃ, ὦ ξένε,” ἔφη, “ συνεχῶς γελοιάζων, ὅπως μὴ γελοῖος γένῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ συνεχῶς παλαίοντες παλαισταί; ”

3.[3] Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀηδόνα μιμούμενον, “ ἥδιον,” ἔφη, “ ὦ ξένε, αὐτῆς ἄκουσα τῆς ἀηδόνος.”

D 4. Λέγοντος δέ τινος ὅτι κακολόγος τις αὐτὸν ἐπῄνει, “ θαυμάζω,” ἔφη, “ εἰ μή τις αὐτῷ εἶπεν ὅτι ἀπέθανον· ζῶντα γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οὐδένα καλῶς λέξαι δύναται.”

ΠΛΕΙΣΤΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ

Πλειστῶναξ ὁ Παυσανίου, Ἀττικοῦ τινος ῥήτορος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀμαθεῖς ἀποκαλοῦντος,

[1] ὁ added by Bernardakis.

[2] ἄγαν Kronenberg from ἄγαν μοναρχεῖν in the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. ii.: ἄγειν ἢ or ἄγιν.

[3] No. 3 is not in all MSS.

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[a] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 191 F, *supra*.

[b] King of Sparta, 480–458 B.C.

[c] One of the two lines of the kings of Sparta was called “ Agids ” (or “ Agiads ”) from Agis, the second of that line, and the other “ Eurypontids ” from Eurypon, the third of that line. *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. ii. (40 D); Strabo, viii. 366; Pausanias, iii. 7. 1.

the State for having three hundred citizens better than myself.” [a]

PLEISTARCHUS [b]

1. Pleistarchus the son of Leonidas, in answer to one who asked him for what reason they did not take their titles from the names of the first kings, said, “ Because the first kings needed to be absolute monarchs, but those who followed them had no such need.” [c]

2. When a certain advocate kept making jests, he said, “ You had better be on your guard, my friend, against jesting all the time, lest you become a jest yourself, just as those who wrestle all the time become wrestlers.”

3. In retort to the man who imitated a nightingale, he said, “ My friend, I have had more pleasure in hearing the nightingale itself.” [d]

4. When someone said that a certain evil-speaker was commending him, he said, “ I wonder whether possibly someone may not have told him that I was dead; for the man can never say a good word of anybody who is alive.” [e]

PLEISTOANAX [f]

Pleistoanax, the son of Pausanias, when an Attic orator called the Spartans unlearned, said, “ You are

Presumably Plutarch means that the later Spartan kings did not wish to perpetuate the memory of any harshness, which would have been suggested by the names of the earlier absolute monarchs.

[d] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 212 F (58), *supra*.

[e] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 224 D (1), *supra*.

[f] King of Sparta, 458-408 B.C.

(231) “ ὀρθῶς,” ἔφη, “ λέγεις· μόνοι γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν κακὸν μεμαθήκαμεν παρ' ὑμῶν.”

ΠΟΛΥΔΩΡΟΥ

1. Πολύδωρος ὁ Ἀλκαμένους, ἀπειλοῦντός τινος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συχνά, “ οὐ συνίῃς,” ἔφη, “ τῆς τιμωρίας τὸ πλεῖστον καταναλίσκων μέρος;”

E 2. Ἐξάγοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην, ἤρετό τις εἰ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μάχεσθαι μέλλει, οὔκ ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκλήρωτον τῆς χώρας βαδίζειν.[1]

3. Ἀργείων δὲ πάλιν μετὰ τὴν τῶν τριακοσίων μάχην ἐκ παρατάξεως πανδημεὶ κρατηθέντων, τὸν Πολύδωρον οἱ σύμμαχοι παρεκελεύοντο μὴ παρεῖναι τὸν καιρόν, ἀλλ' ἐπελθόντα τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων τὴν πόλιν ἑλεῖν· ῥᾷστον γὰρ ἔσεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἀπολωλότων, τῶν γυναικῶν δὲ ἀπολελειμμένων· ἔφη οὖν πρὸς αὐτούς, “ τὸ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μαχόμενον νικᾶν τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους ἐστί μοι καλόν, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅρων τῆς χώρας μεμαχημένον τὴν πόλιν ἐπιθυμεῖν λαβεῖν οὐ δίκαιον τίθεμαι εἶναι· F ἦλθον γὰρ χώραν ἀπολαβεῖν οὐ καταλαβέσθαι πόλιν.”

4. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί Σπαρτιᾶται κατὰ πόλεμον κινδυνεύουσιν ἀνδρείως, “ ὅτι,” ἔφη, “ αἰδεῖσθαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔμαθον οὐ φοβεῖσθαι.”

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[1] βαδίζειν F.C.B.: βαδίζει.

quite right, for we alone of the Greeks have learned no evil from you.” [a]

POLYDORUS [b]

1. Polydorus, the son of Alcamenes, when a certain man was continually making threats against his enemies, said, “ Don't you see that you are using up the best part of your vengeance ? ”

2. As he was leading out his army to Messene, someone asked him if he was going to fight against his brothers. He said that he was not, but was merely proceeding to the unassigned portion of the land.

3. The Argives, after the battle of the three hundred,[c] were again overcome, with all their forces, in a set battle, and the allies urged Polydorus not to let slip the opportunity, but to make a descent upon the enemy's wall and capture their city ; for this, they said, would be very easy, since the men had been destroyed and the women only were left. He said in answer to them, “ To my mind it is honourable, when fighting on even terms, to conquer our opponents, but, after having fought to settle the boundaries of the country, to desire to capture the city I do not regard as just ; for I came to recapture territory and not to capture a city.”

4. Being asked why the Spartans risked their lives so bravely in war, he said, “ Because they have learned to respect their commanders and not to fear them.” [d]

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[a] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 192 B (1), *supra.*

[b] King of Sparta in the second part of the eighth century B.C.

[c] Herodotus, i. 82.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 217 A (5), and 227 D (12).

ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ

Πολυκρατίδας[1] πρεσβεύων πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς μεθ' ἑτέρων, ἐρομένων αὐτῶν πότερον ἰδίᾳ πάρεισιν ἢ δημοσίᾳ ἐπέμφθησαν, " αἴκα τύχωμες, δημοσίᾳ," εἶπεν, " αἰ[2] δὲ μή, ἰδίᾳ."

ΦΟΙΒΙΔΟΥ

Φοιβίδας, πρὸ τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ Λευκτρικοῦ λεγόντων τινῶν δείξειν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην τὸν ἀγαθόν, πολλοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἔφησεν, ἀξίαν εἶναι, δυναμένην τὸν ἀγαθὸν δεῖξαι.

ΣΟΟΥ

232 Σόον[3] λέγεται ἐν χωρίῳ χαλεπῷ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ πολιορκούμενον ὑπὸ Κλειτορίων ὁμολογῆσαι τὴν δορίκτητον αὐτοῖς ἀφεῖναι γῆν, εἰ πίοιεν οἱ[4] μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς πλησίον πηγῆς· ἐφρούρουν δ' αὐτὴν οἱ πολέμιοι. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὅρκων, συναγαγόντα τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ διδόναι τῷ μὴ πιόντι τὴν βασιλείαν· οὐδενὸς δὲ καρτερήσαντος ἀλλὰ πάντων πιόντων, αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι καταβάντα καὶ περιρρανάμενον, ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων παρόντων, ἀπελθεῖν[5] καὶ τὴν χώραν κατασχεῖν ὡς μὴ πιόντα.

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[1] Πολυκρατίδας] Πολυστρατίδας *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxv.

[2] αἴκα τύχωμες . . . αἰ Cobet (partly from the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxv.): αἴκε τύχωμεν . . . εἰ δὲ.

[3] Σόον Xylander: σῶον.

[4] οἱ added by Turnebus.

[5] ἀπελθεῖν Turnebus (from the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. ii.): ἐπελθεῖν.

POLYCRATIDAS

Polycratidas was sent, along with others, as ambassador to the king's generals, and when these asked whether they were there as private citizens or had been sent as public representatives, he said, " If we succeed, public ; if not, private." [a]

PHOEBIDAS [b]

Phoebidas, before the hazardous engagement at Leuctra, when some remarked that this day would show the brave man, said that the day was worth much if it had the power to show the brave man.

SOÜS [c]

The story is told that Soüs, being besieged by the Cleitorians in a rugged and waterless stronghold, agreed to give up to them the land which he had captured by the spear if all the men with him should drink from the neighbouring spring. This spring the enemy were guarding. When the oaths had been exchanged, he got together his men and offered the kingdom to the man who would not drink ; however no one had the strength to resist, but they all drank ; whereupon he came down after all the rest, and sprinkled himself, the enemy still being present, and went back and took possession of the land on the ground that he had not drunk.[d]

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxv. (55 c).

[b] Spartan general, fourth century B.C.

[c] Third king of Sparta, second of the Eurypontid line according to tradition.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. ii. (40 c).

ΤΗΛΕΚΛΟΥ

B 1. Τήλεκλος[1] πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ λέγει κακῶς αὐτόν, "εἰ μὴ αὐτῷ," ἔφη, "λεκτὸν[2] ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἔλεγεν."

2. Εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτῷ προσφέρονται οἱ πολῖται ὡς ἐκείνῳ ὄντι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἀγνωμονέστερον δέ, εἶπε, "σὺ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδας ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ δέ."

3. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί ἔθος παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστι τοὺς νεωτέρους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐξανίστασθαι, "ὅπως," ἔφη, "περὶ τοὺς μὴ προσήκοντας οὕτως ἔχοντες τιμῆς μᾶλλον τιμῶσι τοὺς γονέας."

4. Πυθομένου δέ τινος πόσην κέκτηται οὐσίαν, ἔφη, "οὐ πλείω τῆς ἱκανῆς."

ΧΑΡΙΛΛΟΥ

1. Χάριλλος ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί τοὺς νόμους ὁ Λυκοῦργος οὕτως ὀλίγους ἔθηκεν, "ὅτι," ἔφη, C "τοῖς ὀλίγα λέγουσιν ὀλίγων καὶ νόμων ἐστὶ χρεία."

2. Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος διὰ τί τὰς μὲν κόρας ἀκαλύπτους, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐγκεκαλυμμένας εἰς τοὐμφανὲς ἄγουσιν, "ὅτι," ἔφη, "τὰς μὲν κόρας ἄνδρας εὑρεῖν δεῖ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας σῴζειν τοὺς ἔχοντας."

[1] Τήλεκλος Xylander: τήλεκρος.

[2] λεκτὸν] λεκτέον Bernardakis, but unnecessarily. See, for example, Jebb on Sophocles, *O.C.* 1360.

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[a] See the note on *Moralia*, 190 A.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 190 A, *supra*.

TELECLUS[a]

1. Teleclus, in answer to the man who said that Teleclus's father was speaking ill of him, said, "If he had had no cause to speak, he would not have spoken."

2. When his brother said to him that the citizens did not comport themselves toward himself as they did toward the king (although he was of the same family), but with much less consideration, he said, "The reason is, you do not know how to submit to injustice, and I do."[b]

3. Being asked why it was the custom among them for the younger men to rise up and give place to the elder, he said, "So that, having this attitude regarding honour toward those who are not related to them, they may pay greater honour to their parents."[c]

4. When someone inquired how much property he possessed, he said, "Not more than enough."

CHARILLUS[d]

1. Charillus, being asked why Lycurgus made so few laws, said, "Because those who use few words have need of but few laws."[e]

2. When someone inquired why they took their girls into public places unveiled, but their married women veiled, he said, "Because the girls have to find husbands, and the married women have to keep to those who have them!"

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 237 D, *infra*; Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 6. 1-3.

[d] An early king of Sparta; traditionally a contemporary of Lycurgus. Another spelling is Charilaus.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 189 F (1), *supra*.

(232) 3. Τῶν δὲ εἱλώτων τινὸς θρασύτερον αὐτῷ προσφερομένου, "εἰ μὴ ὠργιζόμην," εἶπε, "κατέκτανον ἄν σε."

4. Ἐρωτήσαντος δέ τινος αὐτὸν τίνα νομίζει πολιτείαν ἀρίστην, ἔφη, "ἐν ᾗ ἂν περὶ ἀρετῆς πλεῖστοι πολιτευόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἄνευ στάσεως ἀγωνίζεσθαι θέλωσι."

D 5. Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος διὰ τί πάντα τὰ τῶν θεῶν ξόανα μεθ' ὅπλων ἵδρυται παρ' αὐτοῖς, "ὅπως," ἔφη, "μήτε τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀνείδη λεγόμενα διὰ τὴν δειλίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναφέρωμεν, μήτε οἱ νέοι ἄνοπλοι τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχωνται."

6. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί κομῶσιν εἶπεν, "ὅτι τῶν κόσμων ὁ φυσικὸς καὶ ἀδάπανος οὗτός ἐστι."

ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΛΑΚΩΣΙΝ ΑΔΟΞΩΝ ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ[1]

1. Σαμίων πρεσβευταῖς μακρολογοῦσιν ἔφασαν οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται, "τὰ μὲν πρᾶτα[2] ἐπιλελάσμεθα,[3] τὰ δὲ ὕστερα οὐ συνήκαμες[4] διὰ τὸ τὰ πρᾶτα[2] ἐπιλελᾶσθαι."

E 2. Ῥήτορος μακρὸν κατατείναντος λόγον καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις αἰτοῦντος, ἵνα τοῖς πολίταις ἀπαγγείλῃ, "ἀπάγγελλε τοίνυν," ἔφασαν, "ὅτι μόλις μὲν σὺ ἐπαύσω λέγων, μόλις δὲ ἡμεῖς ἀκούοντες."

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[1] *διαφορα . . . αποφθεγματα* omitted in most MSS.

[2] *πρᾶτα* Cobet: *πρῶτα*.

[3] *ἐπιλελάσμεθα* Cobet: *ἐπιλελάθαμες*.

[4] *συνήκαμες*] *συνείκαμες* Cobet.

3. When one of the Helots conducted himself rather boldly toward him, he said, "If I were not angry, I would kill you."[a]

4. When someone asked him what he thought to be the best form of government, he said, "That in which the greatest number of citizens are willing, without civil strife, to vie with one another in virtue."[b]

5. When someone inquired why all the statues of the gods erected among them were equipped with weapons,[c] he said, "So that we may not put upon the gods the reproaches which are spoken against men because of their cowardice, and so that the young men may not pray to the gods unarmed."

6. In answer to the man who inquired why they wore their hair long, he said, "Because this is the natural and inexpensive form of ornament."[d]

VARIOUS SAYINGS OF SPARTANS TO FAME UNKNOWN

1. When the ambassadors of the Samians spoke at great length, the Spartans said to them, "We hae forgot the first part, and the later part we did na ken because we hae forgot the first."[e]

2. When a speaker extended his remarks to a great length, and then asked for answers to report to his citizens, they said, "Report that you found it hard to stop speaking and we to listen."[f]

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 189 F (2), *supra*.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 154 E.

[c] *Cf.*, for example, Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 911), p. 434.

[d] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 189 F (3), *supra*.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 216 A (15), *supra*.

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 216 A (15), *supra*.

(232) 3. Πρὸς Θηβαίους περί τινων ἀντιλέγοντας “ ἢ φρονεῖν,” εἶπον, “ δεῖ ἔλαττον ἢ δύνασθαι μεῖζον.”

4. Λάκων ἐρωτηθεὶς δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν τὰς τοῦ πώγωνος τρίχας ἐπὶ πολὺ κομώσας ἔχει, εἶπεν, “ ἵνα βλέπων τὰς πολιὰς μηδὲν ἀνάξιον αὐτῶν πράττω.”

5. Ἄλλος πυθομένου τινός, “ διὰ τί ἐγχειριδίοις βραχέσι χρῆσθε;” “ ἵνα πλησίον,” εἶπε, “ τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς χεῖρας ἵκωμες.”

6. Ἐπαινοῦντός τινος τοὺς Ἀργείους[1] μαχητάς, Λάκων εἶπεν, “ ἐν Τροίᾳ.”

7. Ἕτερος ἀκούσας δειπνήσαντάς τινας βιάζεσθαι πίνειν, “ μὴ καὶ ἐσθίειν,” εἶπε, “ βιάζονται;”

8. Πινδάρου γράψαντος,

> Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα Ἀθῆναι,

Λάκων ἔφη καταπεσεῖν ἂν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀχουμένην ἐρείσματι τοιούτῳ.

F 9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἰδών τις ἐν πίνακι γραπτῷ Λάκωνας ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων σφαττομένους ἔλεγεν, “ ἀνδρεῖοί γ’ Ἀθηναῖοι,” Λάκων ὑποτυχών, “ ἐν τῷ πίνακι,” εἶπε.

10. Πρὸς δέ τινα προσιέμενον τὰς ἐκ διαβολῆς βλασφημίας Λάκων εἶπε, “ παῦσαι κατ’ ἐμοῦ τὰ ὦτα χορηγῶν.”

11. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν κολαζόμενον καὶ λέγοντα, “ ἄκων ἥμαρτον,” εἶπέ τις, “ ἄκων τοίνυν καὶ κολάζου.”

[1] Ἀργείους van Leewen: ἀρίστους.

3. In answer to the Thebans who were disputing with them over some matters, they said, “ You should have less pride or more power.” [a]

4. A Spartan, being asked why he wore his beard so very long, said, “ So that I may see my grey hairs and do nothing unworthy of them.”

5. Another, in answer to the inquiry, “ Why do you use short swords ? ” said, “ So that we may get close to the enemy.”

6. When someone was praising the Argive warriors, a Spartan said, “ Yes, at Troy ! [b] ”

7. Another, being told that some people after dining are forced to drink,[c] said, “ What, and are they forced to eat also ? ”

8. When Pindar wrote,[d]

> Athens the mainstay of Greece,

a Spartan said that Greece was like to fall if it rested on any such mainstay as that !

9. Someone on seeing a painting in which Spartans were depicted being slain by Athenians, kept repeating, “ Brave, brave Athenians.” A Spartan cut in with, “ Yes, in the picture ! ”

10. To a man who was listening avidly to some spitefully slanderous remarks a Spartan said, “ Stop being so generous with your ears against me ! ” [e]

11. To a man who was being punished, and kept saying, “ I did wrong unwillingly,” someone retorted, “ Then take your punishment unwillingly.”

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 218 E (8), *supra*.

[b] A thousand years before.

[c] Perhaps the reference is to the expression πρὸς βίαν πίνειν found in Alcaeus (No. 20 in Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 156), Sophocles (*Frag.* 669 Nauck) and Aristophanes (*Acharnians*, 73). *Cf.* also Menander, *The Arbitrants*, lines 4-5 (in L.C.L. p. 18) where the same words are used.

[d] *Frag.* No. 76 (ed. Christ).

[e] *Cf.* the similar remark of Simonides quoted in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, ii. 42.

12. Ἰδών τις ἐν ἀποχωρήσει θακοῦντας[1] ἐπὶ δίφρων ἀνθρώπους, " μὴ γένοιτο," εἶπεν, " ἐνταῦθα καθίσαι ὅθεν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξαναστῆναι πρεσβυτέρῳ."

13. Χίων ποτὲ κατ' ἐπιδημίαν ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐμεσάντων ἐν τῷ ἐφορείῳ καὶ χεσάντων ἐπὶ τῶν
233 δίφρων, ἔνθα οἱ ἔφοροι ἐκάθηντο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἰσχυρῶς ἀνεζήτουν τοὺς ποιήσαντας μὴ πολῖται τυγχάνωσιν· ὡς δ' ᾔσθοντο ὅτι Χῖοι ἦσαν, ἐκήρυξαν, ' τοῖς Χίοις ἐφιᾶσιν ἀσελγαίνειν.'

14. Ἐπεὶ δέ τις τὰς ἀμυγδαλᾶς τῶν σκληρῶν ἑώρα διπλασίου πωλουμένας, " μὴ σπάνιοι," ἔφη, " οἱ λίθοι; "

15. Τίλας τις ἀηδόνα καὶ βραχεῖαν πάνυ σάρκα εὑρών, εἶπε, " φωνὰ τύ τίς ἐσσι καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο."

16. Ἰδών τις τῶν Λακώνων Διογένη τὸν κύνα περιλαμβάνοντα ἀνδριάντα χάλκεον, ψύχους ὄντος σφοδροῦ, ἐπύθετο εἰ ῥιγῴη· ἀρνησαμένου δέ, " τί οὖν," ἔφη, " μέγα ποιεῖς; "

17. Ὀνειδισθείς τις τῶν Μεταποντίων εἰς δει-
B λίαν ὑπὸ Λάκωνος, " ἀλλὰ μήν," ἔφη, " οὐκ ὀλίγα τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἔχομεν "· ὁ δέ, " οὐ μόνον ἄρα," ἔφη, " δειλοὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄδικοί ἐστε."

18. Κατ' ἐπιδημίαν τις ἐν Σπάρτῃ κρηπιδούμενος ὀρθὸς ἐπὶ θατέρου σκέλους εἶπε πρὸς Λάκωνα,

[1] θακοῦντας F.C.B.: θακέοντας (θακεύοντας *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx.)

12. Someone, seeing men seated on stools[a] in a privy, said, " God forbid that I should ever sit where it is not possible to rise and yield my place to an older man."[b]

13. When some Chians, on a visit to Sparta, vomited after dinner in the hall of the Ephors, and befouled with ordure the very chairs in which the Ephors were wont to sit, the Spartans, first of all, instituted a vigorous investigation, lest possibly these might be citizens; but when they learned that they were, in fact, Chians, they caused public proclamation to be made that ' The Spartans grant permission to the Chians to be filthy.'[c]

14. When someone saw almonds of the hard sort[d] selling at double the price of others, he said, " Are stones so scarce? "

15. A man plucked a nightingale and finding almost no meat, said, " It's all voice ye are, and nought else."[e]

16. One of the Spartans saw Diogenes the Cynic holding his arms around a bronze statue in very cold weather,[f] and asked Diogenes if he were cold; and when Diogenes said "No," the other said, " What great thing are you doing then? "

17. One of the people of Metapontum, being reproached for cowardice by a Spartan,[g] said, " But as a matter of fact we have not a little of the country of other states "; whereupon the Spartan replied, " Then you are not only cowardly, but also unjust."

18. A man who was visiting Sparta stood for a long time upon one foot, and said to a Spartan, " I do

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[a] Not in Sparta, of course.

[b] As in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 F).

[c] A similar story is told of the Clazomenians by Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii. 15.

[d] *Cf.*, for example, Athenaeus, 53 A.

[e] " Vox et praeterea nihil."

[f] A part of his self-imposed training to inure himself to cold, as in the summer he used to roll in the hot sand to inure himself to heat, according to Diogenes Laertius, vi. 23.

[g] Possibly Cleonymus (Diodorus, xx. 104).

(233) “ οὐκ ἂν οἶμαί σε, ὦ Λάκων, τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ ποδὸς ὅσον ἐγὼ στῆναι.” καὶ ὃς ὑπολαβών, “ οὐ γάρ,” ἔφη, “ τῶν μέντοι χηνῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὔ.”

19. Μεγαλυνομένου τινὸς ἐπὶ τῇ ῥητορικῇ τέχνῃ, εἶπέ τις Λάκων, “ ἀλλὰ ναὶ[1] τὼ σιώ, τέχνη ἄνευ τοῦ ἀληθείας ἧφθαι οὔτε ἐστὶν οὔτε μήποτε γένηται.”

C 20. Ἀργείου ποτὲ εἰπόντος, “ πολλοὶ τάφοι παρ’ ἡμῖν εἰσὶ Σπαρτιατῶν,” Λάκων εἶπεν, “ ἀλλὰ μὴν παρ’ ἡμῖν Ἀργείων οὐδὲ εἷς,” ὡς αὐτῶν μὲν πολλάκις Ἄργους ἐπιβεβηκότων Ἀργείων δὲ τῆς Σπάρτης οὐδέποτε.

21. Λάκων αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς καὶ πιπρασκόμενος, τοῦ κήρυκος λέγοντος, “ Λάκωνα πωλῶ,” ἐπεστόμισεν εἰπών, “ αἰχμάλωτον κήρυσσε.”

22. Τῶν παρὰ Λυσιμάχῳ στρατευομένων ἐρωτηθείς τις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, μή τις τῶν εἱλώτων ἐστί, “ σὺ δ’ οἴει,” ἔφη, “ ἐπὶ τὸ παρὰ σοῦ τετρώβολον Λάκωνα ἥξειν; ”

23. Ὅτε Θηβαῖοι νικήσαντες τοὺς Λάκωνας ἐν Λεύκτροις πρὸς αὐτὸν παρῆσαν τὸν Εὐρώταν, καί τις μεγαλαυχῶν εἶπε, “ ποῦ νῦν εἰσὶν οἱ Λάκωνες; ” Σπαρτιάτης ληφθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, “ οὐ πάρεισιν,” D ἔφη, “ οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς δεῦρο ἤλθετε.”

24. Ἀθηναίων ἀξιούντων, ὅτε παρέδωκαν τὸ ἄστυ, Σάμον αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐᾶσαι, εἶπον, “ ὅταν

[1] *ναὶ* Cobet: *νὴ*.

not think that you, sir, could stand upon one foot as long as that” ; and the other interrupting said, “ No, but there is not a single goose that could not do it.”

19. When a man boasted greatly of his art in speaking, a Spartan said, “ By Heaven, there is no art nor can there be an art without a firm hold on truth.” [a]

20. When an Argive said once upon a time, “ There are many tombs of Spartans in our country,” a Spartan said, “ But there is not a single tomb of an Argive in our country,” indicating by this that the Spartans had often set foot in Argos, but the Argives had never set foot in Sparta.[b]

21. A Spartan having been taken prisoner in war and put up for sale, when the crier said, “ I offer a Spartan for sale,” stopped his mouth, saying, “ Cry a prisoner of war.” [c]

22. One of the men serving in the army of Lysimachus, being asked by him whether he were not one of the Helots, said, “ Do you suppose that any Spartan would come to get the sixpence which you pay ? ”

23. At the time when Thebans had conquered the Spartans at Leuctra and advanced to the river Eurotas itself, one of them, boasting, said, “ Where are the Spartans now ? ” A Spartan who had been captured by them said, “ They are not here ; otherwise you would not have come thus far.”

24. At the time when the Athenians had surrendered their city,[d] they declared it was only right that Samos should be left to them, but the Spartans

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[a] In almost the same words in Plato, *Phaedrus*, 260 E.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxxi. (613 D).

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 234 C (40), *infra*.

[d] At the close of the Peloponnesian war, 404 B.C. Samos had been the naval base for the Athenians during the preceding years.

(233) αὑτῶν οὐκ ἦτε, τότε καὶ ἄλλους ἔχειν ζητεῖτε;" ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ παροιμία

ὃς αὐτὸς αὑτὸν οὐκ ἔχει Σάμον θέλει.

25. Πόλιν τινὰ κατὰ κράτος ἑλόντων Λακεδαιμονίων, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπον, "οἴχεται τὸ πάλαισμα τῶν νέων· οὐκέτι ἕξουσιν ἀνταγωνιστὰς οἱ νέοι.[1]"

26. Ἄλλην πόλιν ὑπισχνουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως
E αὐτῶν τέλεον ἀφανιεῖν ἣν συνεβεβήκει πράγματα
πολλάκις παρεσχῆσθαι τοῖς Λάκωσιν, οὐκ ἐπ-
έτρεψαν, φάμενοι, "μηδαμῶς ἀφανίσῃς μηδ' ἀνέλῃς
τὴν ἀκόνην τῶν νέων."

27. Τοῖς παλαίουσι παιδοτρίβας οὐκ ἐφίστανον, ἵνα μὴ τέχνης ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἡ φιλοτιμία γένηται. διὸ καὶ Λυσανορίδας[2] ἐρωτώμενος, ὅπως ὁ Χάρων ἐνίκησεν αὐτόν, "τῇ πολυμηχανίᾳ" εἶπε.

28. Φιλίππου γράφοντος, ὅτε εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν παρεγένετο, πότερον βούλονται φίλιον ἐλθεῖν ἢ πολέμιον αὐτόν, ἀντεφώνησαν, "οὐδέτερον."

29. Πρεσβευτήν τινα διαπεμψάμενοι πρὸς Ἀντί-
γονον τὸν Δημητρίου, πυθόμενοι ὅτι ἐκάλεσεν
F αὐτὸν βασιλέα, ἐζημίωσαν, καίτοι μέδιμνον πυρῶν
ἑκάστῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ σιτοδείας οὔσης κομίζοντα.

30. Δημητρίου ἐγκαλοῦντος ὅτι ἕνα πρεσβευτὴν

[1] Pantazides would omit οὐκέτι . . . οἱ νέοι.

[2] Λυσανορίδας Wyttenbach (from *Moralia*, 576 A, and *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xiii.): Λύσανδρος. Lysander seems not to have come into contact with Charon.

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[a] *Cf.* Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* lxxiv. (637 M., 395 R.); Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, i. p. 292 (Diogenianus, vii. 34), and ii. p. 571 (Apostol. xiii. 5).

said, "Do you, at a time when you do not even own yourselves, seek to possess others?" From this incident arose the proverb:[a]

Who does not own himself would Samos own.

25. When the Spartans had taken by storm a certain city, the Ephors said, "Gone is the wrestling-school of our young men; they no longer will have competitors."[b]

26. When their king promised to wipe out completely another city which, as it happened, had given much trouble to the Spartans, they would not allow it, saying, "You must not abolish nor remove the whetstone of our youth."

27. They appointed no trainers to instruct in wrestling so that the rivalry might be not in skill, but in courage.[c] This is the reason why Lysanoridas, when he was asked how Charon had conquered him, said, "By his great resourcefulness."

28. Philip wrote at the time when he entered their country, asking whether they wished that he should come as a friend or as a foe; and they made answer, "Neither."

29. They sent an ambassador to Antigonus, son of Demetrius, and, upon learning that the ambassador had addressed Antigonus as King, they fined him, although he had brought for each one of them a bushel and a half of wheat at a time when there was great scarcity of food.

30. When Demetrius complained that they had

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[b] The last clause looks like an explanatory comment. Pantazides would omit it.

[c] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 639 F, and Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. vii. (281 B).

ἔπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτόν, " οὐχ ἱκανὸς οὖν," εἶπον, " εἰ πρὸς ἕνα εἷς;"

31. Ἐνέγκαντός τινος ἀρίστην γνώμην μοχθηροῦ, ταύτην μὲν ἀπεδέξαντο, περιελόμενοι δὲ τούτου περιέθηκαν ἑτέρῳ καλῶς βεβιωκότι.

32. Ἀδελφῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερομένων, τὸν πατέρα ἐζημίωσαν ὅτι τοὺς υἱεῖς στασιάζοντας περιορᾷ.

33. Ψάλτην ἐπιδημήσαντα ἐζημίωσαν ὅτι δακτύλοις κιθαρίζει.

34. Δύο παῖδες ἐμάχοντο, ἅτερος δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν
ἕτερον ἔτρωσε δρεπάνῳ πληγῇ θανασίμῳ· τῶν
δὲ συνήθων παίδων, ἐπεὶ διαλύεσθαι ἔμελλον, ἐπαγγελλομένων
ἀμυνεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναιρήσειν τὸν
πλήξαντα, " μηδαμῶς," εἶπε, " πρὸς θεῶν, οὐ γὰρ
234 δίκαιον· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἐγὼ ἐποίησα τοῦτο, εἰ ἔφθασα
καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἐγενόμην."

35. Ἕτερον παιδάριον, ἐπεὶ παρῆν ὁ καιρός, ἐν ᾧ κλέπτειν νενόμιστο τοὺς ἐλευθέρους παῖδας ὅ τι τις δύναιτο καὶ μὴ λαθεῖν αἰσχρὸν ἦν, ὡς οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παῖδες ζῶν ἔκλεψαν ἀλωπέκιον καὶ ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ φυλάττειν, παραγενομένων τῶν ἀπολωλεκότων ἐπὶ ζήτησιν, ἔτυχε μὲν ὑποβαλὼν τὸ ἀλωπέκιον ὑπὸ τὸ αὑτοῦ ἱμάτιον, ἀγριαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ θηρίου καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πλευρὰν κατεσθίοντος μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχνων, ἠρέμει, ἵνα μὴ γένηται καταφανής. ὡς δὲ ὕστερον ἐκείνων ἀπελθόντων ἐθεάσαντο τὸ γεγονὸς οἱ παῖδες καὶ ἐμέμφοντο, λέγοντες ἄμεινον

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 216 B (16), *supra.*

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 41 B, and 801 B; Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, 180-181; Philo Judaeus, *The Worse Plotting against the Better*, 195 B; Aulus Gellius, xviii. 3.

sent only one ambassador to him, they replied, " Is it not enough—one to one ? "[a]

31. When a bad man brought in a very good idea, they accepted it; but they took it away from him and bestowed the right of proposing it upon another man who had lived a virtuous life.[b]

32. When two brothers quarrelled with each other, the Spartans fined the father because he permitted his sons to quarrel.

33. They fined a visiting harp-player because he played the harp with his fingers.[c]

34. Two boys were fighting, and one of them wounded the other mortally with the stroke of a sickle. The friends of the wounded boy, as they were about to separate, promised to avenge him and make away with the one who had struck him, but the boy said, " In Heaven's name do not, for it is not right; the fact is, I should have done that myself if I had been quick enough and brave enough."

35. In the case of another boy, when the time had arrived during which it was the custom for the free boys to steal whatever they could, and it was a disgrace not to escape being found out, when the boys with him had stolen a young fox alive, and given it to him to keep, and those who had lost the fox came in search for it, the boy happened to have slipped the fox under his garment. The beast, however, became savage and ate through his side to the vitals; but the boy did not move or cry out, so as to avoid being exposed, and later, when they had departed, the boys saw what had happened, and blamed him, saying that

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[c] Thus making the music pleasanter to hear than if he had used the plectrum. *Cf. Moralia*, 802 F.

B (234) εἶναι φανερὸν ποιῆσαι τὸ ἀλωπέκιον ἢ μέχρι θανάτου κρύπτειν, "οὐ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ κρεῖττον ταῖς ἀλγηδόσι μὴ ἐνδόντα[1] τελευτᾶν ἢ περίφωρον γενόμενον διὰ μαλακίαν τὸ ζῆν αἰσχρῶς περιποιήσασθαι."

36. Περιτυχόντες τινὲς Λάκωσι καθ' ὁδὸν εἶπον, "εὐτυχήκατε, ἀρτίως ἐντεῦθεν λῃστῶν ἀπιόντων." οἱ δέ, "οὐ μὰ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὴ περιτυχόντες ἡμῖν."

37. Λάκων ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐπίσταται, εἶπεν, "ἐλεύθερος εἶναι."

38. Παῖς Σπαρτιάτης αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς ὑπ' C Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πραθεὶς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ὑπήκοος ἦν τῷ πριαμένῳ, ὅσα ᾤετο προσήκειν ἐλευθέρῳ ποιεῖν· ὡς δὲ προσέταξεν ἀμίδα κομίζειν, οὐκ ἠνέσχετο εἰπών, "οὐ δουλεύσω." ἐνισταμένου δὲ ἐκείνου, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν κέραμον καὶ εἰπών, "ὀνήσῃ[2] τῆς ὠνῆς," ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν κάτω καὶ ἐτελεύτα.

39. Ἕτερος πωλούμενος, εἰπόντος τινός, "ἐὰν ἀγοράσω σε, χρήσιμος ἔσῃ;" "κἂν μὴ ἀγοράσῃς" εἶπεν.

40. Ἄλλος αἰχμάλωτος πιπρασκόμενος, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐπιλέγοντος ἀνδράποδον πωλεῖν, "κατάρατε," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐρεῖς αἰχμάλωτον;"

41. Λάκων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος μυῖαν ἔχων ἐπί-

[1] *ἀλγηδόσι μὴ ἐνδόντα* Bernardakis: *ἀλγηδόσιν ἢ εὔδοντα* or *ἀλγηδόσι* only.

[2] *ὀνήσῃ* Wyttenbach: *εἴσῃ* (*οἰμώξῃ* Meziriacus, *οὐκ ὀνήσῃ* Cobet, *οἵ σοι* Bernardakis: *μετανοήσῃ*?).

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[a] The story is told more briefly in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xviii. (51 B).

[b] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 194 D (3), *supra*.

it would have been better to let the fox be seen than to hide it even unto death; but the boy said, "Not so, but better to die without yielding to the pain than through being detected because of weakness of spirit to gain a life to be lived in disgrace." [a]

36. Some people, encountering Spartans on the road, said, "You are in luck, for robbers have just left this place," but they said, "Egad, no, but it is they who are in luck for not encountering us." [b]

37. A Spartan being asked what he knew, said, "How to be free."

38. A Spartan boy, being taken captive by Antigonus the king and sold, was obedient in all else to the one who had bought him, that is, in everything which he thought fitting for a free person to do, but when his owner bade him bring a chamber-pot, he would not brook such treatment, saying, "I will not be a slave"; and when the other was insistent, he went up upon the roof, and saying, "You will gain much by your bargain," he threw himself down and ended his life.[c]

39. Another one being sold, when someone said, "If I buy you, will you be good and helpful?" said, "Yes, and if you do not buy me." [d]

40. Another captive being put up for sale, when the crier announced that he was offering a slave for sale, said, "You damnable wretch, won't you say 'a captive'?" [e]

41. A Spartan had as an emblem on his shield a

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 242 D (30), *infra*. This story is repeated by Philo Judaeus, *Every Virtuous Man is Free*, chap. xvii. (882 C): Seneca, *Epistulae Moral.* no. 77 (x. 1. 14), and is referred to by Epictetus, i. 2.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 242 C (29), *infra*.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 233 C (21), *supra*.

(234) D σημον, καὶ ταύτην οὐ μείζω τῆς ἀληθινῆς, ὡς καταγελῶντές τινες ἔλεγον ὅτι[1] ὑπὲρ τοῦ λανθάνειν τοῦτο πεποιήκει, " ἵνα μὲν οὖν," εἶπε, " φανερὸς ὦ· οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις πλησίον προσέρχομαι, ὥστε τὸ ἐπίσημον ἡλίκον ἐστὶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁρᾶσθαι."

42. Ἕτερος, ἐν συμποσίῳ προσενεχθείσης λύρας, " οὐ Λακωνικόν," εἶπε, " τὸ φλυαρεῖν."

43. Σπαρτιάτης ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ ἀσφαλὴς ἡ εἰς Σπάρτην ὁδὸς εἶπεν, " ὁποῖός κά τις ἦς[2]· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λέοντες βαδίζοντι ὅπα κα λέωντι,[3] τὼς δὲ λαγὼς ἐπὶ τᾶς γᾶς κήνας[4] θηρεύομες."

44. Ἐν χειραψίᾳ περικρούοντος τοῦ προστραχηλί- E ζοντος κενοσπούδως καὶ κατασπῶντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ σώματι ἐλείπετο ὁ προσπεσών, ἔδακε τὸν βραχίονα· καὶ ὁ ἕτερος εἶπε, " δάκνεις, ὦ Λάκων, ὥσπερ αἱ γυναῖκες· " οὐ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν ἅτερος, " ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ λέοντες."

45. Χωλὸς ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξιών, ἐπακολουθούντων αὐτῷ τινων καὶ γελώντων, ἐπιστραφεὶς εἶπε, " κακαὶ κεφαλαί, οὐ φεύγοντα δεῖ τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μένοντα καὶ τὴν τάξιν φυλάττοντα."

46. Ἕτερος τοξευθεὶς καὶ τὸν βίον ἐκλείπων, ἔλεγεν, οὐ μέλει μοι τοῦτο ὅτι ἀποθανοῦμαι,[5] ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑπὸ γύννιδος τοξότου καὶ μηδὲν πράξας."

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[1] ὅτι added by Turnebus.

[2] κά τις ἦς F.C.B.: κα ἴης Hartman: καθίσης or καθίσεις.

[3] ὅπα κα λέωντι Bernardakis; ἄπο καλέοντι or ἀποκλαίοντι.

[4] τᾶς γᾶς κήνας (γᾶς κοινᾷ) F.C.B.: τᾷ σκηνᾷ (τᾷ εὐνᾷ? Bernardakis).

[5] Most MSS. have a slightly briefer version.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 220 A (3). For the expression of similar sentiments see Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. ii. (112 C); Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 2 (4).

fly, and that, too, no bigger than life-size. When some mockingly said that he had done this to escape being noticed, he said, " Rather that I may be noticeable; for I come so close to the enemy that my emblem is seen by them in its true size."

42. Another, when a lyre was brought in at an evening party, said, " It is not Spartan to indulge in nonsense." [a]

43. A Spartan, being asked if the road into Sparta were safe, said, " That depends on what kind of a mon ye are; for the lions gang about where they wull, but the hares we hunt over that land."

44. In a clinch one wrestler, who had the other by the neck, overpowered him with little effort, and pulled him to the ground. Since the one who was down was at a disadvantage in using his body, he bit the arm that held him. His opponent said, " Spartan, you bite like a woman." " No, indeed," said he, " but like a lion." [b]

45. A lame man was going forth to war, and some persons followed after him laughing. He turned around and said, " You vile noddles! A man does not need to run away when he fights the enemy, but to stay where he is and hold his ground." [c]

46. Another,[d] mortally wounded by an arrow, said, as his life was ebbing away, " I am not troubled because I must die, but because my death comes at the hands of a womanish archer, and before I have accomplished anything." [e]

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[b] The same story is told of Alcibiades in *Moralia*, 186 D (1), and in Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. i. (192 C).

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 210 F (34), and 217 C; Valerius Maximus, iii. 7, ext. 8.

[d] Callicrates at the battle of Plataea (Herodotus, ix. 72).

[e] Repeated by Plutarch, *Life of Aristeides*, chap. xvii. (329 C).

47. Εἴς πανδοκεῖόν τις καταλύσας καὶ δοὺς ὄψον
τῷ πανδοκεῖ σκευάσαι, ὡς ἅτερος τυρὸν ᾔτει καὶ
F ἔλαιον, "τί," ἔφη, "εἰ τυρὸν εἶχον, ἔτι ἂν ἐδεόμην
ὄψου;"

48. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν μακαρίζοντα Λάμπιν τὸν Αἰγινήτην, διότι ἐδόκει πλουσιώτατος εἶναι ναυκλήρια πολλὰ ἔχων, Λάκων εἶπεν, "οὐ προσέχω εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκ σχοινίων ἀπηρτημένῃ."

49. Εἰπόντος δέ τινος Λάκωνι ὅτι ψεύδεται, ἀπεκρίνατο, "ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ εἰμές· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, αἴκα μὴ τἀληθῆ λέγωντι, οἰμώξονται."

50. Προθέμενός τις νεκρὸν στῆσαι ὀρθόν, ὡς πάντα ποιῶν οὐκ ἐδύνατο, "νὴ Δία," εἶπεν, "ἔνδον τι εἶναι δεῖ."

51. Τύννιχος, Θρασυβούλου τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθανόντος, εὐρώστως ἤνεγκε· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τοῦτον ἐγένετο,

235 τὰν Πιτάναν Θρασύβουλος ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἤλυθεν ἄπνους
ἑπτὰ πρὸς Ἀργείων τραύματα δεξάμενος,
δεικνὺς ἀντία πάντα· τὸν αἱματόεντα δ' ὁ πρέσβυς
θεὶς ἐπὶ πυρκαϊὴν Τύννιχος εἶπε τάδε,[1]
"Δειλοὶ κλαιέσθωσαν· ἐγὼ δέ σε, τέκνον, ἄδακρυς
θάψω, τὸν καὶ ἐμὸν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον."

52. Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ βαλανέως ἐπὶ

[1] θεὶς . . . τάδε] παῖδ' . . . τιθεὶς *Palatine Anthology* vii. 229.

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[a] Repeated in *Moralia*, 995 B, where the meat is fish. *Cf.* also Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 787 A; Demosthenes, *Or.* xxiii. 211 (691).

[b] Lampis was famous for his ships and his wealth. *Cf.*, for example, *Moralia*, 787 A; Demosthenes, *Or.* xxiii. 211 (691).

[c] *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, v. 14 (40).

47. A man stopped at an inn and gave the innkeeper a piece of meat to prepare; and when the innkeeper asked for cheese and oil besides, the other said, "If I had cheese, what need should I have of meat too?"[a]

48. In answer to the man who called Lampis[b] of Aegina happy, because he seemed very rich in having many cargoes on the sea in ships, a Spartan said, "I do not pay much attention to happiness that hangs by ropes!"[c]

49. When somebody told a Spartan that he was lying, the Spartan replied, "Yea, we are free men; but ithers, if they dinna tell the truth, will rue it."[d]

50. When someone set himself to make a corpse stand upright, and, for all his efforts, was unable to do this, he said, "Egad, there is need of something inside."

51. Tynnichus, when his son Thrasybulus was slain, bore it sturdily; and this epigram[e] was written on him:

Lifeless to Pitane came, on his shield upborne, Thrasybulus;
Seven the wounds he received, pierced by the Argive spears;
All in the front did he show them; and him with his blood-stained body
Tynnichus placed on the pyre, saying these words in his eld:
"Let the poor cowards be mourned, but with never a tear shall I bury
You, my son, who are mine, yea, and are Sparta's as well."

52. When the keeper of a bath was pouring in a

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[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 229 A (2).

[e] Attributed to Dioscorides in the *Palatine Anthology*, vii. 229 (*The Greek Anthology* in the L.C.L., ii. p. 130).

(235) πλεῖστον παραχέοντος ὕδωρ, Λάκων εἶπε, "τί τοῦτο[1] ὡς οὐ καθαρῷ; σφόδρα δὲ ὡς ῥυπαρῷ πλεῖον παραχεῖ.[2]"

53. Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος προστάττοντός B τινα δι' ἐπιστολῆς, ἀντέγραψαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι "περὶ ὧν ἇμιν[3] ἔγραψας, Οὔ."

Ὅτε δὲ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ ἐδόκουν ἅπαντες ἀπολεῖσθαι, εἶπε δὲ πρός τινα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, "τί νῦν ποιήσετε, ὦ Λάκωνες;" "τί γάρ," ἔφη, "ἄλλο ἢ ἀνδρείως ἀποθανούμεθα; μόνοι γὰρ ἡμεῖς Ἑλλήνων ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι καὶ μὴ ὑπακούειν ἄλλοις ἐμάθομεν."

54. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄγιδος ἧτταν, ὁμήρους αἰτοῦντος Ἀντιπάτρου πεντήκοντα παῖδας, Ἐτεοκλῆς ἐφορεύων εἶπε παῖδας μὲν οὐ δώσειν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπαίδευτοι γένωνται, τῆς πατρίου ἀγωγῆς ἀτευκτήσαντες· οὐδὲ πολῖται γὰρ ἂν εἴησαν· πρεσβύτας δ' ἢ γυναῖκας, εἰ βούλοιτο, διπλασίους δώσειν. C ἀπειλοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ δεινά, εἰ μὴ λάβοι, ἀπεκρίναντο κοινῇ, "ἐὰν χαλεπώτερα θανάτου ἐπιτάττῃς, εὐκολώτερον ἀποθανούμεθα."

55. Πρεσβύτης ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ συντελουμένου τοῦ ἀγῶνος προθυμούμενος θεάσασθαι, καθέδρας ἠπόρει· πολλοὺς δ' ἐπιπορευόμενος τόπους ὑβρίζετο καὶ ἐσκώπτετο, μηδενὸς αὐτὸν παραδεχομένου· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἧκεν, ἀνέστησαν πάντες οἱ παῖδες καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦ τόπου ἐκ-

[1] τούτο] τούτῳ, if necessary.

[2] παραχεῖ F.C.B.: παρέχει or παράχει.

[3] ἇμιν the regular Doric form: ἄμμιν.

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[a] The Spartans were not enthusiastic bathers (*cf. Moralia* 237 B).

[b] The story is told with slightly more detail in *Moralia*, 513 A.

great quantity of water for Alcibiades, a Spartan[a] said, "Why all this for him as if he were not clean? The fellow is pouring in extra water as if for a very dirty man."

53. When Philip of Macedon sent some orders to the Spartans by letter, they wrote in reply, "What you wrote about, 'No.'"[b]

When he invaded the Spartans' country, and all thought that they should be destroyed, he said to one of the Spartans, "What shall you do now, men of Sparta? And the other said, "What else than die like men? For we alone of all the Greeks have learned to be free, and not to be subject to others."[c]

54. After the defeat of Agis,[d] Antipater demanded fifty boys as hostages, but Eteocles, who was Ephor, said they would not give boys, lest the boys should turn out to be uneducated through missing the traditional discipline; and they would not be fitted for citizenship either. But the Spartans would give, if he so desired, either old men or women to double the number. And when Antipater made dire threats if he should not get the boys, the Spartans made answer with one consent, "If the orders you lay upon us are harsher than death, we shall find it easier to die."[e]

55. While the games were being held at Olympia, an old man was desirous of seeing them, but could find no seat. As he went to place after place, he met with insults and jeers, and nobody made room for him. But when he came opposite the Spartans, all the boys and many of the men arose and yielded

[c] *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, v. 14 (42).

[d] Agis III., in 331 B.C.

[e] A different version of the Spartans' reply is given in *Moralia*, 64 D.

(235) χωροῦντες· τῶν δὲ Πανελλήνων ἐπισημηναμένων[1]
κρότῳ τὸ ἔθος καὶ ὑπερεπαινούντων, ὁ πρεσβύτης
κινήσας

πολιόν τε κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον

καὶ δακρύσας, " οἴμοι τῶν κακῶν," φησίν, " ὡς
D ἅπαντες μὲν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπίστανται τὰ καλά,
χρῶνται δ' αὐτοῖς μόνοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι."

Φασὶ δέ τινες ὅτι καὶ Ἀθήνησι τὸ αὐτὸ ἐγένετο·
Παναθηναίων γὰρ ὄντων οἱ Ἀττικοὶ γέροντα
προεπηλάκιζον, προσκαλούμενοι μὲν ὡς παρα-
δεξόμενοι, εἰ δὲ παραγένοιτο, οὐ προσδεχόμενοι·
ὡς δὲ διεξιὼν σχεδὸν ἅπαντας ἐγένετο κατὰ τοὺς
Λακεδαιμονίων θεωρούς, ἅπαντες τῶν βάθρων
ἀναστάντες τοῦ τόπου παρεχώρουν· ἀγασθεὶς δὲ
ὁ ὄχλος ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι ἐκρότησε μετὰ πολλῆς
E ἐπισημασίας, καί τις εἶπε τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, " ναὶ[2]
τὼ σιώ, ἴσασι μὲν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ καλά, οὐ πράσ-
σουσι δέ."

56. Ἐπαίτης ᾔτησε Λάκωνα· " ἀλλὰ εἰ δοίην σοι," ἔφη, " μᾶλλον πτωχεύσεις, τῆς δὲ ἀσχημοσύνης σου ταύτης ὁ πρῶτος μεταδοὺς αἴτιος, ἀργόν σε ποιήσας."

57. Λάκων ἰδὼν ἀγείροντά τινα θεοῖς, οὐδὲν εἶπε φροντίζειν θεῶν πτωχοτέρων ἑαυτοῦ.

58. Λαβών τις μοιχὸν ἐπ' αἰσχρᾷ γυναικί, " ἄθλιε," εἶπε, " τίς τοι ἀνάγκα;"

[1] ἐπισημηναμένων Cobet: ἐπισημειωσαμένων.
[2] ναὶ Cobet: νή.

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[a] Homer, *Il.* xxii. 74, and xxiv. 516.

[b] *Cf.* Cicero, *De senectute*, 18 (63-64); Valerius Maximus, iv. 5, ext. 2.

their places. Whereupon the assembled multitude of Greeks expressed their approbation of the custom by applause, and commended the action beyond measure; but the old man, shaking

His head grey-haired and grey-bearded,[a]

and with tears in his eyes, said, " Alas for the evil days! Because all the Greeks know what is right and fair, but the Spartans alone practise it."

Some say that the same thing happened at Athens also. It was at the time of the Panathenaic festival, and the people of Attica were teasing an old man in an unseemly manner, calling him to them as if they were intending to make room for him, and not making room if he came to them. When he had passed through almost all the spectators and came opposite the delegates of the Spartans, they all arose from where they were sitting and gave him place. The crowd, delighted, applauded the action with great approval, and one of the Spartans said, " Egad, the Athenians know what is right and fair, but do not do it."[b]

56. A beggar asked alms of a Spartan, who said, " If I should give to you, you will be the more a beggar; and for this unseemly conduct of yours he who first gave to you is responsible, for he thus made you lazy."

57. A Spartan, seeing a man taking up a collection for the gods, said that he did not think much of gods who were poorer than himself.

58. A man who caught another in adultery with an ugly woman said, " Puir soul! what was yer muckle need?"[c]

[c] In *Moralia*, 525 D, the same saying is attributed to a man of Byzantium.

59. Ἄλλος ἀκούων ῥήτορος μεγάλας στρέφοντος περιόδους, "ἀλλὰ ναὶ τὼ σιώ," εἶπεν, "ἀνδρεῖός γε ὁ ἄνθρωπος· πρὸς οὐδὲν ὑποκείμενον εὖ στροβιλοῖ[1] τὴν γλῶτταν."

F 60. Εἰς Λακεδαίμονα παραγενόμενός τις καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβύτας τῶν νέων τιμὴν θεασάμενος, "ἐν Σπάρτῃ μόνῃ," εἶπε, "λυσιτελεῖ γηράσκειν."

61. Ἐρωτηθεὶς Λάκων ὁποῖός ἐστι Τυρταῖος ὁ ποιητής, "ἀγαθός," εἶπε, "κακκονῆν[2] νέων ψυχάς."

62. Ἕτερος ἀλγῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξῄει ἐπὶ πόλεμον· λεγόντων δὲ αὐτῷ τινων, "ποῦ ἄπει οὕτως ἔχων ἢ τί ποιήσων;" "κἂν μηδὲν ἕτερον πράξω," ἔφη, "πολεμίου γε μάχαιραν ἀμβλυνῶ."

63. Βοῦλις καὶ Σπέρχις[3] Λακεδαιμόνιοι πορευθέντες ἐθελονταὶ πρὸς Ξέρξην τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ ἣν ὤφειλεν ἡ Λακεδαίμων κατὰ
236 χρησμόν, διότι κήρυκας πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέρσου ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν· ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην ἐκέλευον ᾧ βούλεται τρόπῳ διαχρήσασθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ Λακεδαιμονίων. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀγασθεὶς ἀπέλυσε τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἠξίου μένειν παρ' αὐτῷ, "καὶ πῶς ἄν," ἔφασαν, "δυναίμεθα ζῆν ἐνταῦθα, πατρίδα καταλιπόντες καὶ νόμους καὶ τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὑπὲρ ὧν τοσαύτην ἤλθομεν ὁδὸν ἀποθανούμενοι;" Ἰνδάρνου δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπὶ πλέον δεομένου καὶ λέγοντος τεύξεσθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς ἴσης τιμῆς τοῖς μάλιστα ἐν προαγωγῇ φίλοις τοῦ βασι-

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[1] στροβιλοῖ] στροβιλῶν E. Kurtz.

[2] κακκονῆν van Herwerden (*cf.* also *Moralia*, 959 B, and the *Life of Cleomenes*, chap. ii.): κακανεῖν.

[3] Βοῦλις καὶ Σπέρχις, the usual spelling elsewhere, *e.g.* *Moralia*, 815 E: βοῦρις καὶ σπέρτις (Herodotus, vii. 134 has Σπερθίης).

59. Another, listening to an orator rolling off long sentences, said, "Egad, but the man has courage; he twists his tongue well about no subject at all."

60. One man who came to Sparta, and observed the honour which the young render to the old, said, "Only in Sparta does it pay to grow old." [a]

61. A Spartan, being asked what kind of a man Tyrtaeus the poet was, said, "A good man to sharpen the spirit of youth."

62. Another who had sore trouble with his eyes was going forth to war; and when some said to him, "Where are you going in that state, or what do you purpose to do?" he said, "Even if I accomplish nothing else, I may at least blunt an enemy's sword."

63. Bulis and Sperchis of Sparta went as volunteers to Xerxes king of the Persians, to render satisfaction which Sparta owed according to an oracle, because the people had killed the heralds sent to them by the Persian. These men came before Xerxes and bade him make away with them in any manner he desired, as representing the Spartans. But when he, filled with admiration, let them go free, and was insistent that they remain with him, they said, "And how should we be able to live here, abandoning our country and laws and those men in whose behalf we made such a long journey to die?" And when Indarnes [b] the general besought them at greater length, and said that they would receive equal honour with the friends of the king who stood highest in

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[a] A similar sentiment is attributed to Lysander by Cicero, *De senectute*, 18 (63).

[b] Hydarnes in Herodotus, vii. 135.

B λέως, ἔφησαν, "ἀγνοεῖν ἡμῖν δοκεῖς ἡλίκον ἐστὶ (236) τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἧς οὐκ ἂν ἀλλάξαιτό τις νοῦν ἔχων τὴν Περσῶν βασιλείαν."

64. Λάκων, ἐπεὶ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ ξένος αὐτὸν ἐξέκλινε, τῇ δ' ἑξῆς στρώματα χρησάμενος δαψιλῶς ὑπεδέχετο, ἐπιβὰς τοῖς στρώμασι κατεπάτει, ἐπιλέγων διὰ ταῦτα ἐχθὲς οὐδ' ἐπὶ ψιάθου ὑπνωκέναι.

65. Ἕτερος ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ τάριχος· ἀποκηρύττοντας καὶ τὸ ὄψον, καὶ τελωνοῦντας καὶ πορνοβοσκοῦντας, καὶ ἕτερα ἔργα ἀσχήμονα πράττοντας, καὶ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἡγουμένους ὅτε ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, C τῶν πολιτῶν πυνθανομένων αὐτοῦ ποῖά τινά ἐστι τὰ ἐν Ἀθήναις, "πάντα," εἶπε, "καλά," εἰρωνευόμενος καὶ παριστὰς ὅτι πάντα παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καλὰ νομίζεται, αἰσχρὸν δὲ οὐδέν.

66. Ἄλλος ἐρωτώμενος περί τινος ἀπεκρίνατο "οὔ"· ὡς δὲ ὁ ἐρωτήσας ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "ψεύδῃ," "ὁρᾷς οὖν," ἔφη, "ὅτι μάταιος εἶ περὶ ὧν ἐπίστασαι ἐρωτῶν."

67. Ἧκόν ποτε κατὰ πρεσβείαν Λάκωνες πρὸς Λύγδαμιν τὸν τύραννον· ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνος ὑπερτιθέμενος πολλάκις συντυχεῖν ἀνεβάλλετο, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι μαλακῶς ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἔφη τις, οἱ πρέσβεις, "λέγε αὐτῷ," εἶπον, "ὅτι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ παλαισόμενοι D πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐληλύθαμεν, ἀλλὰ διαλεχθησόμενοι."

68. Λάκωνά τινά τις μυσταγωγῶν ἠρώτα τί

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 815 E; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lxxvi. *ad fin.*; Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, vii. 70, and xxxix. 27 (quoting Serenus). The ultimate source is probably Herodotus, vii. 134-136.

advancement, they said, "You seem to us not to know what is the meed of liberty, which no man of sense would exchange for the kingdom of the Persians."[a]

64. Because a friend with whom a Spartan was intending to stay dodged him on the first day, and on the next day, having borrowed bedding, received him sumptuously, the Spartan jumped on the bedding and trod it under foot, remarking that it was because of this that yesterday he had not had even straw to sleep on.

65. Another, on going to Athens, saw that the Athenians were hawking salt fish and dainties, collecting taxes, keeping public brothels, and following other unseemly pursuits, and holding none of them to be shameful. When he returned to his own country, his fellow-citizens asked how things were in Athens, and he said, "Everything fair and lovely," speaking sarcastically and conveying the idea that among the Athenians everything is considered fair and lovely, and nothing shameful.

66. Another, being asked a question, answered "No." And when the questioner said, "You lie," the other said, "You see, then, that it is silly of you to ask questions to which you know the answer!"

67. Once upon a time, ambassadors from Sparta arrived at the court of Lygdamis the despot. But as he tried to put them off and repeatedly postponed the interview, and, to crown all, it was asserted that he was in a delicate condition, the Spartans said, "Tell him, in God's name, that we have not come to wrestle with him, but to have a talk with him."

68. When someone, initiating a Spartan into the Mysteries, asked him what his conscience told him

(236) πράξας ἑαυτῷ σύνοιδεν ἀσεβέστατον, ὁ δέ, " γιγνώσκουσιν οἱ θεοί," ἔφη· ἐπικειμένου δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ λέγοντος, " πάντως σε δεῖ εἰπεῖν," ὁ Λάκων ἀντηρώτησε, " τίνι με δεῖ εἰπεῖν, σοὶ ἢ τῷ θεῷ; " τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, " τῷ θεῷ," " σὺ τοίνυν," ἔφη, " ἀποχώρησον."

69. Ἕτερος νυκτὸς μνῆμα παριὼν καὶ φαντασιωθεὶς δαιμόνιόν τι ἐπέδραμε τῇ λόγχῃ διαράμενος, καὶ ἐναπερείδων εἶπε, " πῇ με φεύγεις, δὶς ἀποθανουμένη ψυχή; "

70. Ἄλλος εὐξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευκάτα ῥίπτειν ἑαυτὸν ἀνέβη καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν ἰδὼν τὸ ὕψος· ὀνει-
E διζόμενος δὲ εἶπεν " οὐκ ᾤμαν τὰν εὐχὰν ἄλλας μείζονος εὐχᾶς δεῖσθαι."

71. Ἄλλος ἐπὶ παρατάξεως τῷ πολεμίῳ τὸ ξίφος καταφέρειν μέλλων, ἐπεὶ τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ἐσήμηνεν, οὐκέτι κατήνεγκε· πυθομένου δέ τινος διὰ τί τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἔχων ὑποχείριον οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, " ὅτι," ἔφη, " βέλτιόν ἐστι τοῦ φονεύειν τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ ἄρχοντι."

72. Λάκωνί τινι ἡττωμένῳ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ εἶπέ τις " ὁ ἀνταγωνιστής, ὦ Λάκων, ἐγένετό σου κρείττων ". " οὐ μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, " ἀλλὰ καββαλικώτερος."

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[a] A similar story is told of Antalcidas, *Moralia*, 217 c (1), and of Lysander, *Moralia*, 229 D (10), *supra*.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 273 F; Plutarch's *Comparison of Pelopidas and Marcellus*, chap. iii. (317 D); Epictetus, ii. 6. The

was the most unholy deed he had ever done, he said, " The gods know." And when the other became even more insistent, and said, " It is absolutely necessary that you tell," the Spartan asked in turn, " To whom must I tell it ? To you or to the god ? " And when the other said, " To the god," the Spartan said, " You go away then." [a]

69. Another, passing by a tomb at night, and imagining that he saw a ghost, ran at it with uplifted spear, and, as he thrust at it, he exclaimed, " Where are you fleeing from me, you soul that shall die twice ? "

70. Another, having vowed to throw himself from the Leucadian cliff, went up and came down again after seeing the height. Being jeered at for this, he said, " I did na think my vow needed anither greater vow to dae it ! "

71. Another, in the thick of the fight, was about to bring down his sword on an enemy when the recall sounded, and he checked the blow. When someone inquired why, when he had his enemy in his power, he did not kill him, he said, " Because it is better to obey one's commander than to slay an enemy." [b]

72. Someone said to a Spartan who was defeated at Olympia, " Spartan, your opponent proved himself the better man." " No," said he, " not that, but more upsetting ! " [c]

source is doubtless Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, iv. 1. 3, and Chrysantas is the man's name.

[c] For a similar sentiment see *Moralia*, 233 E (27), *supra*.

THE ANCIENT CUSTOMS OF THE SPARTANS
(INSTITUTA LACONICA)

INTRODUCTION

Plutarch wrote an article about the Spartans, as he tells us in his *Life of Lysander*, chap. xvii. (443 A). The only question, therefore, that can be raised is whether *The Ancient Customs of the Spartans* is that article. It is true that adverse judgement has been pronounced upon it, mainly because of some infelicities of language, and the character of the last chapter; yet, whether written by Plutarch or by another, it is in the main the work of Plutarch, and much of it comes from the same source as Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*. The body of facts and traditions here set down is, in great part, to be found scattered here and there in other writers, especially in the extant histories of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, to say nothing of other historians whose works are now lost. Much had been brought together, long before Plutarch's time, in the *Constitution of Sparta*, which is printed among the works of Xenophon.

A hint that various sources were used in making this compilation may be found in the fact that some of the verbs are in the present tense and others in the past.

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ΤΑ ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΥΜΑΤΑ[1]

1. Τῶν εἰσιόντων εἰς τὰ συσσίτια ἑκάστῳ δεικνύων ὁ πρεσβύτατος τὰς θύρας, “ διὰ τούτων,” φησίν, “ οὐδεὶς ἐξέρχεται λόγος.”

2. Δοκιμαζομένου μάλιστα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τοῦ μέλανος λεγομένου ζωμοῦ, ὥστε μὴ κρεαδίου δεῖσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, παραχωρεῖν δὲ τοῖς νεανίσκοις,[2] λέγεται Διονύσιος ὁ τῆς Σικελίας τύραννος τούτου χάριν Λακωνικὸν μάγειρον πρίασθαι καὶ προστάξαι σκευάσαι αὐτῷ μηδενὸς φειδόμενον ἀναλώματος· ἔπειτα γευσάμενον καὶ δυσχεράναντα ἀποπτύσαι· καὶ τὸν μάγειρον εἰπεῖν, “ ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦτον δεῖ
237 τὸν ζωμὸν γυμνασάμενον Λακωνικῶς καὶ τῷ Εὐρώτᾳ λελουμένον ἐποψᾶσθαι.”

3. Πιόντες οἱ Λάκωνες ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις μετρίως ἀπίασι δίχα λαμπάδος· οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστι πρὸς φῶς βαδίζειν οὔτε ταύτην οὔτε ἄλλην ὁδόν, ὅπως

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[1] τα παλαια . . . επιτηδευματα] omitted in most MSS.

[2] τοῖς νεανίσκοις Turnebus, as in the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xii.: τοὺς νεανίσκους.

THE ANCIENT CUSTOMS OF THE SPARTANS

1. To each one of those who comes in to the public meals the eldest man says, as he points to the doors, “ Through these no word goes out.” [a]

2. A thing that met with especial approval among them was their so-called black broth, so much so that the older men did not require a bit of meat, but gave up all of it to the young men. It is said that Dionysius, the despot of Sicily,[b] for the sake of this bought a slave who had been a Spartan cook, and ordered him to prepare the broth for him, sparing no expense; but when the king tasted it he spat it out in disgust; whereupon the cook said, “ Your Majesty, it is necessary to have exercised in the Spartan manner, and to have bathed in the Eurotas, in order to relish this broth.” [c]

3. The Spartans, after drinking in moderation at their public meals, go away without a torch. In fact, they are not permitted to walk with a light either on this route or on any other, so that they may become

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 697 E; Plutarch’s *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xii. (46 D); and the scholium on Plato’s *Laws*, 633 A.

[b] Plutarch, in his *Life of Lycurgus*, says, “ one of the kings of Pontus.”

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch’s *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xii. (46 E), when a slightly different version is given, as also in Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, v. 34 (98), and Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xxix. 100.

(237) ἐθίζωνται σκότους καὶ νυκτὸς εὐθαρσῶς καὶ ἀδεῶς ὁδεύειν.

4. Γράμματα ἕνεκα τῆς χρείας ἐμάνθανον· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων παιδευμάτων ξενηλασίαν ἐποιοῦντο, οὐ μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων ἢ λόγων. ἡ δὲ παιδεία ἦν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς καὶ καρτερεῖν πονοῦντα καὶ μαχόμενον νικᾶν ἢ ἀποθνῄσκειν.

B 5. Διετέλουν δὲ καὶ ἄνευ χιτῶνος, ἓν ἱμάτιον εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν λαμβάνοντες, αὐχμηροὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ ἀλειμμάτων κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπεχόμενοι.

6. Ἐκάθευδον δὲ οἱ νέοι ὁμοῦ κατ᾽ ἴλην καὶ κατὰ ἀγέλην ἐπὶ στιβάδων, ἃς αὐτοὶ συνεφόρουν, τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Εὐρώτᾳ πεφυκότος καλάμου τὰ ἄκρα ταῖς χερσὶν ἄνευ σιδήρου κατακλάσαντες· ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι τοὺς λεγομένους λυκόφονας[1] ὑπεβάλλοντο καὶ κατεμείγνυσαν ταῖς στιβάσι, θερμαντικὸν ἔχειν τι τῆς ὕλης δοκούσης.

7. Ἐρᾶν τῶν τὴν ψυχὴν σπουδαίων παίδων ἐφεῖτο· C τὸ δὲ πλησιάζειν αἰσχρὸν νενόμιστο, ὡς τοῦ σώματος ἐρῶντας ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς· ὁ δὲ ἐγκληθεὶς ὡς ἐπ᾽ αἰσχύνῃ πλησιάζων ἄτιμος διὰ βίου ἦν.

8. Ἔθος ἦν καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐρωτᾶσθαι ποῦ πορεύονται καὶ ἐπὶ τί,

[1] λυκόφονας in the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xvi.: λυκοφάνας or λυκοφώνας.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xii. (46 F); Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 5. 7; Plato, *Minos*, 320 A.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xvi. (50 B); Isocrates, *Panathenaicus*, 209.

[c] *Life of Lycurgus*, 50 C; Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 2. 4; Justinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, iii. 3. 5.

accustomed to travelling in darkness at night confidently and fearlessly.[a]

4. They learned to read and write for purely practical reasons; but all other forms of education they banned from the country, books and treatises being included in this quite as much as men. All their education was directed toward prompt obedience to authority, stout endurance of hardship, and victory or death in battle.[b]

5. They always went without a shirt, receiving one garment for the entire year, and with unwashed bodies, refraining almost completely from bathing and rubbing down.[c]

6. The young men slept together, according to division and company, upon pallets which they themselves brought together by breaking off by hand, without any implement, the tops of the reeds which grew on the banks of the Eurotas. In the winter they put beneath their pallets, and intermingled with them, the plant called lycophon, since the material is reputed to possess some warming qualities.[d]

7. Affectionate regard for boys of good character was permissible, but embracing them was held to be disgraceful, on the ground that the affection was for the body and not for the mind. Any man against whom complaint was made of any disgraceful embracing was deprived of all civic rights for life.[e]

8. It was the custom that the younger men should be questioned by the elder as to where they were going and for what, and also that the elder should

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xvi. (50 C).

[e] *Ibid.* chap. xviii. (51 D); Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 2. 12-14; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iii. 10 and 12.

(237) καὶ τὸν μὴ ἀποκρινόμενον ἢ προφάσεις πλέκοντα ἐπιπλήττειν· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπιπλήττων παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτάνοντα ἔνοχος ἦν τῷ ἴσῳ ἐπιτιμίῳ ᾧπερ καὶ ὁ ἁμαρτών· καὶ ὁ δυσχεραίνων δέ, εἰ ἐπιτιμῷτο, ἐν μεγάλῳ ὀνείδει ἦν.

9. Εἴ τις φωραθείη ἁμαρτάνων, ἔδει τοῦτον βωμόν τινα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κύκλῳ περιιέναι, D ψόγον ᾄδοντα πεποιημένον εἰς ἑαυτόν· ὅπερ ἦν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἐπιπλήττειν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ.

10. Καὶ τοὺς νέους δὲ οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἰδίους αἰδεῖσθαι πατέρας καὶ ὑπηκόους τούτοις εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἐντρέπεσθαι, καὶ ὁδῶν ὑποχωροῦντας καὶ καθέδρας ὑπεξισταμένους καὶ παρόντων[1] ἡσυχάζοντας. διὸ καὶ ἦρχεν ἕκαστος οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι τῶν αὑτοῦ τέκνων καὶ δούλων καὶ κτημάτων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ πλησίον, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα κοινωνῶσι καὶ φροντίζωσιν ὡς οἰκείων.

11. Παῖς δὲ ὑπό τινος κολασθείς, εἰ τῷ πατρὶ ἐξήγγειλεν, αἰσχρὸν ἦν τῷ πατρὶ μὴ προσεντεῖναι E ἀκούσαντα πάλιν ἑτέρας· ἐπίστευον γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ἐκ τῆς πατρίου ἀγωγῆς μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν προστάξαι τοῖς τέκνοις.

12. Κλέπτουσι δὲ οἱ νέοι καὶ τῶν σιτίων ὅ τι ἂν δύνωνται, μανθάνοντες εὐφυῶς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς καθεύδουσιν ἢ ῥᾳθύμως φυλάττουσι· τῷ δὲ ἁλόντι ζημία πληγαὶ καὶ τὸ πεινῆν. γλίσχρον γὰρ αὐτοῖς

[1] *παρόντων* Xylander: *παριόντων*.

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[a] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 2. 10.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xv. (48 c), where this form of punishment is visited upon the bachelors.

[c] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 232 B (3), *supra*.

rebuke the one who did not answer or tried to contrive plausible reasons.[a] And the elder who did not rebuke a younger who did wrong in his presence was liable to the same reprimand as the wrongdoer. And anyone who showed resentment, if he was reprimanded, was in great opprobrium.

9. If anyone was detected in wrongdoing he had to go round and round a certain altar in the city, chanting lines composed as a reprehension of himself, and this was nothing else than his own self rebuking himself.[b]

10. Moreover, the young men were required not only to respect their own fathers and to be obedient to them, but to have regard for all the older men, to make room for them on the streets, to give up their seats to them, and to keep quiet in their presence. As the result of this custom each man had authority, not as in other states over his own children, slaves, and property, but also over his neighbour's in like manner as over his own, to the end that the people should, as much as possible, have all things in common, and should take thought for them as for their own.[c]

11. When a boy was punished by anybody, if he told his father, it was a disgrace for his father, upon hearing this, not to give him another beating; for they had confidence one in another, as the result of their ancestral discipline, that no one had ordered their children to do anything disgraceful.[d]

12. The boys steal whatever they can of their food, learning to make their raids adroitly upon people who are asleep or are careless in watching. The penalty for getting caught is a beating and no food.

[d] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 6. 2.

ἐστι δεῖπνον, ὅπως δι' αὐτῶν ἀμυνόμενοι τὴν ἔνδειαν ἀναγκάζωνται τολμᾶν καὶ πανουργεῖν.

13. Τόδε[1] ἔργον τῆς σιτοδείας· διά τε ταῦτα γλί-
σχρα[2] ἦν καὶ ἵν' ἐθίζωνται μηδέποτε γίγνεσθαι
F πλήρεις, δύνασθαι δὲ πεινῆν· οὕτω γὰρ ᾤοντο καὶ
ἐν πολέμῳ χρησιμωτέρους ἔσεσθαι, εἰ δύναιντο
καὶ ἀσιτήσαντες ἐπιπονῆσαι· καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρους
δὲ καὶ εὐτελεστέρους, εἰ πλείω χρόνον διάγοιεν
ἀπὸ μικρᾶς δαπάνης· τὴν δ' ἀνοψίαν ὑποφέρειν,[3]
ὡς βρῶμα τὸ τυχὸν προσφέρεσθαι, ᾤοντο ὑγιει-
νότερα τὰ σώματα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλλειπούσης ποιεῖν
τροφῆς, νομίζοντες εἰς βάθος τε καὶ πλάτος ὁρμῇ[4]
πιεζόμενα[5] ἐπαίρειν εἰς ὕψος τὰ σώματα, καὶ καλὰ
δὲ ποιεῖν· τὰς γὰρ ἰσχνὰς καὶ διακένους ἕξεις
ὑπακούειν πρὸς τὴν διάρθρωσιν, τὰς δὲ πολυ-
τρόφους[6] διὰ βάρος ἀντιβαίνειν.

238 14. Ἐσπούδαζον δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ μέλη καὶ τὰς
ᾠδὰς οὐδὲν ἧττον· κέντρον δ' εἶχε ταῦτα ἐγερτικὸν
θυμοῦ καὶ φρονήματος καὶ παραστατικὸν ὁρμῆς
ἐνθουσιώδους καὶ πρακτικῆς. καὶ ἡ λέξις ἦν
ἀφελὴς καὶ ἄθρυπτος· οὐδὲν δ' ἕτερον εἶχεν ἢ
ἐπαίνους τῶν γεννικῶς ζησάντων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς
Σπάρτης ἀποθανόντων καὶ εὐδαιμονιζομένων, καὶ
ψόγους τῶν τρεσάντων ὡς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ κακο-

[1] *τόδε* F.C.B. (*τοῦτο* in the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xvii.): *τὸ δὲ*.
[2] *γλίσχρα* F.C.B.: *γλίσχρον*.
[3] *ὑποφέρειν* Meziriacus: *ἀποφέρειν*.
[4] *ὁρμῇ* F.C.B.: *μὴ*.
[5] *πιεζόμενα* Turnebus: *πιεζόμενον*.
[6] *πολυτρόφους* Xylander: *πολυτρόπους*.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xvii. (50 E); Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, ii. 6-9; Isocrates, *The*

For the dinner allowed them is meagre, so that, through coping with want by their own initiative, they may be compelled to be daring and unscrupulous.[a]

13. This was the object of the starvation diet. It was meagre both for the reasons given and purposely that the youth should never become accustomed to being sated, but to being able to go without food; for in this way, the Spartans thought, the youth would be more serviceable in war if they were able to carry on without food, and they would be more self-controlled and more frugal if they lived a very considerable time at small expense. And to put up with the plainest diet, so as to be able to consume anything that came to hand, they thought made the youths' bodies more healthy owing to the scanty food, and they believed that this practice caused the bodies, repressed in any impulse towards thickness and breadth, to grow tall, and also to make them handsome; for a spare and lean condition they felt served to produce suppleness, while an overfed condition, because of too much weight, was against it.[b]

14. They were no less seriously concerned over their music and their songs. These contained a stimulus to awaken a spirit of pride and to afford an inspiring and effective impulse. Their language was simple and plain, consisting merely of praise of those who had lived noble lives, and had died for Sparta, and are now counted among the blessed, and also censure of those who had played the coward, and now,

Panathenaicus, 211-214; Heracleides Ponticus, *Frag.* ii. 8, in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ii. p. 211.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xvii. (51 A) and Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 2. 5-6. Unfortunately the text of both passages is none too good.

(238) δαίμονα βιούντων βίον· ἐπαγγελίαν τε καὶ μεγαλαυχίαν πρὸς ἀρετὴν πρέπουσαν[1] ταῖς ἡλικίαις. (15) τριῶν οὖν χορῶν ὄντων κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡλικίας καὶ συνισταμένων ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, ὁ μὲν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχόμενος ᾖδεν,

ἆμες ποκ'[2] ἦμες ἄλκιμοι νεανίαι·

B εἶτα ὁ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀνδρῶν ἀμειβόμενος,

ἆμες δέ γ' εἰμές[3]· αἰ δὲ λῇς, αὐγάζεο·

ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὁ τῶν παίδων,

ἆμες δέ γ' ἐσσόμεσθα πολλῷ κάρρονες.

16. Καὶ οἱ ἐμβατήριοι δὲ ῥυθμοὶ παρορμητικοὶ προς ἀνδρείαν καὶ θαρραλεότητα καὶ ὑπερφρόνησιν θανάτου, οἷς ἐχρῶντο ἔν τε χοροῖς καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ἐπάγοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ γὰρ Λυκοῦργος παρέζευξε τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀσκήσει τὴν φιλομουσίαν, ὅπως τὸ ἄγαν πολεμικὸν τῷ ἐμμελεῖ κερασθὲν συμφωνίαν καὶ ἁρμονίαν ἔχῃ· διὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις προεθύετο ταῖς Μούσαις ὁ βασιλεύς, ἵνα λόγου ἀξίας παρέχωσι τὰς πράξεις οἱ μαχόμενοι
C καὶ μνήμης εὐκλεοῦς.

[1] ἐπαγγελίαν . . . μεγαλαυχίαν . . . πρέπουσαν Pantazides and F.C.B.: ἐπαγγελία . . . μεγαλαυχία . . . πρέπουσα. Kronenberg would put them all in the acc. plural.

[2] ποκ' *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxi.: ποτ'.

[3] εἰμές *Moralia*, 544 E: ἐσμέν.

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[a] Pollux, *Lexicon*, iv. 107, says that the three choirs were established by Tyrtaeus.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 544 E; Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxi. (53 B). Other references may be found in Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 661, or Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii. p. 197, or Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* (in the L.C.L.), iii. p. 530.

presumably, are living a tormenting and ill-fated existence; and therewith profession and boasting in regard to valour, such as was fitting for the different periods of life. (15) So there were three choirs,[a] corresponding to the three periods of life, which were made up at their festivals, and the choir of old men would begin with this song[b]:

Young valiant men long days ago were we.

Then the choir of men in the prime of life would sing in response,

And that are we; look, if you will, and see.

And the third choir, that of the boys, would sing,

And better far 'tis certain we shall be.

16. Moreover the rhythmic movement of their marching songs was such as to excite courage and boldness, and contempt for death; and these they used both in dancing, and also to the accompaniment of the flute when advancing upon the enemy. In fact, Lycurgus coupled fondness for music with military drill, so that the over-assertive warlike spirit, by being combined with melody, might have concord and harmony. It was for this reason that in time of battle the king offered sacrifice to the Muses before the conflict, so that those who fought should make their deeds worthy to be told and to be remembered with honour.[c]

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[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxi. (53 B-D); Thucydides, v. 70; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* ii. 31 M., 92 R.; Athenaeus, 632 F; Valerius Maximus, ii. 6. 2; Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii. p. 404.

(238) 17. Εἰ δέ τις παραβαίνοι τι τῆς ἀρχαίας μουσικῆς, οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Τέρπανδρον ἀρχαϊκώτερον ὄντα καὶ ἄριστον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν κιθαρῳδῶν καὶ τῶν ἡρωικῶν πράξεων ἐπαινέτην, ὅμως οἱ ἔφοροι ἐζημίωσαν καὶ τὴν κιθάραν αὐτοῦ προσεπαττάλευσαν φέροντες, ὅτι μίαν μόνην χορδὴν ἐνέτεινε περισσοτέραν τοῦ ποικίλου τῆς φωνῆς χάριν· μόνα γὰρ τὰ ἁπλούστερα τῶν μελῶν ἐδοκίμαζον. Τιμοθέου δὲ ἀγωνιζομένου τὰ Κάρνεια, εἷς τῶν ἐφόρων μάχαιραν λαβὼν ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν
D ἐκ ποτέρου τῶν μερῶν ἀποτέμῃ τὰς πλείους τῶν ἑπτὰ χορδῶν.

18. Τῶν δὲ τάφων[1] ἀνεῖλε τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτειν τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ πλησίον ἔχειν τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν ἱερῶν[2] συγχωρήσας. περιεῖλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς μιασμούς.[2] συνθάπτειν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίας θέντας τὸ σῶμα περιστέλλειν κατ' ἴσον ἅπαντας. ἀνεῖλε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν μνημείων, πλὴν τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων, καὶ τὰ πένθη καὶ τοὺς ὀδυρμούς.

19. Ἀποδημεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ ξενι-
E κῶν ἐθῶν καὶ βίων ἀπαιδεύτων μετέχωσι.

[1] *τάφων*] *ταφῶν* Bernardakis (probably from *ταφὰς* in the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xvii.).

[2] For *ἔχειν . . . ἱερῶν* Hartman would read *ἔχειν τὰ ἠρία*, and Kronenberg would omit *περιεῖλε . . . μιασμούς*, both contradicted by the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxvii.

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[a] For variant versions of the story see the note on *Moralia*, 220 c, *supra*.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxvii. (56 A), and Heracleides Ponticus, *Frag.* 2. 8, in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ii. p. 211.

17. If anyone presumed to transgress in any way the rules of the good old music, they would not permit this ; but even Terpander, one of the oldest and the best harp-player of his time as well as a devoted admirer of the deeds of heroes, the Ephors none the less fined, and carried away his instrument and nailed it to a wall because he put in just one extra string for the sake of the variety in the notes ; for they approved only the simpler melodies. Moreover, when Timotheus was competing at the Carneian Festival, one of the Ephors took a knife, and asked him on which side he should cut out the superfluous strings beyond the usual seven.[a]

18. Lycurgus did away with all superstitious fear connected with burials, granting the right to bury the dead within the city, and to have the tombs near the shrines. He also abolished the pollutions associated with death and burial. He permitted the people to bury nothing with their dead, but only to enfold the body in a red robe and olive leaves, and all to treat their dead alike. He also did away with the inscriptions on tombs, except of those who had met their end in war, and also did away with mourning and lamentation.[b]

19. It was not allowed them to go abroad, so that they should have nothing to do with foreign ways and undisciplined modes of living.[c]

[c] There are many references to the studied isolation of the early Spartans. The most important are Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxvii. (56 c), and the *Life of Agis*, chap. x. (799 D) ; Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 14. 4 ; Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1012 ; Aristotle, *Frag.* 543 (ed. Rose). *Cf.* also the note on *Moralia*, 237 A, *supra*, and the references given in the Teubner ed. of Plutarch's *Lives* (1926), iii. 2, p. 45 (*Lycurgus*, chap. xxvii.).

(238) 20. Καὶ ξενηλασίας δὲ εἰσηγήσατο, ὅπως οἱ παρεισρέοντες μὴ διδάσκαλοι κακοῦ τινος τοῖς πολίταις ὑπάρχωσι.

21. Τῶν πολιτῶν ὃς ἂν μὴ ὑπομείνῃ τὴν τῶν παίδων ἀγωγὴν οὐ μετεῖχε[1] τῶν τῆς πόλεως δικαίων.

22. Ἔνιοι δ' ἔφασαν ὅτι καὶ τῶν ξένων ὃς ἂν ὑπομείνῃ τὴν τοιαύτην ἄσκησιν τῆς πολιτείας κατὰ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ Λυκούργου μετεῖχε[1] τῆς ἀρχῆθεν
F διατεταγμένης μοίρας.

Πωλεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐξῆν. (23) τοῖς τῶν πλησίον δ' οἰκέταις ὡς ἰδίοις χρῆσθαι ἔθος ἦν, εἴ που δέοιντο, καὶ κυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις, εἰ μὴ οἱ δεσπόται χρῄζοιεν· καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ δὲ εἴ τίς τινος ἐλλιπὴς γενόμενος δεηθείη, ἀνοίξας καὶ βαστάσας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῦ ἔχοντος, τὰ σημεῖα[2] σημηνάμενος κατέλειπεν.

24. Ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις φοινικίσιν ἐχρῶντο· ἅμα μὲν γὰρ ἡ χρόα ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀνδρικὴ εἶναι, ἅμα δὲ τὸ αἱματῶδες τοῦ χρώματος πλείονα τοῖς ἀπείροις φόβον παρέχει[3]· καὶ τὸ μὴ εὐπερίφωρον δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι, ἐάν τις αὐτῶν πληγῇ, ἀλλὰ διαλανθάνειν διὰ τὸ ὁμόχρουν χρήσιμον.

25. Ὅταν στρατηγήματι τοὺς πολεμίους νική-

[1] μετεῖχε] μετέσχε would be preferable. E. Kurtz would read μετέχει, but the formal rules of grammar are not always observed!

[2] τὰ σημεῖα] Bernardakis would place after ἀνοίξας, as is suggested from Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 6. 7.

[3] παρέχει] παρέχειν some MSS.

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[a] See note *c* on previous page.

[b] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 3. 3.

[c] There is no doubt that some foreigners resided for a time at Sparta; Alcibiades, for example.

20. Lycurgus also introduced the practice of banning all foreigners from the country, so that these should not filter in and serve to teach the citizens something bad.[a]

21. Whosoever of the citizens would not submit to the discipline to which the boys were subjected had no participation in civic rights.[b]

22. Some used to assert that whosoever among the foreigners would submit to such discipline as was enjoined by the constitution in accordance with the programme of Lycurgus might become a member of the division assigned to him at the beginning.[c]

The selling of anything was not permitted; (23) but it was their custom to use the neighbours' servants as their own if they needed them and also their dogs and horses, unless the owners required them for their own use. And in the country, if anyone found himself lacking anything and had need of it, he would open an owner's storehouse and take away enough to meet his need, and then replace the seals and leave it.[d]

24. In wars they used red garments for two reasons: first, the colour they thought was a manly colour, and second, the blood-red hue causes more terror in the minds of inexperienced. Also, if anyone of them receive a wound, it is advantageous that it be not easily discovered by the enemy, but be unperceived by reason of the identity of colour.[e]

25. Whenever they overcome their enemies by

[d] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 6. 3-4; Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 5.

[e] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 2. 3; the scholium on Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 319; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, vi. 6; Valerius Maximus, ii. 6. 2.

σωσι, βοῦν τῷ Ἄρει θύουσιν· ὅταν δ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, ἀλεκτρυόνα, ἐθίζοντες τοὺς ἡγουμένους οὐ μόνον πολεμικοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγικοὺς εἶναι.

239 26. Ταῖς εὐχαῖς προστιθέασι τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι δύνασθαι.

27. Εὐχὴ δ' αὐτῶν διδόναι τὰ καλὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ πλέον οὐδέν.

28. Ἀφροδίτην σέβουσι τὴν ἐνόπλιον· καὶ πάντας δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς θήλεις καὶ ἄρρενας λόγχας ἔχοντας ποιοῦνται, ὡς ἁπάντων τὴν πολεμικὴν ἀρετὴν ἐχόντων.

29. Ἐπιλέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ παροιμιαζόμενοι

τὰν χεῖρα ποτιφέροντα τὰν τύχαν καλεῖν,

ὡς δέον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἐγχειρεῖν τι καὶ πράττειν, ἄλλως δὲ μή.

30. Τοῖς παισὶν ἐπεδείκνυον τοὺς εἵλωτας μεθύσαντες[1] εἰς ἀποτροπὴν πολυοινίας.

B 31. Ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ κόπτειν τὰς αὐλείους ἀλλ' ἔξωθεν βοᾶν.

32. Στλεγγίσιν οὐ σιδηραῖς ἀλλὰ καλαμίναις ἐχρῶντο.

33. Κωμῳδίας καὶ τραγῳδίας οὐκ ἠκροῶντο, ὅπως μήτε ἐν σπουδῇ μήτε ἐν παιδιᾷ ἀκούωσι τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων τοῖς νόμοις.

[1] μεθύσαντες Wyttenbach, as is plain from the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxviii. and the *Life of Demetrius*, chap. i.: μεθύσαντας.

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[a] *Cf.* the note on 232 D, *supra*.

[b] *Cf.* Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ii. p. 653, for the ancient versions of " God helps those who help themselves " ; also Babrius, *Fabulae*, no. 20.

outgeneralling them, they sacrifice a bull to Ares, but when the victory is gained in open conflict, they offer a cock, thus trying to make their leaders habitually not merely fighters but tacticians as well.

26. To their prayers they add the petition that they may be able to submit to injustice.

27. And their prayer is that the gods give them fair and honourable requital for their good deeds, and that is all.

28. They worship Aphrodite in her full armour, and the statues of all the gods, both female and male, they make with spear in hand to indicate that all the gods have the valour which war demands.[a]

29. Those fond of proverbs are wont to quote this on occasion :

Yer ain hand use when Fortune ye would call,

thus indicating that calling on the gods for aid ought to be accompanied by effort and action on one's own part, or else they should not be invoked.[b]

30. They used to make the Helots drunk and exhibit them to the young as a deterrent from excessive drinking.[c]

31. It was their custom not to knock on the outer doors but to call from outside.

32. The strigils which they used were not made of metal but of reeds.

33. They did not attend either comedy or tragedy, so that they might not hear anyone speak either in earnest or in jest against the laws.[d]

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 455 E ; Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxviii. (57 A) ; *Life of Demetrius*, chap. i. (889 A) ; Plato, *Laws*, 816 E ; Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, iii. chap. viii. *ad init.* (41. 5) ; Diogenes Laertius, i. 103.

[d] *Cf.* Plato, *Laws*, 816 ff. where a different conception is expressed.

(239) 34. Ἀρχίλοχον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γενόμενον αὐτῆς ὥρας ἐδίωξαν, διότι ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτὸν πεποιηκότα ὡς κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἀποβαλεῖν τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ἀποθανεῖν·

ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαΐων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἣν περὶ θάμνῳ
  ἔντος[1] ἀμώμητον κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων·
αὐτὸς δ' ἐξέφυγον θανάτου τέλος·[2] ἀσπὶς ἐκείνη
C ἐρρέτω· ἐξαῦθις κτήσομαι οὐ κακίω.

35. Κόραις καὶ κόροις κοινὰ τὰ ἱερά.

36. Σκιραφίδαν ἐζημίωσαν οἱ ἔφοροι, ὅτι ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἠδικεῖτο.

37. Σακκοφόρον ἀνεῖλον, διότι παρυφὴν εἰς τὸν σάκκον ἐνέβαλεν.

38. Τὸν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου νεανίσκον ἐπετίμων, ὅτι τὴν εἰς Πυλαίαν ὁδὸν ἠπίστατο.

39. Κηφισοφῶντα, εἰπόντα περὶ τοῦ τυχόντος δύνασθαι ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγειν, ἐξέβαλον, φάμενοι τὸν ἀγαθὸν μυθητὰν δεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἴσον τὸν λόγον ἔχειν.

40. Οἱ παῖδες παρ' αὐτοῖς ξαινόμενοι μάστιξι D δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Ὀρθίας Ἀρτέμιδος μέχρι θανάτου πολλάκις διακαρτεροῦσιν ἱλαροὶ καὶ γαῦροι, ἁμιλλώμενοι περὶ νίκης πρὸς

[1] ἔντος Brunck: ἐντὸς.

[2] αὐτὸς . . . τέλος omitted here, is found in Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrhon. Hypotyposes*, iii. 216 (p. 182).

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[a] For the numerous references to the action of Archilochus see Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii. p. 384, Archilochus, no. 6, or better Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, i. p. 213. *Cf.* also Horace, *Odes*, ii. 7. 10, and Valerius Maximus, vi. 3, ext. 1.

[b] What is meant is uncertain; possibly (as suggested by

34. Archilochus the poet, when he arrived in Sparta, they ordered to depart that very instant because they learned that he had written in his verses that it is better to throw away one's arms than to be killed[a]:

Shield that was mine, fair armour, now gladdens the heart
  of some Saian;
 Sorry I left it behind tangled in brush in my path;
But for myself I escaped from the clutches of Death. Let
  perdition
 Take the old shield, for no worse surely I'll get the
  next time.

35. The temples and religious services were open to maidens and youths alike.

36. The Ephors fined Sciraphidas because he was wronged by many.

37. They made away with a man who wore the very coarsest clothing, because he inserted a border in his garment.

38. They reprimanded the young man from the gymnasium because he knew well about the road to Pylaea.[b]

39. Cephisophon, who asserted that he could speak the whole day long on any topic whatsoever, they expelled from the country, saying that the good orator must keep his discourse equal to the subject in hand.[c]

40. The boys in Sparta were lashed with whips during the entire day at the altar of Artemis Orthia, frequently to the point of death, and they bravely endured this, cheerful and proud, vying with one another for the supremacy as to which one of them

the use of the word elsewhere) a place where men met for gossip and loose talk.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 208 c (3), *supra*.

(239) ἀλλήλους, ὅστις αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλέον τε καὶ μᾶλλον καρτερήσειε τυπτόμενος· καὶ ὁ περιγενόμενος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπίδοξός ἐστι. καλεῖται δὲ ἡ ἅμιλλα διαμαστίγωσις· γίγνεται δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος.

41. Ἓν δέ τι τῶν καλῶν καὶ μακαρίων ἐδόκει παρεσκευακέναι τοῖς πολίταις ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἀφθονίαν σχολῆς· τέχνης μὲν γὰρ ἅψασθαι βαναύσου τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἐξῆν· χρηματισμοῦ δὲ συναγωγὴν ἔχοντος ἐργώδη καὶ πραγματείας[1] οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἔδει
E διὰ τὸ κομιδῇ τὸν πλοῦτον ἄζηλον πεποιηκέναι καὶ ἄτιμον. οἱ δὲ εἵλωτες αὐτοῖς εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν ἀποφέροντες[2] ἀποφορὰν τὴν ἄνωθεν ἱσταμένην.[3] ἐπάρατον[4] δ' ἦν πλειόνός τινα μισθῶσαι, ἵνα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν κερδαίνοντες ἡδέως ὑπηρετῶσιν, οὗτοι δὲ μὴ πλέον ἐπιζητῶσιν.

42. Ἀπείρητο δ' αὐτοῖς ναύταις εἶναι καὶ ναυμαχεῖν· ὕστερον μέντοι ἐναυμάχησαν, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης κρατήσαντες πάλιν ἀπέστησαν, διαφθειρόμενα τὰ ἤθη τῶν πολιτῶν θεωροῦντες. ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετεβάλοντο καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι· καὶ γὰρ χρημάτων συναχθέντων τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, οἱ

[1] πραγματείας] πραγματείαν, *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxiv.

[2] ἀποφέροντες added by Turnebus.

[3] ἱσταμένην] ἑσταμένην most MSS.

[4] ἐπάρατον] ἀπόρρητον Wyttenbach.

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[a] There are many references to this practice, which seems to have been kept up even in Plutarch's time according to his *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xviii. (51 B). *Cf.* also his *Life of Aristeides*, chap. xvii. (329 D); Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 2. 9; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iii. p. 458 (Nicolaus Damasc., *Frag.* 114); Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 38; Philostratus, *Apollonius*, vi. 20, who explains the custom as originating in earlier human sacrifice, but on this see J. G.

could endure being beaten for the longer time and the greater number of blows. And the one who was victorious was held in especial repute. This competition is called 'The Flagellation,' and it takes place each year.[a]

41. One of the noble and blessed privileges which Lycurgus appears to have secured for his fellow-citizens was abundance of leisure. In fact it was not permitted them to take up any menial trade at all; and there was no need whatever of making money, which involves a toilsome accumulation, nor of busy activity, because of his having made wealth wholly unenvied and unhonoured. The Helots tilled the soil for them, paying a return which was regularly settled in advance. There was a ban against letting for a higher price, so that the Helots might make some profit, and thus be glad to do the work for their masters, and so that the masters might not look for any larger return.[b]

42. It was forbidden them to be sailors and to fight on the sea. Later, however, they did engage in such battles, and, after they had made themselves masters of the sea, they again desisted, since they observed that the character of the citizens was deteriorating sadly. But they changed about again, as in all else. For example, when money was amassed for the Spartans, those who amassed it were con-

Frazer in his commentary on Pausanias, iii. 16. 10. Among Latin writers *cf.*, for example, Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, ii. 14 (34).

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 214 A, *supra*, and the note; Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 7. 1-6; Isocrates, *Busiris*, 20; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iii. p. 458 (Nicolaus Damasc. *Frag.* 114); Josephus, *Against Apion*, ii. 229; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, vi. 6; Athenaeus, 657 D.

F συναγαγόντες θανάτῳ κατεδικάσθησαν. Ἀλκα-
μένει γὰρ καὶ Θεοπόμπῳ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι χρησμὸς
ἐδόθη

ἁ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλέει.[1]

ἀλλ' ὅμως Λύσανδρος ἑλὼν Ἀθηναίους πολὺν
χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον εἰσήγαγε, καὶ παρεδέξαντο
καὶ ἐτίμησαν τὸν ἄνδρα.

Τοῖς μὲν οὖν Λυκούργου χρωμένη νόμοις ἡ πόλις
καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμείνασα ἐπρώτευε τῆς Ἑλλάδος
εὐνομίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ χρόνον ἐτῶν πεντακοσίων· κατ'
ὀλίγον δὲ παραβαινομένων καὶ πλεονεξίας καὶ
240 φιλοπλουτίας παρεισδυομένης, καὶ τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως
ἠλαττοῦτο· καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι διὰ ταῦτα δυσμενῶς
εἶχον πρὸς αὐτούς. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως ἔχοντες μετὰ
τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ νίκην,
πάντων αὐτὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνα κατά τε γῆν
καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀναγορευσάντων, καὶ μεταξὺ
δ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν υἱὸν μετὰ τὴν Θηβαίων κατα-
στροφήν, μόνοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καίπερ ἀτείχιστον
πόλιν ἔχοντες καὶ ὀλίγοι πάνυ ὄντες διὰ τοὺς
συνεχεῖς πολέμους καὶ πολὺ ἀσθενέστεροι καὶ
εὐχείρωτοι γενόμενοι, πάνυ βραχέα τινὰ ζώπυρα
διασῴζοντες τῆς Λυκούργου νομοθεσίας, οὔτε
B συνεστράτευσαν οὔτε τούτοις οὔτε τοῖς μεταξὺ
Μακεδονικοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, οὔτ' εἰς συνέδριον κοινὸν
εἰσῆλθον οὐδὲ φόρον ἤνεγκαν· ἕως οὗ παντάπασιν

[1] ὀλέει or ἀπολεῖ F.C.B.: ὀλεῖ.

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[a] *Cf.* Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, i. p. 39, and i. p. 201, and the references there given; also Diodorus, viii. 12. 5, and Plutarch, *Life of Agis*, chap. ix. (799 B).

demned to death; for to Alcamenes and Theopompus, their kings, an oracle[a] had been given:

> Eager desire for money will bring the ruin of Sparta.

Yet, nevertheless, when Lysander had taken Athens, he brought home much gold and silver, and they accepted it, and bestowed honours on the man.

As long as the Spartan State adhered to the laws of Lycurgus and remained true to its oaths,[b] it held the first place in Greece for good government and good repute over a period of five hundred years.[c] But, little by little, as these laws and oaths were transgressed, and greed and love of wealth crept in, the elements of their strength began to dwindle also, and their allies on this account were ill-disposed towards them. But although they were in this plight, yet after the victory of Philip of Macedon at Chaeroneia,[d] when all the Greeks proclaimed him commander both on land and sea, and likewise, in the interval following, proclaimed Alexander, his son, after the subjugation of the Thebans,[e] the Spartans only, although they dwelt in an unwalled city, and were few in number because of their continual wars, and had become much weaker and an easy prey, still keeping alive some feeble sparks[f] of the laws of Lycurgus, did not take any part in the campaigns of these or of the other kings of Macedon who ruled in the interval following, nor did they ever enter the general congress or even pay tribute. So it was,

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[b] To abide by his laws until he should return. Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxix. (57 D).

[c] *Ibid.* 58 A; *cf.* also Diodorus, vii. 12. 8.

[d] In 338 B.C.

[e] In 335 B.C.

[f] An echo from Plato, *Laws*, 677 B.

(240) ὑπεριδόντες τὴν Λυκούργου νομοθεσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων πολιτῶν ἐτυραννεύθησαν μηδὲν ἔτι σῴζοντες τῆς πατρίου ἀγωγῆς, καὶ παραπλήσιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις γενόμενοι τὴν πρόσθεν εὔκλειαν καὶ παρρησίαν ἀπέθεντο καὶ εἰς δουλείαν μετέστησαν, καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐγένοντο.

until they ceased altogether to observe the laws of Lycurgus, and came to be ruled despotically by their own citizens, preserving nothing of their ancestral discipline any longer, and so they became much like the rest, and put from them their former glory and freedom of speech, and were reduced to a state of subjection; and now they, like the rest of the Greeks, have come under Roman sway.

SAYINGS OF SPARTAN WOMEN
(LACAENARUM APOPHTHEGMATA)

INTRODUCTION

Of the *Sayings of Spartan Women* the same may be said as of the *Sayings of Spartans.* It truly represents the work of Plutarch, and many of the sayings are repeated elsewhere in his writings; others perhaps in his writings that are now lost. Whether the sayings were collected in this form by Plutarch or by someone else is a matter of minor importance.

(240) C

ΛΑΚΑΙΝΩΝ ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ[1]

ΑΡΓΙΛΕΩΝΙΔΟΣ[1]

Ἀργιλεωνὶς ἡ Βρασίδου μήτηρ, τελευτήσαντος αὐτῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ὡς παραγενόμενοί τινες τῶν Ἀμφιπολιτῶν εἰς Σπάρτην ἧκον πρὸς αὐτήν, ἠρώτησεν εἰ καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως τῆς Σπάρτης ὁ υἱὸς ἐτελεύτα· μεγαλυνόντων δ᾽ ἐκεῖνον καὶ λεγόντων ἄριστον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἁπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι, εἶπεν, "ὦ ξένοι, καλὸς μὲν ἦν κἀγαθὸς ὁ παῖς μου, πολλοὺς δ᾽ ἄνδρας Λακεδαίμων ἔχει D τήνω κάρρονας."

ΓΟΡΓΟΥΣ

1. Γοργὼ βασιλέως Κλεομένους θυγάτηρ, Ἀρισταγόρου τοῦ Μιλησίου παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ὑπὲρ Ἰώνων καὶ ὑπισχνουμένου χρημάτων πλῆθος καὶ ὅσῳ ἀντέλεγε πλείονα προστιθέντος, "καταφθερεῖ σε," ἔφη, "ὦ πάτερ, τὸ ξενύλλιον, ἐὰν μὴ τάχιον αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκίας ἐκβάλῃς."

2. Προστάξαντος δέ ποτε αὐτῇ τοῦ πατρὸς δοῦναί τινι σῖτον εἰς μισθοῦ λόγον καὶ προστιθέντος, "ἐδίδαξε γάρ με τὸν οἶνον χρηστὸν ποιεῖν,"

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[1] The title, λακαινων αποφθεγματα, and the headings, αργιλεωνιδος, etc., are almost always omitted in the MSS.

SAYINGS OF SPARTAN WOMEN

ARGILEONIS

Argileonis, the mother of Brasidas, when her son had met his death,[a] and some of the citizens of Amphipolis arrived at Sparta and came to her, asked if her son had met his death honourably and in a manner worthy of Sparta. And when they proceeded to tell of his greatness, and declared that he was the best of all the Spartans in such enterprises, she said, "Sirs, my son was a gude and honourable mon, but Sparta has mony a mon better than him." [b]

GORGO[c]

1. Gorgo, daughter of king Cleomenes, when Aristagoras of Miletus was urging her father to enter upon the war against the Persian king in behalf of the Ionians, promising a vast sum of money, and, in answer to Cleomenes' objections, making the amount larger and larger, said, "Father, the miserable foreigner will be your ruin if you don't get him out of the house pretty soon!" [d]

2. Once when her father told her to give some grain to a man by way of remuneration, and added, "It is because he showed me how to make the wine

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[a] At the battle of Amphipolis, 422 B.C.

[b] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 190 B, *supra*.

[c] Gorgo later became the wife of Leonidas.

[d] *Cf.* Herodotus, v. 48-51.

(240) “ οὐκοῦν, ὦ πάτερ,” ἔφη, “ ὅ τ' οἶνος πλειων E ἐκποθήσεται καὶ οἱ πίνοντες θρυπτικώτεροι καὶ χείρονες γενήσονται.”

3. Τὸν δ' Ἀρισταγόραν ὑπό τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν ὑποδούμενον θεασαμένη, “ πάτερ,” ἔφη, “ ὁ ξένος χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχει.”

4. Ξένου δέ τινος μαλακῶς καὶ σχολῇ[1] προσαγαγόντος, παρωσαμένη αὐτόν, “ οὐκ ἄπει ἐντεῦθεν,” εἶπεν, “ οὐδὲ[2] τὰ τῆς γυναικὸς δυνάμενος;”

5. Ἐρωτηθεῖσα δὲ ὑπό τινος Ἀττικῆς, “ διὰ τί ὑμεῖς ἄρχετε μόναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ Λάκαιναι[3];” “ ὅτι,” ἔφη, “ καὶ τίκτομεν μόναι ἄνδρας.”

6. Προτρεπομένη δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα Λεωνίδαν ἐξιόντα εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἄξιον τῆς Σπάρτης φανῆναι, ἠρώτα τί χρὴ πράττειν· ὁ δὲ ἔφη, “ ἀγαθὸν γαμεῖν καὶ ἀγαθὰ τίκτειν.”

ΓΥΡΤΙΑΔΟΣ

1. Γυρτιάς, Ἀκροτάτου ποτὲ τοῦ θυγατριδοῦ αὐτῆς ἔκ τινος τῶν παίδων μάχης πολλὰς πληγὰς λαβόντος καὶ ἀπενεχθέντος οἴκαδε ὡς τεθνηκότος, κλαιόντων τῶν οἰκείων τε καὶ γνωρίμων, “ οὐ σιω-
F πήσετε;” ἔφη· ἔδειξε γὰρ οἵου αἵματος ἦν”· καὶ οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς βοᾶν ἀλλ' ἰατρεύεσθαι.

[1] *καὶ σχολῇ* (or *σχολῇ*)] *στολὴν* Stephanus, perhaps rightly.
[2] *οὐδὲ* Bernardakis: *οὔτε*.
[3] Λάκαιναι, the usual form: *λάκωναι*.

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[a] *Cf.* the note on *Moralia*, 218 D (4), where the same idea is attributed to Archidamus.

taste good,” she said, “ Then, father, there will be more wine drunk, and the drinkers will become more intemperate and depraved.” [a]

3. When she had watched Aristagoras having his shoes put on and laced by one of the servants, she said, “ Father, the foreigner hasn't any hands ! ” [b]

4. When a foreigner made advances in a mild and leisurely way, she pushed him aside, saying, “ Get away from here, you who cannot play a woman's part either ! ”

5. Being asked by a woman from Attica, “ Why is it that you Spartan women are the only women that lord it over your men,” she said, “ Because we are the only women that are mothers of men.” [c]

6. As she was encouraging her husband Leonidas, when he was about to set out for Thermopylae, to show himself worthy of Sparta, she asked what she should do ; and he said, “ Marry a good man, and bear good children.” [d]

GYRTIAS

1. Gyrtias, when on a time Acrotatus, her grandson, in a fight with other boys received many blows, and was brought home for dead, and the family and friends were all wailing, said, “ Will you not stop your noise ? He has shown from what blood he was sprung.” And she said that people who were good for anything should not scream, but should try to find some remedy.[e]

[b] *Cf.* Diogenes Laertius, vi. 44, where Diogenes the cynic goes Gorgo one better.
[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 227 E, *supra*, and the note.
[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 225 A (2), *supra*.
[e] The last sentence is borrowed from Plato, *Republic*, 604 C.

2. Ὅτε ἄγγελος ἦλθεν ἐκ Κρήτης τὸν Ἀκροτάτου θάνατον ἀπαγγέλλων, "οὐκ ἔμελλεν," ἔφη, "πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἥκων ἢ αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀποθανεῖσθαι ἢ κατακανεῖν[1] ἐκείνους; ἥδιον δ' ἀκούειν ὅτι ἀπέθανε καὶ ἑαυτῆς καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίως καὶ τῶν προγόνων, ἢ εἰ ἔζη τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον κακὸς ὤν."

ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΑΣ

Δαματρία τὸν υἱὸν δειλὸν καὶ ἀνάξιον ἑαυτῆς[2] ἀκούσασα, παραγενόμενον ἀνεῖλε· τὸ δ' ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῆς τόδε,

τὸν παραβάντα νόμους Δαμάτριον ἔκτανε μάτηρ
ἁ Λακεδαιμονία τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον.

ΛΑΚΑΙΝΩΝ ΑΔΗΛΩΝ

241 1. Ἑτέρα Λάκαινα τὸν υἱὸν λιποτακτήσαντα[3] ὡς ἀνάξιον τῆς πατρίδος ἀνεῖλεν, εἰποῦσα, "οὐκ ἐμὸν τὸ φίτυμα." ἐφ' ἧς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε,

ἔρρε κακὸν φίτυμα διὰ σκότος, οὗ διὰ μῖσος
Εὐρώτας δειλαῖς μηδ' ἐλάφοισι ῥέοι.
ἀχρεῖον σκυλάκευμα, κακὰ μερίς, ἔρρε ποθ' Ἅιδαν,
ἔρρε· τὸ μὴ Σπάρτας ἄξιον οὐδ' ἔτεκον.

[1] κατακανεῖν F.C.B.: κατακαίνειν.
[2] ἑαυτοῦ in some MSS.
[3] λιποτακτήσαντα, the preferred form: λειποτακτήσαντα.

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[a] Son of Areus I., king of Sparta. He fell in battle at Megalopolis in 265 B.C., but the fact that his father Areus had been fighting in Crete may account for the intrusion of Crete here. Pausanias (viii. 27. 11) makes a more serious error in confusing this Acrotatus with his grandfather of the same name.

2. When a messenger came from Crete bringing the news of the death of Acrotatus,[a] she said, "When he had come to the enemy, was he not bound either to be slain by them or to slay them? It is more pleasing to hear that he died in a manner worthy of myself, his country, and his ancestors than if he had lived for all time a coward."[b]

DAMATRIA

Damatria heard that her son had been a coward and unworthy of her, and when he arrived, she made away with him. This is the epigram[c] referring to her:

Sinner against our laws, Damatrius, slain by his mother,
Was of the Spartan youth; she was of Sparta too.

OTHER SPARTAN WOMEN TO FAME UNKNOWN

1. Another Spartan woman made away with her son, who had deserted his post, on the ground that he was unworthy of his country, saying, "Not mine the scion." This is the epigram referring to her[d]:

Off to your fate through the darkness, vile scion, who makes such a hatred,
So the Eurotas flow not e'en for the timorous deer.
Worthless whelp that you are, vile remnant, be off now to Hades;
Off! for never I bore Sparta's unworthy son.[e]

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[b] *Cf.* the similar saying of a Spartan woman, quoted by Teles in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, cviii. 83.
[c] *Cf.* the *Palatine Anthology*, vii. no. 433, or W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology* (in L.C.L.), ii. p. 238.
[d] *Cf.* the variant version in the *Palatine Anthology*, vii. no. 433 (or W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology* (in L.C.L.), ii. p. 238).
[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 242 A, *infra*.

(241) 2. Ἄλλη ἀκούσασα τὸν υἱὸν ἐν παρατάξει πεσόντα ἔφη,

> "δειλοὶ κλαιέσθωσαν· ἐγὼ δέ σε, τέκνον, ἄδακρυς
> θάπτω[1] τὸν καὶ ἐμὸν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον."

3. Ἀκούσασά τις τὸν υἱὸν σεσωσμένον καὶ πεφευγότα ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, γράφει αὐτῷ, "κακὰ φάμα τευ κακκέχυται· ἢ ταύταν νυν[2] ἔκνιψαι ἢ μὴ ἔσο."

B 4. Ἄλλη, τῶν υἱῶν φυγόντων ἐκ μάχης καὶ παραγενομένων ὡς αὐτήν, "ποῦ,[3]" φησίν, "ἥκετε δραπετεύσαντες, κακὰ ἀνδράποδα; ἢ δεῦρο ὅθεν ἐξέδυτε καταδυσόμενοι;" ἀνασυραμένη καὶ ἐπιδείξασα[4] αὐτοῖς.

5. Προσάγοντά τις τὸν υἱὸν θεασαμένη ἐπύθετο, "τί πράττει ἡ πατρίς;" εἰπόντος δέ, "πάντες ἀπολώλασι," κεραμίδα ἄρασα ἐπαφῆκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνεῖλεν, εἰποῦσα, "σὲ οὖν κακάγγελον ἔπεμψαν ἡμῖν;"

6. Διηγουμένου τινὸς τῇ μητρὶ γενναῖον θάνατον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, "εἶτ' οὐκ αἰσχρόν," εἶπε, "τῆς τοιαύτης συνοδίας ἀποτυχεῖν;"

C 7. Ἐκπέμψασά τις τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῆς πέντε ὄντας ἐπὶ πόλεμον, ἐν τοῖς προαστειίοις εἱστήκει καραδοκοῦσα τί ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀποβήσοιτο· ὡς δὲ παραγενόμενός τις πυθομένῃ ἀπήγγειλε τοὺς παῖδας ἅπαντας τετελευτηκέναι, "ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο

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[1] θάπτω S. A. Naber and Hartman: καὶ ἱλαρὰ θάπτω. Pantazides would omit καὶ ἐμὸν καὶ to accomplish the same result, but *cf.* 235 A.

[2] νυν Hatzidakis: νῦν.

[3] ποῦ] ποῖ Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, cviii. 83.

[4] ἐπιδείξασα] δείξασα *ibid.*

2. Another, hearing that her son had fallen on the field of battle, said:[a]

> "Let the poor cowards be mourned, but, with never a tear do I bury
> You, my son, who are mine, yea, and are Sparta's as well."

3. Another, hearing that her son had been saved and had run away from the enemy, wrote to him, "Ill report is spread about ye; aither clear yersel' of this or stop yer living."

4. Another, when her sons had run away from battle and come to her, said, "Where have you come now in your cowardly flight, vile varlets? Do you intend to slink in here whence you came forth?" And with these words she pulled up her garment and showed them.[b]

5. One woman, observing her son coming towards her, inquired, "How fares our country?" And when he said, "All have perished," she took up a tile and, hurling it at him, killed him, saying, "And so they sent you to bear the bad news to us!"

6. As a man was narrating to his mother the noble death of his brother, she said, "Isn't it a shame, then, to have missed his company on such a journey?"[c]

7. One woman sent forth her sons, five in number, to war, and, standing in the outskirts of the city, she awaited anxiously the outcome of the battle. And when someone arrived and, in answer to her inquiry, reported that all her sons had met death, she said,

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 235 A, *supra*.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 246 A, and Teles as quoted by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, cviii. 83.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 242 B (22), *infra*.

(241) ἐπυθόμην," εἶπε, " κακὸν ἀνδράποδον, ἀλλὰ τί πράττει ἡ πατρίς." φήσαντος δὲ ὅτι νικᾷ, " ἀσμένη τοίνυν," εἶπε, " δέχομαι καὶ τὸν τῶν παίδων θάνατον."

8. Θάπτουσά τις τὸν υἱόν, ὡς γραΐδιον εὐτελὲς προσελθὸν αὐτῇ, " ὦ γύναι, τᾶς τύχας," εἶπε, " νὴ τὼ σιὼ ἀλλὰ τᾶς καλᾶς γ'," ἔφη· " καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὗ ἕνεκεν ἔτεκον, ἵν' ὑπὲρ τᾶς Σπάρτας ἀποθάνῃ, D τοῦτό μοι συνέβη."

9. Σεμνυνομένης γυναικός τινος Ἰωνικῆς ἐπί τινι τῶν ἑαυτῆς ὑφασμάτων ὄντι πολυτελεῖ, Λάκαινα ἐπιδείξασα τοὺς τέτταρας υἱοὺς ὄντας κοσμιωτάτους, " τοιαῦτα," ἔφη, " δεῖ εἶναι τὰ τῆς καλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς γυναικὸς ἔργα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπαίρεσθαι καὶ μεγαλαυχεῖν."

10. Ἄλλη ἀκούσασα περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ὡς κακῶς ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης ἀναστρέφοιτο, ἔγραψε, " κακά τευ[1] φάμα κακκέχυται· ταύταν ἀπώθεν[2] ἢ μὴ ἔσο."

11. Παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Χίων φυγάδες ἐλθόντες εἰς Σπάρτην πολλὰ Παιδαρήτου[3] κατηγόρουν· μεταE πεμψαμένη δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Τελευτία καὶ ἀκούσασα ὧν ἐνεκάλουν, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῇ ἁμαρτάνειν ὁ υἱός, ἐπέστειλεν, " ἁ μάτηρ Παιδαρήτῳ[3]· ἢ βελτίονα πρᾶσσε ἢ αὖθι μένε, ἀπογνοὺς τὰν ἐς Σπάρταν σωτηρίαν."

[1] τευ Valckenaer as in no. 3 *supra* (241 A) and Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, cviii. 83: τοι.

[2] ἀπώθεν Hatzidakis (*cf.* Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, xiv. 22): ἀπόθεν.

[3] Παιδαρήτου, -τῳ] Πεδαρίτου, -τῳ is perhaps the correct spelling; *cf.* Thucydides, viii. 28.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxix. (612 C-D).

" I did not inquire about that, you vile varlet, but how fares our country ? " And when he declared that it was victorious, " Then," she said, " I accept gladly also the death of my sons." [a]

8. Another was burying her son, when a commonplace old woman came up to her and said, " Ah the bad luck of it, you puir woman." " No, by Heaven," said she, " but good luck ; for I bore him that he might die for Sparta, and this is the very thing that has come to pass for me." [b]

9. When a woman from Ionia showed vast pride in a bit of her own weaving, which was very valuable, a Spartan woman pointed to her four sons, who were most well-behaved, and said, " Such should be the employments of the good and honourable woman, and it is over these that she should be elated and boastful." [c]

10. Another, hearing about her son that he was conducting himself badly in a foreign land, wrote to him, " Ill report is spread about ye ; pit this from ye or else stop yer living." [d]

11. Of somewhat similar character is this : Chian exiles came to Sparta, and accused Paedaretus of many misdeeds ; whereupon his mother Teleutia sent for them and, after listening to their complaints, feeling that her son was in the wrong, sent him this letter : " Mither to Paedaretus. Aither dae better, or stay whare ye are, and gie up hope o' gaen back safe to Sparta."

[b] The story is told also by Teles in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, cviii. 83; *cf.* also Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 42 (102).

[c] *Cf.* Severus in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, v. 47, and the similar story of the Roman Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 241 A (3), *supra.*

12. Ἑτέρα ἐπ' ἀδικήματι τῷ παιδὶ κρινομένῳ, “ τέκνον,” εἶπεν, “ ἢ τὰς αἰτίας ἢ σεαυτὸν τοῦ ζῆν ἀπόλυσον.”

13. Ἄλλη χωλὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ παράταξιν προπέμπουσα, “ τέκνον,” εἶπε, “ κατὰ βῆμα τῆς ἀρετῆς μέμνησο.”

14. Ἄλλη, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῇ ἀφικομένου ἀπὸ παρατάξεως τετρωμένου τὸν πόδα καὶ σφόδρα
F ἀλγοῦντος, “ ἐὰν τῆς ἀρετῆς,” εἶπε, “ μεμνῇ, ὦ τέκνον, καὶ ἄπονος ἔσῃ καὶ θαρρήσεις.”

15. Λάκων τρωθεὶς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ βαδίζειν μὴ δυνάμενος, τετραποδιστὶ ὥδευεν. αἰσχυνομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ εἶναι[1] γελοίῳ ἡ μήτηρ, “ καὶ πόσῳ βέλτιον, ὦ τέκνον,” εἶπε, “ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ γεγηθέναι ἢ αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι ἀνοήτῳ;”

16. Ἄλλη προσαναδιδοῦσα τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ παρακελευομένη, “ τέκνον,” ἔφη, “ ἢ τὰν ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς.”

17. Ἄλλη προϊόντι τῷ υἱῷ ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἀναδιδοῦσα τὴν ἀσπίδα, “ ταύτην,” ἔφη, “ ὁ πατήρ σοι ἀεὶ ἔσῳζε· καὶ σὺ οὖν ἢ ταύτην σῷζε ἢ μὴ ἔσο.”

18. Ἄλλη πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν λέγοντα μικρὸν ἔχειν τὸ ξίφος εἶπε, “ καὶ βῆμα πρόσθες.”

242 19. Ἄλλη ἀκούσασα, ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς ἐν παρατάξει ἀνδραγαθήσας ἀπέθανεν, “ ἐμὸς γὰρ ἦν,”

12. Another, when her son was being tried for some offence, said to him, “ My child, either rid yourself of the charges, or rid yourself of life.”

13. Another, as she accompanied a lame son on his way to the field of battle, said, “ At every step, my child, remember your valour.” [a]

14. Another, when her son came back to her from the field of battle wounded in the foot, and in great pain, said, “ If you remember your valour, my child, you will feel no pain, and be quite cheerful.” [a]

15. A Spartan, wounded in battle and unable to walk, was crawling on all fours. He was mortified at being so ridiculous ; but his mother said to him, “ How much better to be joyful over your bravery rather than to be mortified at silly laughter.”

16. Another, as she handed her son his shield, exhorted him, saying, “ Either this or upon this.” [b]

17. Another, as her son was going forth to war, said, as she gave the shield into his hands, “ This shield your father kept always safe for you ; do you, therefore, keep it safe, or cease to live.”

18. Another, in answer to her son who said that the sword which he carried was short,[c] said, “ Add a step to it.”

19. Another, hearing that her son had been slain fighting bravely in the line of battle, said, “ Yes, he

[1] *εἶναι* F.C.B., *ἐπὶ τῷ* Wyttenbach : *ἐν*.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 331 B ; Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, vii. 29 ; Cicero, *De oratore*, ii. 61 (249).

[b] Referred to Gorgo as the author by Aristotle in his *Aphorisms*, as quoted by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, vii. 31, but it is often spoken of as a regular Spartan custom. *Cf.*, for example, the scholium on Thucydides, ii. 39.

Ancient writers were not agreed whether the second half meant to fall upon the shield (dead or wounded) or to be brought home dead upon it. In support of the second (traditional) interpretation *cf. Moralia*, 235 A, and Valerius Maximus, ii. 7, ext. 2.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 191 E, *supra*.

(242) εἶπε. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου[1] πυθομένη ὅτι ἀποδειλιάσας σῴζεται, “ οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐμός,” ἔφη.

20. Ἑτέρα ἀκούσασα τεθνάνα τὸν υἱὸν ἐν μάχῃ καθάπερ ἐτέτακτο “ κάτθετε[2] αὐτόν,” ἔφη, “ ἀναπληρωσάτω δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τάξιν ὁ ἀδελφός.”

21. Ἄλλη πομπὴν τελοῦσα πάνδημον ἤκουσεν ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως νικᾶν τὸν υἱόν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τραυμάτων πολλῶν γενομένων θνῄσκειν. οὐ περιελομένη οὖν τὸν στέφανον, ἀλλὰ σεμνυνθεῖσα πρὸς τὰς πλησίον εἶπεν, “ ὡς πολλῷ κάλλιον, ὦ φίλαι, B ἐστὶν ἐν παρατάξει νικῶντα τελευτᾶν ἢ τὰ Ὀλύμπια περιγιγνόμενον ζῆν.”

22. Διηγουμένου τινὸς τῇ ἀδελφῇ γενναῖον θάνατον τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς, ἐκείνη εἶπεν ὅτι “ ὅσον ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ γέγηθα, τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ σοὶ ἄχθομαι, ἐναρέτου συνοδίας ἀπολειφθέντι.”

23. Λακαίνῃ τις προσέπεμψεν, εἰ φθορᾷ συνεπινεύει. ἡ δ’ ἔφη, “ παῖς μὲν οὖσα ἔμαθον τῷ πατρὶ πείθεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἔπραξα· γυνὴ δὲ γενομένη τῷ ἀνδρί· εἰ οὖν δίκαιά με παρακαλεῖ, τούτῳ φανερὸν ποιησάτω πρῶτον.”

24. Παρθένος πενιχρὰ ἐρωτηθεῖσα τίνα δίδωσι τῷ γαμοῦντι προῖκα, “ τὴν πάτριον,” ἔφη, “ σωφροσύνην.”

C 25. Λάκαινα ἐρωτηθεῖσα εἰ τἀνδρὶ[3] προσελήλυθεν, “ οὐκ ἐγώ,” εἶπεν, “ ἀλλ’ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐμοί.”

[1] *τοῦ ἑτέρου*] *του ἑτέρου* Wyttenbach, but *cf.* no. 1 *supra* (241 A).

[2] *κάτθετε*] *θάπτετε* S. A. Naber.

[3] *τἀνδρὶ* A. Platt as in *Moralia*, 140 C: *ἀνδρὶ* MSS.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 241 A, *supra*.

[b] *Cf.* the somewhat similar story about Xenophon in *Moralia*, 118 F.

was mine.” But learning in regard to her other son that he had played the coward and saved his life, she said, “ No, he was not mine.” [a]

20. Another, hearing that her son had been killed in battle on the spot where he had been placed, said, “ Lay him away, and let his brother take his place.”

21. Another, engaged in conducting a solemn public procession, heard that her son was victorious on the field of battle, but that he was dying from the many wounds he had received. She did not remove the garland from her head, but with a proud air said to the women near her, “ How much more noble, my friends, to be victorious on the field of battle and meet death, than to win at the Olympic games and live ! ” [b]

22. As a man was relating to his sister the noble death of her son, she said, “ As glad as I am for him, I am sorry for you that you were left behind when you might have gone in such brave company.” [c]

23. A man sent to a Spartan woman to ask if she were inclined to look with favour upon seduction ; she replied, “ When I was a child I learned to obey my father, and made that my practice. Then when I became a married woman, my husband took that place. So if the man's proposal is honourable, let him lay the matter before my husband first.”

24. A poor girl, being asked what dowry she brought to the man who married her, said, “ The family virtue.”

25. A Spartan woman, being asked if she had made advances to her husband, said, “ No, but my husband has made them to me.” [d]

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 241 B (6), *supra*.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 140 C.

(242) 26. Κρύφα τις διαπαρθενευθεῖσα καὶ διαφθείρασα τὸ βρέφος οὕτως ἐνεκαρτέρησε μηδεμίαν προενεγκαμένη φωνήν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἄλλους πλησίον ὄντας λαθεῖν ἀποκυήσασα· τὸ γὰρ μέγεθος τῶν ἀλγηδόνων τῇ εὐσχημοσύνῃ τὸ ἄσχημον προσπεσὸν ἐνίκησε.

27. Λάκαινα πιπρασκομένη καὶ ἐρωτωμένη τί ἐπίσταται, ἔφη, " πιστὰ ἦμεν."

28. Ἄλλη αἰχμαλωτευθεῖσα καὶ ἐρωτωμένη παραπλησίως, " εὖ οἰκεῖν οἶκον," ἔφη.

29. Ἐρωτηθεῖσά τις ὑπό τινος, εἰ ἔσται ἀγαθή, ἂν αὐτὴν ἀγοράσῃ, εἶπε, " κἂν μὴ ἀγοράσῃς."

D 30. Ἄλλη πιπρασκομένη, τοῦ κήρυκος πυνθανομένου τί ἐπίσταται, " ἐλευθέρα," εἶπεν, " ἦμεν." ὡς δὲ ὁ ὠνησάμενος προσέταττέ τινα αὐτῇ οὐχ ἁρμόζοντα ἐλευθέρᾳ, εἰποῦσα, " οἰμώξῃ φθονήσας σεαυτῷ τοιούτου κτήματος," ἐξήγαγεν ἑαυτήν.

26. A girl had secret relations with a man, and, after bringing on an abortion, she bore up so bravely, not uttering a single sound, that her delivery took place without the knowledge of her father and others who were near. For the confronting of her indecorum with decorum gained the victory over the poignant distress of her pains.

27. A Spartan woman who was being sold as a slave, when asked what she knew how to do, said, " To be faithful."

28. Another, taken captive, and asked a similar question, said, " To manage a house well."

29. Another, asked by a man if she would be good if he bought her, said, " Yes, and if you do not buy me." [a]

30. Another who was being sold as a slave, when the crier inquired of her what she knew how to do, said, " To be free." And when the purchaser ordered her to do something not fitting for a free woman, she said, " You will be sorry that your meanness has cost you such a possession," and committed suicide.[b]

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 234 c (39), *supra*.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 234 B (37 and 38), *supra*.

BRAVERY OF WOMEN
(MULIERUM VIRTUTES)

INTRODUCTION

PLUTARCH's well-chosen selection of stories about the bravery of women was composed for his friend Clea, who held high office among the priestesses at Delphi, and to whom he dedicated also his treatise on Isis and Osiris. He speaks of it as a supplement to a conversation on the equality of the sexes, which he had with Clea on the occasion of the death of Leontis, of blessed memory, suggested no doubt by the noble character of the departed. It is not impossible that some of the topics discussed in that conversation are included here also, so as to make the book a complete and finished whole.

The treatise stands as No. 126 in Lamprias's list of Plutarch's works.

Polyaenus drew freely from this book to embellish his *Strategemata*, as a glance at the notes on the following pages will show.

Novelists who still write of virtuous women and heartless villains may find some material in this work of Plutarch's. They need not be ashamed to glean where a great poet has reaped.

E Περὶ ἀρετῆς, ὦ Κλέα, γυναικῶν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν
τῷ Θουκυδίδῃ γνώμην ἔχομεν. ὁ μὲν γάρ, ἧς ἂν
ἐλάχιστος ᾖ παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ψόγου πέρι ἢ ἐπαίνου
λόγος, ἀρίστην ἀποφαίνεται, καθάπερ τὸ σῶμα καὶ
τοὔνομα τῆς ἀγαθῆς γυναικὸς οἰόμενος δεῖν κατάκλειστον
εἶναι καὶ ἀνέξοδον. ἡμῖν δὲ κομψότερος
F μὲν ὁ Γοργίας φαίνεται, κελεύων μὴ τὸ εἶδος ἀλλὰ
τὴν δόξαν εἶναι πολλοῖς γνώριμον τῆς γυναικός·
ἄριστα δ' ὁ Ῥωμαίων δοκεῖ νόμος ἔχειν, ὥσπερ
ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ δημοσίᾳ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν
τοὺς προσήκοντας ἀποδιδοὺς ἐπαίνους. διὸ καὶ
Λεοντίδος τῆς ἀρίστης ἀποθανούσης, εὐθύς τε
μετὰ σοῦ τότε πολὺν λόγον εἴχομεν οὐκ ἀμοιροῦντα
παραμυθίας φιλοσόφου, καὶ νῦν, ὡς ἐβουλήθης,[1] τὰ
ὑπόλοιπα τῶν λεγομένων εἰς τὸ μίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν
243 αὐτὴν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἀρετὴν προσανέγραψά
σοι, τὸ ἱστορικὸν ἀποδεικτικὸν ἔχοντα καὶ πρὸς
ἡδονὴν μὲν ἀκοῆς οὐ συντεταγμένα[2]· εἰ δὲ τῷ
πείθοντι καὶ τὸ τέρπον ἔνεστι φύσει τοῦ παρα-

[1] ἐβουλήθης the preferable form: ἠβουλήθης.

[2] συντεταγμένα the Basel edition of 1542: συντεταγμένην.

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[a] Thucydides, ii. 45.

Regarding the virtues of women, Clea, I do not hold the same opinion as Thucydides.[a] For he declares that the best woman is she about whom there is the least talk among persons outside regarding either censure or commendation, feeling that the name of the good woman, like her person, ought to be shut up indoors and never go out.[b] But to my mind Gorgias appears to display better taste in advising that not the form but the fame of a woman should be known to many. Best of all seems the Roman custom,[c] which publicly renders to women, as to men, a fitting commemoration after the end of their life. So when Leontis, that most excellent woman, died, I forthwith had then a long conversation with you, which was not without some share of consolation drawn from philosophy, and now, as you desired, I have also written out for you the remainder of what I would have said on the topic that man's virtues and woman's virtues are one and the same. This includes a good deal of historical exposition, and it is not composed to give pleasure in its perusal. Yet, if in a convincing argument delectation is to be found also by reason of

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 217 F, *supra*.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Camillus*, chap. viii. (133 B), Livy, v. 50; Cicero, *De oratore*, ii. 11 (44).

(243) δείγματος, οὐ φεύγει χάριν ἀποδείξεως συνεργὸν ὁ λόγος οὐδ' αἰσχύνεται

ταῖς Μούσαις
τὰς Χάριτας συγκαταμιγνὺς
καλλίσταν[1] συζυγίαν,

ὥς Εὐριπίδης φησίν, ἐκ τοῦ φιλοκάλου μάλιστα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναδούμενος τὴν πίστιν.

Φέρε γάρ, εἰ λέγοντες τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι ζωγραφίαν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν παρειχόμεθα τοιαύτας γραφὰς γυναικῶν, οἵας Ἀπελλῆς ἀπολέλοιπεν ἢ Ζεῦξις ἢ Νικόμαχος, ἆρ' ἄν τις ἐπετίμησεν ἡμῖν, ὡς τοῦ B χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ πείθειν στοχαζομένοις; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶμαι.

Τί δέ; ἐὰν ποιητικὴν πάλιν ἢ μαντικὴν[2] ἀποφαίνοντες οὐχ ἑτέραν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἑτέραν δὲ γυναικῶν οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτήν, τὰ Σαπφοῦς μέλη τοῖς Ἀνακρέοντος ἢ τὰ Σιβύλλης λόγια τοῖς Βάκιδος ἀντιπαραβάλλωμεν,[3] ἕξει τις αἰτιάσασθαι δικαίως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ὅτι χαίροντα καὶ τερπόμενον ἐπάγει τῇ πίστει τὸν ἀκροατήν; οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν εἴποις.

Καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρετῆς γυναικείας καὶ ἀνδρείας ὁμοιότητα καὶ διαφορὰν ἄλλοθεν καταμαθεῖν C μᾶλλον, ἢ βίους βίοις καὶ πράξεσι πράξεις ὥσπερ ἔργα μεγάλης τέχνης παρατιθέντας ἅμα καὶ σκοποῦντας, εἰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει χαρακτῆρα καὶ τύπον ἡ Σεμιράμεως μεγαλοπραγμοσύνη τῇ Σεσώ-

[1] ταῖς Μούσαις τὰς Χάριτας . . . καλλίσταν] τὰς Χάριτας [ταῖς] Μούσαις . . . ἁδίσταν Euripides MSS.: καλλίστην Plut. MSS.

[2] μαντικὴν Cobet: μιμητικήν.

[3] ἀντιπαραβάλλωμεν Dinse: ἀντιπαραβάλλοιμεν.

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[a] *Hercules Furens*, 673. Plutarch probably quoted from

the very nature of the illustration, then the discussion is not devoid of an agreeableness which helps in the exposition, nor does it hesitate

To join
The Graces with the Muses,
A consorting most fair,

as Euripides says,[a] and to pin its faith mostly to the love of beauty inherent to the soul.

If, conceivably, we asserted that painting on the part of men and women is the same, and exhibited paintings, done by women, of the sort that Apelles, or Zeuxis, or Nicomachus has left to us, would anybody reprehend us on the ground that we were aiming at giving gratification and allurement rather than at persuasion? I do not think so.

Or again, if we should declare that the poetic or the prophetic art is not one art when practised by men and another when practised by women, but the same, and if we should put the poems of Sappho side by side with those of Anacreon, or the oracles of the Sibyl with those of Bacis, will anybody have the power justly to impugn the demonstration because these lead on the hearer, joyous and delighted,[b] to have belief in it? No, you could not say that either?

And actually it is not possible to learn better the similarity and the difference between the virtues of men and of women from any other source than by putting lives beside lives and actions beside actions, like great works of art, and considering whether the magnificence of Semiramis has the same character and pattern as that of Sesostris, or the intelligence of

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memory, as he made one transposition and one substitution. *Cf.* the critical note.

[b] *Cf.* Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 426.

(243) στριος ἢ ἡ Τανακυλλίδος σύνεσις τῇ Σερουίου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἢ τὸ Πορκίας φρόνημα τῷ Βρούτου καὶ τὸ Πελοπίδου τῷ Τιμοκλείας, κατὰ τὴν κυριωτάτην κοινότητα[1] καὶ δύναμιν· ἐπειδὴ διαφοράς γέ τινας ἑτέρας, ὥσπερ χροιὰς ἰδίας, αἱ ἀρεταὶ διὰ τὰς φύσεις λαμβάνουσι καὶ συνεξομοιοῦνται τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἔθεσι καὶ κράσεσι σωμάτων καὶ τροφαῖς καὶ διαίταις· ἄλλως γὰρ ἀνδρεῖος ὁ D Ἀχιλλεὺς ἄλλως ὁ Αἴας· καὶ φρόνησις Ὀδυσσέως οὐχ ὁμοία τῇ Νέστορος οὐδὲ δίκαιος ὡσαύτως Κάτων καὶ Ἀγησίλαος, οὐδ' Εἰρήνη φίλανδρος ὡς Ἄλκηστις οὐδὲ Κορνηλία μεγαλόφρων ὡς Ὀλυμπιάς. ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ τοῦτο πολλὰς καὶ διαφόρους ποιῶμεν ἀνδρείας καὶ φρονήσεις καὶ δικαιοσύνας, ἂν μόνον τοῦ λόγου τοῦ οἰκείου μηδεμίαν αἱ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀνομοιότητες ἐκβιβάζωσι.[2]

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄγαν περιβόητα καὶ ὅσων οἶμαί σε βεβαίως[3] βιβλίοις ἐντυχοῦσαν ἱστορίαν ἔχειν καὶ γνῶσιν ἤδη παρήσω· πλὴν εἰ μή τινα τοὺς τὰ κοινὰ καὶ δεδημευμένα πρὸ ἡμῶν ἱστορήσαντας ἀκοῆς ἄξια διαπέφευγεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ γυναιξὶν ἄξια λόγου πέπρακται, E βραχέα τῶν κοινῶν οὐ χεῖρόν ἐστι προϊστορῆσαι.

[1] κοινότητα Meziriacus: καινότητα.

[2] ἐκβιβάζωσι Wyttenbach: ἐκβιάζωσι.

[3] βεβαίως F.C.B. (note the same slip in the MSS. in 243 B): βεβαίοις.

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[a] *Cf.* Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters*, and *Places*, chap. xxiii. (Hippocrates in the L.C.L., i. p. 132); Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, i. 33 (80); Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, iii. 8;

Tanaquil the same as that of Servius the king, or the high spirit of Porcia the same as that of Brutus, or that of Pelopidas the same as Timocleia's, when compared with due regard to the most important points of identity and influence. For the fact is that the virtues acquire certain other diversities, their own colouring as it were, due to varying natures, and they take on the likeness of the customs on which they are founded, and of the temperament of persons and their nurture and mode of living.[a] For example, Achilles was brave in one way and Ajax in another; and the wisdom of Odysseus was not like that of Nestor, nor was Cato a just man in exactly the same way as Agesilaus, nor Eirene fond of her husband in the manner of Alcestis, nor Cornelia high-minded in the manner of Olympias. But, with all this, let us not postulate many different kinds of bravery, wisdom, and justice—if only the individual dissimilarities exclude no one of these from receiving its appropriate rating.

Those incidents which are so often recited, and those of which I assume that you, having kept company with books, have assuredly record and knowledge, I will pass over for the present; but with this exception: if any tales worthy of perusal have escaped the attention of those who, before our time, have recorded the commonly published stories. Since, however, many deeds worthy of mention have been done by women both in association with other women and by themselves alone, it may not be a bad idea to set down first a brief account of those commonly known.

cf. Diogenes Laertius, vii. 127, for the statement of the contrary view.

1. ΤΡΩΙΑΔΕΣ

Τῶν ἀπ' Ἰλίου περὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν ἐκφυγόντων οἱ πλεῖστοι χειμῶνι χρησάμενοι, καὶ δι' ἀπειρίαν τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ ἄγνοιαν τῆς θαλάττης ἀπενεχθέντες εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν ποταμὸν ὅρμοις καὶ ναυλόχοις ἀναγκαίοις μόλις ὑποδραμόντες, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπλανῶντο περὶ τὴν χώραν φραστήρων F δεόμενοι, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἐμπίπτει λογισμός, ὡς ἡτισοῦν ἵδρυσις ἐν γῇ πάσης[1] πλάνης καὶ ναυτιλίας εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς πράττουσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀμείνων ἐστί, καὶ πατρίδα δεῖ[2] ποιεῖν αὐτούς, ἀπολαβεῖν ἣν ἀπολωλέκασι μὴ δυναμένους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμφρονήσασαι κατέφλεξαν τὰ πλοῖα, μιᾶς καταρξαμένης ὥς φασι Ῥώμης. πράξασαι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπήντων βοηθοῦσι πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ φοβούμεναι τὴν ὀργὴν αἱ μὲν ἀνδρῶν 244 αἱ δ' οἰκείων ἀντιλαμβανόμεναι καὶ καταφιλοῦσαι λιπαρῶς, ἐξεπράυναν τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς φιλοφροσύνης. διὸ καὶ γέγονε καὶ παραμένει ταῖς Ῥωμαίων γυναιξὶν ἔτι νῦν ἔθος ἀσπάζεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ καταφιλεῖν τοὺς κατὰ γένος προσήκοντας αὐταῖς.

Συνιδόντες γὰρ ὡς ἔοικε τὴν ἀνάγκην οἱ Τρῶες καὶ ἅμα πειρώμενοι τῶν ἐγχωρίων, εὐμενῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως προσδεχομένων, ἠγάπησαν τὸ πραχθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ συγκατῴκησαν αὐτόθι τοῖς Λατίνοις.

[1] πάσης Xylander: πάσῃ.

[2] δεῖ Xylander: δέ.

I. THE TROJAN WOMEN[a]

Most of those that escaped from Troy at the time of its capture had to weather a storm, and, because of their inexperience in navigation and ignorance of the sea, were driven upon the shores of Italy, and, in the neighbourhood of the river Tiber, they barely escaped by running in, under compulsion, where there were anchorages and havens. While the men were wandering about the country, in search of information, it suddenly occurred to the women to reflect that for a happy and successful people any sort of a settled habitation on land is better than all wandering and voyaging, and that the Trojans must create a fatherland, since they were not able to recover that which they had lost. Thereupon, becoming of one mind, they burned the ships, one woman, Roma, taking the lead. Having accomplished this, they went to meet the men who were hurrying to the sea to save the ships, and, fearful of their anger, some embraced their husbands and some their relatives, and kissed them coaxingly, and mollified them by this manner of blandishment. This is the origin of the custom, which still persists among the Roman women, of greeting their kinsfolk with a kiss.

The Trojans, apparently realizing the inevitable necessity, and after having also some experience with the native inhabitants, who received them kindly and humanely, came to be content with what had been done by the women, and took up their abode there with the Latins.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 265 B; Plutarch's *Life of Romulus*, chap. i. (17 F); Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 25. 2. The story differs in some details from Virgil's account, as was noted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his *Roman Antiquities*, i. 72-73.

II. ΦΩΚΙΔΕΣ

(244) Τὸ δὲ τῶν Φωκίδων ἐνδόξου μὲν οὐ τετύχηκε B συγγραφέως, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν γυναικείων ἔλαττον εἰς ἀρετήν ἐστι, μαρτυρούμενον ἱεροῖς τε μεγάλοις, ἃ δρῶσι Φωκεῖς ἔτι νῦν περὶ Ὑάμπολιν, καὶ δόγμασι παλαιοῖς, ὧν τὸ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον τῆς πράξεως ἐν τῷ Δαϊφάντου βίῳ γέγραπται, τὸ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν.

Ἄσπονδος ἦν Θετταλοῖς πρὸς Φωκέας πόλεμος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν καὶ τυράννους ἐν ταῖς Φωκικαῖς πόλεσιν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἐκείνων ὁμήρους κατηλόησαν· εἶτα πανστρατιᾷ διὰ Λοκρῶν ἐνέβαλον, δόγμα θέμενοι μηδενὸς φείδεσθαι τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνδραποδίσασθαι. C Δαΐφαντος οὖν ὁ Βαθυλλίου, τρίτος αὐτὸς ἄρχων, ἔπεισε τοὺς Φωκεῖς μὲν αὐτοὺς[1] ἀπαντήσαντας τοῖς Θετταλοῖς μάχεσθαι, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις εἰς ἕνα που τόπον συναγαγόντας ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Φωκίδος, ὕλην τε περινῆσαι ξύλων καὶ φυλακὰς καταλιπεῖν, πρόσταγμα δόντας, ἂν αἴσθωνται νικωμένους αὐτούς, κατὰ τάχος τὴν ὕλην ἀνάψαι καὶ καταπρῆσαι τὰ σώματα. ψηφισαμένων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἄλλων, εἷς ἐξαναστὰς ἔφη δίκαιον εἶναι ταῦτα συνδοκεῖν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν· D εἰ δὲ μή, χαίρειν ἐὰν καὶ μὴ προσβιάζεσθαι. τού-

[1] *μὲν αὐτοὺς*] *αὐτοὺς μὲν* Dinse.

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[a] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 65 ; Pausanias, x. 1. 3-11.

[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, viii. 27-28.

II. THE WOMEN OF PHOCIS[a]

The deed of the women of Phocis has not found any writer of high repute to describe it, yet it is not inferior in point of bravery to anything ever done by women, as is attested by imposing sacred rites which the Phocians perform even to this day in the neighbourhood of Hyampolis, and by ancient decrees. Of these events a detailed account of the achievements[b] is given in the Life of Daïphantus,[c] and the women's part was as follows.

The Thessalians were engaged in a war without quarter against the Phocians. For the Phocians had slain on one day all the Thessalian governors and despots in their cities. Whereupon the Thessalians massacred two hundred and fifty Phocian hostages[d] ; then with all their forces they made an invasion through Locris, having previously passed a resolution to spare no grown man, and to make slaves of the children and women. Accordingly Daïphantus, Bathyllius's son, one of the three governors of Phocis, persuaded the men to meet the Thessalians in battle, and to bring together into some one place the women with their children from all Phocis, and to heap about them a mass of faggots, and to post guards, giving them instructions that, if they learned the men were being vanquished, they should with all haste set fire to the mass and reduce the living bodies to ashes. Nearly all voted approval of the plan, but one man arose in the council and said it was only right that the women approve this also ; otherwise they must reject it, and use no compulsion. When

[c] One of Plutarch's *Lives* which has not been preserved. It is No. 38 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

[d] *Cf.* Aeschines, *De falsa legatione*, 140.

(244) του τοῦ λόγου διελθόντος εἰς τὰς γυναῖκας, αὐταὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰς συνελθοῦσαι ταὐτὰ[1] ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τὸν Δαΐφαντον ἀνέδησαν, ὡς τὰ ἄριστα τῇ Φωκίδι βεβουλευμένον· τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἰδίᾳ φασὶν ἐκκλησιάσαντας ἐπιψηφίσασθαι.

Πραχθέντων δὲ τούτων, συμβαλόντες οἱ Φωκεῖς περὶ Κλεωνὰς τῆς Ὑαμπόλιδος ἐνίκησαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ψήφισμα Φωκέων Ἀπόνοιαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ὠνόμασαν· ἑορτὴν δ' ἐκ πασῶν μεγίστην τὰ E Ἐλαφηβόλια μέχρι νῦν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῆς νίκης ἐκείνης ἐν Ὑαμπόλιδι τελοῦσιν.

III. XIAI

Χῖοι Λευκωνίαν ἐπῴκισαν[2] ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. ἐγάμει τις ἐν Χίῳ τῶν δοκούντων γνωρίμων[3] εἶναι· ἀγομένης δὲ τῆς νύμφης ἐπὶ ζεύγους, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἵπποκλος, ἐπιτήδειος ὢν τῷ γαμοῦντι καὶ παρὼν ὥσπερ οἱ λοιποί, μέθης οὔσης καὶ γέλωτος, ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ζεῦγος, οὐδὲν ὑβριστικὸν πράξων, ἀλλ' ἔθει κοινῷ καὶ παιδιᾷ χρώμενος· οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῦ γαμοῦντος ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν.

Μηνιμάτων δὲ τοῖς Χίοις προφαινομένων καὶ τοῦ F θεοῦ κελεύσαντος τοὺς Ἵπποκλον ἀνελόντας ἀνελεῖν, ἅπαντες ἔφασαν Ἵπποκλον ἀνῃρηκέναι. πάντας οὖν αὖθις ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσε τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν, εἰ πᾶσι τοῦ ἄγους μέτεστιν. οὕτω δὴ τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ μετασχόντας τοῦ φόνου καὶ συνεπαινέσαντας

[1] ταὐτὰ Duebner: ταῦτα.

[2] ἐπῴκισαν Xylander: ἐπῴκησαν.

[3] γνωρίμων] γεωμόρων S. A. Naber wrongly.

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[a] "Phocian Desperation," according to Pausanias, x. 1. 7.

[b] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 66.

report of this speech reached the women, they held a meeting by themselves and passed the same vote, and they exalted Daïphantus for having conceived the best plan for Phocis. It is said that the children also held an assembly on their own account and passed their vote too.

After this had been done, the Phocians engaged the enemy near Cleonae of Hyampolis, and gained the victory. To this vote of the Phocians the Greeks gave the name of "Desperation"[a]; and the greatest festival of all, the Elaphebolia in honour of Artemis, they celebrate in Hyampolis even to this day in commemoration of that victory.

III. THE WOMEN OF CHIOS[b]

The reason which led the Chians to appropriate Leuconia as a settlement was as follows: One of the men who appear to have been prominent in Chios was getting married, and, as the bride was being conducted to his home in a chariot, the king, Hippoclus, a close friend of the bridegroom, being there with the rest amid the drinking and merry-making, jumped up into the chariot, not with intent to do anything insulting, but merely following the common custom and indulging in facetiousness. Whereupon the friends of the bridegroom killed him.

Signs of divine anger were soon disclosed to the Chians, and the god of the oracle bade them slay the slayers of Hippoclus, but they said that they all had slain Hippoclus. So the god bade them all leave the city, if they were all involved in the crime. And thus the guilty, both those who had taken a hand in the murder and those who had in any way assented to it,

ἀμωσγέπως, οὐκ ὀλίγους γενομένους οὐδ' ἀδυνάτους
ὄντας, ἀπῴκισαν εἰς Λευκωνίαν, ἣν Κορωνεῖς
ἀφελόμενοι πρότερον ἐκτήσαντο μετ' Ἐρυθραίων.

Ὕστερον δὲ πολέμου πρὸς τοὺς Ἐρυθραίους
αὐτοῖς γενομένου, μέγιστον Ἰώνων δυναμένους
τότε, κἀκείνων ἐπὶ τὴν Λευκωνίαν στρατευσάντων
245 ἀντέχειν μὴ δυνάμενοι, συνεχώρησαν ἐξελθεῖν ὑπό-
σπονδοι, χλαῖναν μίαν ἑκάστου καὶ ἱμάτιον ἄλλο
δὲ μηδὲν ἔχοντος. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐκάκιζον αὐτούς,
εἰ προέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα γυμνοὶ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων
ἐξίασιν· ὀμωμοκέναι δὲ φασκόντων, ἐκέλευον
αὐτοὺς τὰ μὲν ὅπλα μὴ καταλιπεῖν, λέγειν δὲ πρὸς
τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι χλαῖνα μέν ἐστι τὸ ξυστόν,
χιτὼν δ' ἡ ἀσπίς, ἀνδρὶ θυμὸν ἔχοντι. πεισθέντων
δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Χίων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐρυθραίους
παρρησιαζομένων καὶ τὰ ὅπλα δεικνυόντων, ἐφο-
βήθησαν οἱ Ἐρυθραῖοι τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν καὶ
B οὐδεὶς προσῆλθεν οὐδ' ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλ' ἠγάπησαν
ἀπαλλαγέντων. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν θαρρεῖν διδαχθέντες
ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν οὕτως ἐσώθησαν.

Τούτου δ' οὐδέν τι λειπόμενον ἔργον ἀρετῇ καὶ
χρόνοις ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἐπράχθη ταῖς Χίων γυναι-
ξίν, ὁπηνίκα Φίλιππος ὁ Δημητρίου πολιορκῶν τὴν
πόλιν ἐκήρυξε κήρυγμα βάρβαρον καὶ ὑπερήφανον,
ἀφίστασθαι τοὺς οἰκέτας πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπ' ἐλευ-
θερίᾳ καὶ γάμῳ τῆς κεκτημένης, ὡς συνοικιῶν
αὐτοὺς ταῖς τῶν δεσποτῶν γυναιξί. δεινὸν δ' αἱ
γυναῖκες καὶ ἄγριον θυμὸν λαβοῦσαι, μετὰ τῶν

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[a] *Cf.* Herodotus, i. 18; Frontinus, *Strategemata*, ii. 5. 15.

[b] Philip V.; the date is probably 201 B.C.

being not few in number nor without strength, the Chians sent away to settle in Leuconia, which they had earlier wrested from the Coroneans and taken possession of with the co-operation of the Erythraeans.

Later, however, they became involved in war with the Erythraeans,[a] the most powerful of the Ionians; and when these marched against Leuconia, they were not able to hold out, and agreed to evacuate the town under truce, each man to have one cloak and one inner garment and nothing else. The women, however, called them cowards if they purposed to lay down their arms and go forth naked through the midst of the enemy. But when the men said that they had given their oath, the women bade them not to leave their arms behind, but to say, by way of answer to the enemy, that the spear serves as a cloak, and the shield as a shirt, to a man of spirit. The Chians took this advice, and when they used bold words towards the Erythraeans and displayed their weapons, the Erythraeans were frightened at their boldness, and no one approached them nor hindered them, but all were well pleased at their departure. So the Chians, having been taught courage by their women, were saved in this way.

A deed which does not in the least fall short of this one in bravery was performed by the women of Chios many years later at the time when Philip,[b] son of Demetrius, was besieging their city, and had made a barbarous and insolent proclamation bidding the slaves to desert to him, their reward to be freedom and marriage with their owners, meaning thereby that he was intending to unite them with the wives of their masters. But the women, suddenly possessed of fierce and savage spirit, in company with

C (245) οἰκετῶν καὶ αὐτῶν συναγανακτούντων καὶ συμπαρόντων ὥρμησαν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη, καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη προσφέρουσαι καὶ παρακελευόμεναι καὶ προσλιπαροῦσαι[1] τοῖς μαχομένοις, τέλος δ' ἀμυνόμεναι καὶ βάλλουσαι τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπεώσαντο τὸν Φίλιππον, οὐδενὸς δούλου τὸ παράπαν ἀποστάντος πρὸς αὐτόν.

IV. ΑΡΓΕΙΑΙ

Οὐδενὸς δ' ἧττον ἔνδοξόν ἐστι τῶν κοινῇ διαπεπραγμένων γυναιξὶν ἔργων ὁ πρὸς Κλεομένη περὶ Ἄργους ἀγών, ὃν ἠγωνίσαντο, Τελεσίλλης τῆς ποιητρίας προτρεψαμένης. ταύτην δέ φασιν οἰκίας οὖσαν ἐνδόξου τῷ δὲ σώματι νοσηματικὴν εἰς θεοῦ[2] D πέμψαι περὶ ὑγιείας· καὶ χρησθὲν αὐτῇ Μούσας θεραπεύειν, πειθομένην τῷ[3] θεῷ καὶ ἐπιθεμένην ᾠδῇ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ τοῦ τε πάθους ἀπαλλαγῆναι ταχὺ καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι διὰ ποιητικὴν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κλεομένης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας (οὐ μήν, ὡς ἔνιοι μυθολογοῦσιν, ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους πρὸς ἑπτακισχιλίοις) ἐβάδιζε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὁρμὴ καὶ τόλμα δαιμόνιος παρέστη ταῖς ἀκμαζούσαις τῶν γυναικῶν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἡγουμένης δὲ τῆς Τελεσίλλης, ὅπλα λαμβάνουσι καὶ παρ' ἔπαλξιν ἱστάμεναι κύκλῳ τὰ E τείχη περιέστεψαν, ὥστε θαυμάζειν τοὺς πολεμίους.

[1] προσλιπαροῦσαι] προσταλαιπωροῦσαι Wyttenbach.
[2] θεοῦ Meziriacus: θεούς. [3] τῷ idem: τῇ.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 223 B; Herodotus, vi. 76 ff; Pausanias, ii. 20. 8.

their slaves, who were themselves equally indignant and supported the women by their presence, hastened to mount the walls, both bringing stones and missiles, and exhorting and importuning the fighting men until, finally, by their vigorous defence and the wounds inflicted on the enemy by their missiles, they repulsed Philip. And not a single slave deserted to him.

IV. THE WOMEN OF ARGOS[a]

Of all the deeds performed by women for the community none is more famous than the struggle against Cleomenes for Argos, which the women carried out at the instigation of Telesilla the poetess. She, as they say, was the daughter of a famous house but sickly in body, and so she sent to the god to ask about health; and when an oracle was given her to cultivate the Muses, she followed the god's advice, and by devoting herself to poetry and music she was quickly relieved of her trouble, and was greatly admired by the women for her poetic art.

But when Cleomenes king of the Spartans, having slain many Argives (but not by any means seven thousand, seven hundred and seventy-seven,[b] as some fabulous narratives have it) proceeded against the city, an impulsive daring, divinely inspired, came to the younger women to try, for their country's sake, to hold off the enemy. Under the lead of Telesilla they took up arms,[c] and, taking their stand by the battlements, manned the walls all round, so that the enemy were amazed.

[b] Six thousand according to Herodotus, vii. 148. *Cf.* also vi. 77-82. The date is put about 494 B.C. or possibly earlier.

[c] Found in the temples according to *Moralia*, 223 B.

τὸν μὲν οὖν Κλεομένη πολλῶν πεσόντων ἀπεκρούσαντο· τὸν δ' ἕτερον βασιλέα Δημάρατον, ὡς Σωκράτης φησίν, ἐντὸς γενόμενον καὶ κατασχόντα τὸ Παμφυλιακὸν ἐξέωσαν. οὕτω δὲ τῆς πόλεως περιγενομένης, τὰς μὲν πεσούσας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Ἀργείας ἔθαψαν, ταῖς δὲ σωθείσαις ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἀριστείας ἔδοσαν ἱδρύσασθαι τὸν Ἐνυάλιον. τὴν δὲ μάχην οἱ μὲν ἑβδόμῃ λέγουσιν ἱσταμένου μηνός, οἱ δὲ νουμηνίᾳ γενέσθαι τοῦ νῦν μὲν τετάρτου, πάλαι δ' Ἑρμαίου παρ' Ἀργείοις, καθ' ἣν μέχρι νῦν τὰ Ὑβριστικὰ τελοῦσι, γυναῖκας μὲν ἀνδρείοις χιτῶσι καὶ χλα-F μύσιν, ἄνδρας δὲ πέπλοις γυναικῶν καὶ καλύπτραις ἀμφιεννύντες.

Ἐπανορθούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὀλιγανδρίαν, οὐχ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ τοῖς δούλοις, ἀλλὰ τῶν περιοίκων ποιησάμενοι πολίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους, συνῴκισαν τὰς γυναῖκας· ἐδόκουν δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀτιμάζειν καὶ περιορᾶν ἐν τῷ συγκαθεύδειν ὡς χείρονας. ὅθεν ἔθεντο νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα πώγωνα δεῖν ἐχούσας[1] συναναπαύεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰς γεγαμημένας.

V. ΠΕΡΣΙΔΕΣ

246 Πέρσας Ἀστυάγου βασιλέως καὶ Μήδων ἀποστήσας Κῦρος ἡττήθη μάχῃ· φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαις εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγον ἀπεχόντων συνεισπεσεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἀπήντησαν αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸ τῆς

[1] ἐχούσας] ἔχουσι E. Kurtz misses the irony!

The result was that Cleomenes they repulsed with great loss, and the other king, Demaratus, who managed to get inside, as Socrates says,[a] and gained possession of the Pamphyliacum, they drove out. In this way the city was saved. The women who fell in the battle they buried close by the Argive Road, and to the survivors they granted the privilege of erecting a statute of Ares as a memorial of their surpassing valour. Some say that the battle took place on the seventh day of the month which is now known as the Fourth Month, but anciently was called Hermaeus among the Argives; others say that it was on the first day of that month, on the anniversary of which they celebrate even to this day the 'Festival of Impudence,' at which they clothe the women in men's shirts and cloaks, and the men in women's robes and veils.

To repair the scarcity of men they did not unite the women with slaves, as Herodotus records,[b] but with the best of their neighbouring subjects, whom they made Argive citizens. It was reputed that the women showed disrespect and an intentional indifference to those husbands in their married relations from a feeling that they were underlings. Wherefore the Argives enacted a law,[c] the one which says that married women having a beard must occupy the same bed with their husbands!

V. THE PERSIAN WOMEN[d]

At the time when Cyrus induced the Persians to revolt from king Astyages and the Medes he was defeated in battle. As the Persians were fleeing to the city, with the enemy not far from forcing their way in along with the Persians, the women ran out

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[a] Müller, *Frag. Histor. Graec.* iv. p. 497.

[b] Herodotus, vi. 83, does not say quite this. *Cf.* Aristotle, *Politics*, v. 3. 7.

[c] Approval by indirection!

[d] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 45. 2; Justin, *Historiae Philippicae*, i. 6.

(246) πόλεως καὶ τοὺς πέπλους ἐκ τῶν κάτω μερῶν
ἐπάρασαι, "ποῖ φέρεσθε," εἶπον, "ὦ κάκιστοι
πάντων ἀνθρώπων; οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθά γε δύνασθε
καταδῦναι φεύγοντες, ὅθεν ἐξεγένεσθε." ταύτην
τὴν ὄψιν ἅμα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν αἰδεσθέντες οἱ Πέρσαι
καὶ κακίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀνέστρεψάν τε καὶ συμ-
βαλόντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς πολεμίους.
B ἐκ τούτου κατέστη νόμος, εἰσελάσαντος βασιλέως
εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἑκάστην γυναῖκα χρυσοῦν λαμβάνειν,
Κύρου νομοθετήσαντος. Ὦχον δέ φασι, τά τ'
ἄλλα μοχθηρὸν καὶ φιλοκερδέστατον βασιλέων
ὄντα, περικάμψαι τὴν πόλιν ἀεὶ καὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν
ἀλλ' ἀποστερῆσαι τῆς δωρεᾶς τὰς γυναῖκας.
Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ δὶς εἰσῆλθε καὶ ταῖς κυούσαις
διπλοῦν ἔδωκε.

VI. ΚΕΛΤΑΙ

Κελτοῖς, πρὶν ὑπερβαλεῖν Ἄλπεις καὶ κατοική-
σαι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἣν νῦν νέμονται χώραν, στάσις
C ἐμπεσοῦσα δεινὴ καὶ δυσκατάπαυστος εἰς πόλεμον
ἐμφύλιον προῆλθεν. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐν μέσῳ τῶν
ὅπλων γενόμεναι καὶ παραλαβοῦσαι τὰ νείκη δι-
ῄτησαν οὕτως ἀμέμπτως καὶ διέκριναν, ὥστε φιλίαν
πᾶσι θαυμαστὴν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κατ' οἴκους
γενέσθαι πρὸς πάντας. ἐκ τούτου διετέλουν περί
τε πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης βουλευόμενοι μετὰ τῶν
γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους ἀμφίβολα
δι' ἐκείνων βραβεύοντες. ἐν γοῦν ταῖς πρὸς
Ἀννίβαν συνθήκαις ἐγράψαντο, Κελτῶν μὲν ἐγ-

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 241 B, *supra*.

[b] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, viii. 5. 21.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. lxix. (703 A).

to meet them before the city, and, lifting up their garments, said,[a] "Whither are you rushing so fast, you biggest cowards in the whole world? Surely you cannot, in your flight, slink in here whence you came forth." The Persians, mortified at the sight and the words, chiding themselves for cowards, rallied and, engaging the enemy afresh, put them to rout. As a result of this it became an established custom that, whenever the king rode into the city, each woman should receive a gold coin; the author of the law was Cyrus.[b] But Ochus,[c] they say, being a mean man and the most avaricious of the kings, would always make a detour round the city and not pass within, but would deprive the women of their largess. Alexander,[c] however, entered the city twice, and gave all the women who were with child a double amount.

VI. THE CELTIC WOMEN [d]

Before the Celts crossed over the Alps and settled in that part of Italy which is now their home, a dire and persistent factional discord broke out among them which went on and on to the point of civil war. The women, however, put themselves between the armed forces, and, taking up the controversies, arbitrated and decided them with such irreproachable fairness that a wondrous friendship of all towards all was brought about between both States and families. As the result of this they continued to consult with the women in regard to war and peace, and to decide through them any disputed matters in their relations with their allies. At all events, in their treaty with Hannibal they wrote the provision that, if the Celts

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[d] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 50.

(246) καλούντων Καρχηδονίοις, τοὺς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Καρχηδονίων
ἐπάρχους[1] καὶ στρατηγοὺς εἶναι δικαστάς·
ἂν δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι Κελτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσι, τὰς Κελτῶν
D γυναῖκας.

VII. ΜΗΛΙΑΙ

Μήλιοι γῆς χρῄζοντες ἀμφιλαφοῦς Νυμφαῖον
ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας ἐποιήσαντο, νέον ἄνδρα καὶ
κάλλει διαφέροντα· τοῦ δὲ[2] θεοῦ πλεῖν κελεύσαντος
αὐτούς, ὅπου δ' ἂν ἀποβάλωσι τοὺς κομιστῆρας,
ἐκεῖ κατοικεῖν, συνέπεσε τῇ Καρίᾳ προσβαλοῦσιν
αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀποβᾶσι τὰς ναῦς ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαφθαρῆναι.
τῶν δὲ Καρῶν οἱ Κρύασσον[3] οἰκοῦντες,
εἴτε τὴν ἀπορίαν οἰκτίραντες εἴτε δείσαντες αὐτῶν
E τὴν τόλμαν, ἐκέλευον οἰκεῖν παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς
χώρας μετέδωκαν· εἶτα πολλὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ
λαμβάνοντας αὔξησιν ὁρῶντες, ἐπεβούλευον ἀνελεῖν
εὐωχίαν τινὰ καὶ θοίνην παρασκευάσαντες.
ἔτυχε δὲ Καρίνη παρθένος ἐρῶσα τοῦ Νυμφαίου
καὶ λανθάνουσα τοὺς ἄλλους· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Καφένη·
πραττομένων δὲ τούτων οὐ δυναμένη τὸν Νυμφαῖον
περιορᾶν ἀπολλύμενον, ἐξήγγειλε τὴν διάνοιαν
αὐτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν. ὡς οὖν ἧκον οἱ Κρυασσεῖς
καλοῦντες αὐτούς, οὐκ ἔφη νόμον ὁ Νυμφαῖος
Ἕλλησιν εἶναι βαδίζειν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἄνευ γυναικῶν·
F ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Κᾶρες ἐκέλευον ἄγειν καὶ τὰς
γυναῖκας. οὕτω δὴ φράσας τὰ πεπραγμένα Μηλίοις
ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀνόπλους ἐν ἱματίοις

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[1] ἐπάρχους] ἱππάρχους Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 50.

[2] δὲ added by Meziriacus.

[3] Κρύασσον Xylander: κρύασσαν.

complained against the Carthaginians, the governors and generals of the Carthaginians in Spain should be the judges; and if the Carthaginians complained against the Celts, the judges should be the Celtic women.

VII. THE WOMEN OF MELOS[a]

The Melians, being in need of wide acres, put in charge of the colony to be sent forth Nymphaeus, a young man and unusually handsome. The god bade them sail, and wherever they should lose their transports to settle in that place. It came about, as they put in at Caria and went ashore, that their ships were destroyed by a storm. The Carian inhabitants of Cryassus, whether pitying their sorry plight or fearing their boldness, bade them live near themselves, and gave them a portion of their land. Later, seeing their great expansion in a short time, they plotted to make away with them, after preparing a sumptuous banquet for the purpose. It happened that a Carian maiden was in love with Nymphaeus, but nobody else was aware of this. Her name was Caphene. As the plan was being put into operation, she could not suffer Nymphaeus to be put to death, and so she disclosed to him the intention of her fellow-citizens. So, when the Cryassians came to invite them, Nymphaeus said that it was not the custom for the Greeks to go to dinner without women. When the Carians heard this, they told them to bring the women too. On this understanding Nymphaeus informed the Melians of what had been done, and told the men to go to the

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[a] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 64.

βαδίζειν, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἑκάστην ξίφος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ κομίζειν καὶ καθέζεσθαι παρὰ τὸν αὑτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ δείπνου μεσοῦντος ἐδόθη τὸ σύνθημα τοῖς Καρσὶ καὶ συνῄσθοντο τὸν καιρὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἅμα πᾶσαι τοὺς κόλπους διέσχον, οἱ δὲ τὰ ξίφη λαβόντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ διέφθειραν αὐτοὺς ἅμα πάντας· κτησάμενοι δὲ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην καταβαλόντες, 247 ᾤκισαν[1] ἑτέραν, ἣν νέαν Κρύασσον ὠνόμασαν. ἡ δὲ Καφένη τῷ Νυμφαίῳ γαμηθεῖσα τιμὴν καὶ χάριν ἔσχε ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις πρέπουσαν. ἄξιον οὖν ἄγασθαι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὴν σιωπὴν καὶ τὸ θάρσος, καὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐν πολλαῖς μηδ᾿ ἄκουσαν ὑπὸ δειλίας κακὴν γενέσθαι.

VIII. ΤΥΡΡΗΝΙΔΕΣ

Τυρρηνῶν τοίνυν τῶν Λῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον κατασχόντων, ἁρπασάντων δὲ Βραυρωνόθεν τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, ἐγένοντο παῖδες, οὓς ἐξήλασαι Ἀθηναῖοι μιξοβαρβάρους ὄντας ἐκ τῶν νήσων. οἱ δ᾿ εἰς Ταίναρον κατάραντες ἐγένοντο χρήσιμοι Σπαρτιάταις περὶ τὸν εἱλωτικὸν πόλεμον, καὶ διὰ B τοῦτο πολιτείας καὶ γάμων τυχόντες, οὐκ ἀξιούμενοι δὲ ἀρχείων καὶ βουλῆς, ὑπόνοιαν ἔσχον ὡς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ συνερχόμενοι καὶ διανοούμενοι τὰ καθεστῶτα κινεῖν. συλλαβόντες οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ καθείρξαντες ἐφύλαττον ἰσχυ-

[1] ᾤκισαν Xylander: ᾤκησαν.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 296 B; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 49; Herodotus, iv. 145-148 and vi. 138 (who says that the men were descendants of the Argonauts); Valerius Maximus, iv. 6, ext. 3; Conon, *Narrationes*, 36 and 47.

place unarmed in conventional attire, but that each of the women should carry a sword in the fold of her garment and sit beside her husband or male relative. When, about the middle of the meal, the predetermined signal was given to the Carians, and the Greeks realized that the time had come, all the women at the same instant threw open the fold of their garments and the men, seizing the swords, attacked the barbarians and slew them all together. Then, taking possession of the land and razing that city, they built another, to which they gave the name of New Cryassus. Caphene married Nymphaeus and received the honour and gratitude merited by her valuable services. It is right and proper to admire both the silence and the courage of the women, and that not a single one of them among so many was led by timidity to turn coward even involuntarily.

VIII. THE ETRUSCAN WOMEN[a]

When the Etruscans had gained possession of Lemnos and Imbros, they carried away forcibly from Brauron Athenian women, and children were born to them. These the Athenians expelled from the islands on the ground that they were in part barbarian, and they put in at Taenarum and made themselves useful to the Spartans in the war with the Helots. For this they received citizenship and the right of intermarriage, but were not deemed worthy to hold office or to be members of the Senate, and this gave colour to the idea that some radical design underlay their coming together, and that they purposed to disturb the established institutions. Accordingly the Spartans took them into custody and, shutting them up in prison, placed a strong guard

(247) ρῶς, ζητοῦντες ἑλεῖν σαφέσι καὶ βεβαίοις ἐλέγχοις· αἱ δὲ τῶν καθειργμένων γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τὴν εἱρκτὴν παραγενόμεναι, πολλαῖς ἱκεσίαις καὶ δεήσεσι παρείθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ὅσον ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ προσειπεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθον, ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς μεταμφιέννυσθαι ταχὺ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν[1] ἐκείναις ἀπολιπεῖν, τὰ
C δ' ἐκείνων ἐνδύντας αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι περικαλυψαμένους. γενομένων δὲ τούτων, αἱ μὲν ὑπέμειναν αὐτοῦ παραταξάμεναι πρὸς πάντα τὰ δεινά, τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ἐξαπατηθέντες οἱ φύλακες παρῆκαν ὡς δὴ γυναῖκας.

Ἐκ δὴ τούτου καταλαβομένων αὐτῶν τὰ Ταΰγετα, καὶ τὸ εἱλωτικὸν ἀφιστάντων καὶ προσδεχομένων, οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται εἰς πολὺν φόβον καταστάντες ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο καὶ διηλλάγησαν ἐπὶ τῷ κομίσασθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς τὰς γυναῖκας, χρήματα δὲ καὶ ναῦς λαβόντας ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ γῆς τυχόντας
D ἀλλαχόσε[2] καὶ πόλεως ἀποίκους Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ συγγενεῖς νομίζεσθαι. ταῦτ' ἔπραττον οἱ Πελασγοὶ Πόλλιν ἡγεμόνα καὶ Δελφὸν καὶ Κραταΐδαν[3] Λακεδαιμονίους λαβόντες· καὶ μέρος μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν Μήλῳ κατῴκησαν· τοὺς δὲ πλείστους οἱ περὶ Πόλλιν ἔχοντες εἰς Κρήτην ἔπλευσαν, ἀποπειρώμενοι τῶν λογίων. ἐχρήσθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὅταν τὴν θεὸν καὶ τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀπολέσωσι, παύσασθαι πλάνης καὶ πόλιν ἐκεῖ συνοικίζειν. ὁρμισθεῖσιν οὖν πρὸς τῇ λεγομένῃ Χερρονήσῳ θόρυβοι πανικοὶ

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[1] αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν E. Kurtz. [2] ἀλλαχόσε] ἀλλαχόθι Dinse.

[3] Δελφὸν καὶ Κραταΐδαν Meursius, presumably from Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ed. Bekker, p. 137 b 21, and 141 a 7 (=Conon, *Narrat.* 36 and 47): ἀδελφὸν καὶ κραταΐδα. *Cf.* Müller, *F.H.G.* i. p. 356.

over them, seeking to convict them by clear and certain proofs. The wives of the prisoners, coming to the prison, by dint of many prayers and intreaties, were permitted by the guards to pass within just to greet and to speak to their husbands.[a] When they had gone inside they bade their husbands to change their clothing quickly, leaving their own for their wives, and then, putting on their wives' garments, to depart with their faces covered. This done, the women waited there, prepared to face all terrors, but the guards were deceived and allowed the men to pass, supposing, of course, that they were women.

Following this, they seized the strongholds on Mount Taÿgetus, incited the body of Helots to revolt, and gladly received them as an addition to their forces. The Spartans were thrown into a great state of fear and, sending heralds, made peace with them, the conditions being that they should get back their wives, should receive money and ships, and sail away and, having found land and a city elsewhere, be considered as colonists and kindred of the Spartans. This the Pelasgians did, taking as leaders Pollis and Delphus and Crataïdas, all Spartans. A part of them settled in Melos,[b] but Pollis and his associates, with the great majority, sailed to Crete, testing the truth of the oracles. For an oracle had been given them that whenever they should lose their goddess and their anchor they should cease from their wanderings and found a city in that place. So, when they had come to anchor off that part of Crete which is called the Chersonese, panic confusion fell upon them by

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[a] Who, according to other accounts, were to be put to death that night.

[b] *Cf.* Thucydides, v. 84.

προσέπεσον νύκτωρ, ὑφ' ὧν διαπτοηθέντες ἐνεπήδησαν
E εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀκόσμως, ἀπολιπόντες ἐν
τῇ γῇ ξόανον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὃ πατρῷον ἦν αὐτοῖς
εἰς Λῆμνον ἐκ Βραύρωνος κομισθέν, ἐκ δὲ Λήμνου
πανταχοῦ συμπεριαγόμενον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ θορύβου
λήξαντος ἐπόθησαν αὐτὸ κατὰ πλοῦν, ἅμα δ' ὁ
Πόλλις κατέμαθε τῇ ἀγκύρᾳ τὸν ὄνυχα μὴ προσόντα
(βίᾳ γὰρ ἑλκομένης ὡς ἔοικεν ἐν τόποις
ὑποπέτροις ἀποσπασθεὶς ἔλαθε), περαίνεσθαι τὰ
πυθόχρηστα φήσας ἐσήμαινεν ἀναστρέφειν· καὶ
F κατέσχε τὴν χώραν, καὶ μάχαις πολλαῖς τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων
ἐπικρατήσας Λύκτον ᾤκησε καὶ πόλεις
ἄλλας ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβε. διὸ καὶ νομίζουσιν
αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις τε διὰ τὰς μητέρας κατὰ γένος
προσήκειν καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀποίκους εἶναι.

IX. ΛΥΚΙΑΙ

Τὸ δ' ἐν Λυκίᾳ γενέσθαι λεγόμενον μυθῶδες
μέν ἐστιν, ἔχει δέ τινα φήμην ὁμοῦ[1] μαρτυροῦσαν.
Ἀμισώδαρος γάρ, ὥς φασιν, ὃν Ἰσάραν Λύκιοι
καλοῦσιν, ἧκεν ἐκ τῆς περὶ Ζέλειαν ἀποικίας
Λυκίων, ληστρίδας ἄγων ναῦς, ὧν Χίμαρρος
ἡγεῖτο, πολεμιστὴς μὲν ἀνὴρ ὠμὸς δὲ καὶ θηριώδης.
248 ἔπλει δὲ πλοίῳ λέοντα μὲν ἔχοντι πρῴραθεν ἐπίσημον,
ἐκ δὲ πρύμνης δράκοντα, καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ

[1] ὁμοῦ] ὅμως Meziriacus.

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[a] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 10. 2.

[b] *Cf.* Homer, *Il.* vi. 152 ff. and the scholia on *Il.* xvi. 328;

night, by which they were so excited that they leaped aboard in utter disorder, leaving behind on land an ancient statue of Artemis which had been handed down to them from their ancestors, having been originally brought to Lemnos from Brauron, and from Lemnos had been carried about with them in all their journeyings. But when at sea, as the confusion subsided, they missed this, and at the same time Pollis discovered that the fluke was gone from the anchor (for apparently it had been broken off as the anchor dragged in some rocky places, without anybody's noticing its loss), he declared that the god-given predictions were now fulfilled. and gave the signal to return. He took possession of the country, prevailed in many battles over those who ranged themselves against him, settled Lyctus, and took other cities under his control. Because of all this people regard them as related to the Athenians by descent on account of their mothers, and as colonists of the Spartans also.[a]

IX. THE LYCIAN WOMEN

That which is said to have happened in Lycia sounds like a myth, yet it has some supporting testimony in the tales that are told.[b] Amisodarus, as they say, whom the Lycians call Isaras, arrived from the Lycian colony in the vicinity of Zeleia, bringing with him pirate ships, in command of which was Chimarrhus, a warlike man, bloodthirsty and brutal. He sailed in a vessel which had a lion as its figurehead at the prow, and a serpent at the stern. He did much evil

Hyginus, *Fabulae*, no. 57; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, ii. 3. Is Chimarrhus a Chimaera?

(248) τοὺς Λυκίους ἐποίει, καὶ πλεῦσαι τὴν θάλατταν οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ τὰς ἐγγὺς θαλάττης πόλεις οἰκεῖν.

Τοῦτον οὖν ἀποκτείνας ὁ Βελλεροφόντης φεύγοντα τῷ Πηγάσῳ διώξας, ἐκβαλὼν δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, οὐδενὸς ἐτύγχανε τῶν δικαίων, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀδικώτατος περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰοβάτης· ὅθεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐμβὰς εὔξατο κατ' αὐτοῦ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὴν χώραν ἄκαρπον γενέσθαι καὶ ἀνόνητον. εἶθ' ὁ μὲν ἀπῄει κατευξάμενος, κῦμα δὲ διαρθὲν ἐπέκλυζε τὴν γῆν· καὶ θέαμα δεινὸν ἦν, ἑπομένης μετεώρου τῆς θαλάττης καὶ ἀποκρυπτούσης τὸ B πεδίον. ἐπεὶ δέ, τῶν ἀνδρῶν δεομένων τὸν Βελλεροφόντην ἐπισχεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔπειθον, αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνασυράμεναι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ· πάλιν οὖν ὑπ' αἰσχύνης ἀναχωροῦντος ὀπίσω καὶ τὸ κῦμα λέγεται συνυποχωρῆσαι.

Τινὲς δὲ τοῦ λόγου τούτου παραμυθούμενοι τὸ μυθῶδες οὔ φασι κατάραις ὑπαγαγέσθαι τὴν θάλατταν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὸ πιότατον ὑποκεῖσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ ταπεινότερον· ὀφρῦν δὲ παρατείνουσαν ἀκτῆς, ἣ διεῖργε τὴν θάλατταν, C ἐκρῆξαι τὸν Βελλεροφόντην, καὶ βίᾳ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπιφερομένου καὶ κατακλύζοντος τὸ πεδίον, τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας οὐδὲν περαίνειν δεομένους αὐτοῦ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἀθρόας περιχυθείσας αἰδοῦς τυχεῖν καὶ ἀποπαῦσαι τὴν ὀργήν.

Οἱ δ' ὅλως τὴν λεγομένην Χίμαιραν ὄρος ἀντήλιον γεγονέναι φασὶ καὶ ποιεῖν ἀνακλάσεις ἐν τῷ θέρει χαλεπὰς καὶ πυρώδεις, ὑφ' ὧν ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον

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[a] Bellerophon's winged horse (which may be found represented on the coins of Corinth).

to the Lycians, and it was not possible to sail the sea or even to live in the cities near the sea.

This man Bellerophon slew, pursuing him with Pegasus[a] as he was trying to escape. Bellerophon also drove out the Amazons, but met with no just treatment; in fact, Iobates was most unjust with him. Because of this, Bellerophon waded into the sea, and prayed to Poseidon that, as a requital against Iobates, the land might become sterile and unprofitable. Thereupon he went back after his prayer, and a wave arose and inundated the land. It was a fearful sight as the sea, following him, rose high in air and covered up the plain. The men besought Bellerophon to check it, but when they could not prevail on him, the women, pulling up their garments, came to meet him; and when he, for shame, retreated towards the sea again,[b] the wave also, it is said, went back with him.

Some, attempting to explain away the mythical element in this account, assert that he did not get the sea to move by imprecations, but that the most fertile part of the plain lies below the sea-level, and Bellerophon broke through the ridge extending along the shore, which kept the sea out; then, as the ocean rushed in violently and covered up the plain, the men accomplished nothing by beseeching him, but the women, flocking about him in a crowd, met with respect, and caused his anger to subside.

Still others assert that the Chimaera, as it was called, was nothing but a mountain facing the sun, and that it caused reflexions of sunlight, fierce and fiery in the summer time, and by these, striking all over

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[b] *Cf.* Homer, *Il.* vi. 162.

(248) σκεδαννυμένων μαραινεσθαι τοὺς καρπούς. τὸν δὲ Βελλεροφόντην συμφρονήσαντα διακόψαι τοῦ κρημνοῦ τὸ λειότατον καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἀνακλάσεις[1] ἀνταποστέλλον· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐτύγχανε χάριτος, ὀργῇ πρὸς ἄμυναν τραπέσθαι τῶν Λυκίων, πεισθῆναι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν.

D Ἣν δὲ Νύμφις ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ Ἡρακλείας αἰτίαν εἴρηκεν, ἥκιστα μυθώδης ἐστί· λέγει γάρ, ὅτι σῦν ἄγριον ἐν τῇ Ξανθίων χώρᾳ καὶ ζῷα καὶ καρποὺς λυμαινόμενον ἀνελὼν ὁ Βελλεροφόντης οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτύγχανεν ἀμοιβῆς· καταρασαμένου δὲ τῶν Ξανθίων αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, πᾶν τὸ πεδίον ἐξήνθησεν ἁλμυρίδα καὶ διέφθαρτο παντάπασι, τῆς γῆς πικρᾶς γενομένης· μέχρι οὗ τὰς γυναῖκας αἰδεσθεὶς δεομένας εὔξατο τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφεῖναι. διὸ καὶ νόμος ἦν τοῖς Ξανθίοις μὴ πατρόθεν ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μητέρων χρηματίζειν.

X. ΣΑΛΜΑΤΙΔΕΣ

E Ἀννίβα δὲ τοῦ Βάρκα, πρὶν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύειν, ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πόλει μεγάλῃ Σαλματικῇ προσμαχομένου, πρῶτον μὲν ἔδεισαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι καὶ συνέθεντο ποιήσειν τὸ προσταττόμενον, Ἀννίβᾳ τριακόσια δόντες ἀργυρίου τάλαντα καὶ τριακοσίους ὁμήρους. ἀνέντος δὲ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐκείνου, μεταγνόντες οὐδὲν ἔπραττον ὧν ὡμο-

[1] ἀνακλάσεις καὶ ἀνακαύσεις, "burning reflexions," in some MSS.

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[a] *Cf.* Müller, *Frag. Histor. Graec.* iii. p. 14 (Frag. 13).

[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, i. 173, and the note in A. H. Sayce's edition (London, 1883), where many of the numerous parallels are cited.

the plain, the crops were dried up; and that Bellerophon, sensing this, cut away the smoothest part of the precipice which mostly sent back the reflexions. When, however, he met with no gratitude, in anger he turned to avenge himself upon the Lycians, but was prevailed upon by the women.

But the reason which Nymphis gives[a] in the fourth book of his treatise about Heracleia is least mythical of all; for he says that Bellerophon killed a wild boar which was making havoc of the stock and crops in the land of the Xanthians, but obtained no fitting reward; whereupon he addressed to Poseidon imprecations against the Xanthians, and the whole plain suddenly became glittering with a salt deposit and was completely ruined, since the soil had become saline. This lasted until Bellerophon, out of respect for the women who besought him, prayed to Poseidon to give up his anger. For this reason it was the custom for the Xanthians to bear names derived not from their fathers but from their mothers.[b]

X. THE WOMEN OF SALMANTICA[c]

When Hannibal, the son of Barca, before[d] making his campaign against the Romans, attacked a great city in Spain, Salmantica, at first the besieged were terrified, and agreed to do what was ordered by giving him six thousand pounds and three hundred hostages. But when he raised the siege, they changed their minds and did nothing of what they had agreed to do.

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[c] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 48.

[d] Probably about 220 B.C. *Cf.* Polybius, iii. 14 and Livy, xxi. 5.

F λόγησαν. αὖθις οὖν ἐπιστρέψαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ
τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ διαρπαγῇ χρημάτων κελεύσαντος
ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ πόλει, παντάπασι καταπλαγέντες
οἱ βάρβαροι συνεχώρησαν ἐξελθεῖν ἐν[1]
ἱματίῳ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ
ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταλιπόντας. αἱ δὲ
γυναῖκες οἰόμεναι τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν φωράσειν
ἕκαστον ἐξιόντα τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτῶν δ' οὐκ ἂν
ἅψασθαι, ξίφη λαβοῦσαι καὶ ἀποκρύψασαι συνεξέπιπτον
τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἐξελθόντων δὲ πάντων ὁ Ἀννίβας
φρουρὰν Μασαισυλίων ἐπιστήσας ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ
συνεῖχεν αὐτούς, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὴν πόλιν
ἀτάκτως ἐμπεσόντες διήρπαζον. πολλῶν δ' ἀγομένων,
οἱ Μασαισύλιοι καρτερεῖν οὐκ ἐδύναντο[2]
249 βλέποντες οὐδὲ τῇ φυλακῇ τὸν νοῦν προσεῖχον,
ἀλλ' ἠγανάκτουν καὶ ἀπεχώρουν ὡς μεθέξοντες
τῆς ὠφελείας. ἐν τούτῳ δ' αἱ γυναῖκες ἐμβοήσασαι
τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰ ξίφη παρέδοσαν, ἔνιαι δὲ
καὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐπετίθεντο τοῖς φρουροῦσι· μία δὲ
καὶ λόγχην ἐξαρπάσασα Βάνωνος τοῦ ἑρμηνέως
αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἔπαισεν· ἔτυχε δὲ τεθωρακισμένος·
τῶν δ' ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν καταβαλόντες, τοὺς δὲ
τρεψάμενοι, διεξέπεσον ἀθρόοι μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν.
πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Ἀννίβας καὶ διώξας τοὺς
μὲν καταλειφθέντας εἷλεν[3]· οἱ δὲ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπιλαβόμενοι
B παραχρῆμα μὲν διέφυγον, ὕστερον δὲ
πέμψαντες ἱκετηρίαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
κατήχθησαν, ἀδείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας τυχόντες.

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[1] ἐν] ἑνὶ Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 48: ἐν ἑνὶ van Herwerden; but *cf. Moralia*, 276 D, and Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, v. 19 and viii. 64, all of which have ἐν only.

[2] ἐδύναντο the preferable form: ἠδύναντο.

So he returned and ordered his soldiers, with the promise of plunder, to attack the city. At this the barbarians were panic-stricken, and came to terms, agreeing that the free inhabitants should depart clad in one civilian garment, and should leave behind weapons, property, slaves, and their city. The women, thinking that the enemy would search each man as he came out, but would not touch the women, took swords, and, hiding them, hastened out with the men. When all had come out, Hannibal set over them a guard of Masaesylian soldiers in a place near the city, and kept them there under constraint. The rest of the soldiers rushed into the city in disorder and set to plundering. As much booty was being carried off, the Masaesylians could not bear to be merely spectators, nor did they keep their mind on their watching, but were much aggrieved and started to move away as if to have their share of the spoils. At this juncture the women, calling upon the men, handed them the swords, and some of the women of themselves attacked their guards. One of them snatched away the spear of Banon the interpreter, and smote the man himself; but he happened to have on his breast-plate. Of the others, the men struck down some, routed the rest, and forced a way out in a body, accompanied by the women. Hannibal, learning of this, sent in pursuit of them, and caught those who could not keep up. The others gained the mountains, and, for the time, escaped. Afterwards, however, they sent a petition to him, and were restored to their city, and received immunity and humane treatment.

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[3] καταλειφθέντας εἷλεν] καταληφθέντας Hatzidakis, ἀνεῖλεν van Herwerden, would perhaps make Hannibal too bloodthirsty.

XI. ΜΙΛΗΣΙΑΙ

(249) Τὰς Μιλησίων ποτὲ παρθένους δεινὸν πάθος καὶ ἀλλόκοτον κατέσχεν, ἐκ δή τινος αἰτίας ἀδήλου· μάλιστα δ' εἰκάζετο κρᾶσιν ἐκστατικὴν καὶ φαρμακώδη λαβὼν ὁ ἀὴρ τροπὴν αὐταῖς καὶ παραφορὰν τῆς διανοίας ἐνεργάσασθαι. πάσαις μὲν γὰρ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιθυμία θανάτου καὶ πρὸς ἀγχόνην ὁρμὴ περιμανὴς ἐνέπιπτε, πολλαὶ δ' ἀπήγχοντο λαν-
C θάνουσαι· λόγοι δὲ καὶ δάκρυα γονέων καὶ παρηγορίαι φίλων οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἀλλὰ περιῆσαν ἐπινοίας καὶ πανουργίας ἁπάσης τῶν φυλαττόντων, ἑαυτὰς διαχρώμεναι. καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐδόκει δαιμόνιον εἶναι καὶ κρεῖττον ἀνθρωπίνης βοηθείας, ἄχρι οὗ γνώμῃ νοῦν ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς ἐγράφη προβούλευμα, τὰς ἀπαγχομένας γυμνὰς ἐκκομίζεσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς· καὶ τοῦτο κυρωθὲν **οὐ** μόνον ἐπέσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἔπαυσε θανατώσας τὰς παρθένους. μέγα δὴ τεκμήριον εὐφυΐας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἡ τῆς ἀδοξίας εὐλάβεια καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰ
D δεινότατα τῶν ὄντων, θάνατον καὶ πόνον, ἀδεῶς ἐχούσας αἰσχροῦ φαντασίαν μὴ ὑπομεῖναι μηδ' ἐνεγκεῖν αἰσχύνης μετὰ θάνατον ἐσομένης.

XII. ΚΕΙΑΙ

Ταῖς Κείων[1] παρθένοις ἔθος ἦν εἰς ἱερὰ δημόσια συμπορεύεσθαι καὶ διημερεύειν μετ' ἀλλήλων, οἱ

[1] κειαι. Κείων Cobet: κιαι. Κίων.

XI. THE WOMEN OF MILETUS[a]

Once upon a time a dire and strange trouble took possession of the young women in Miletus for some unknown cause. The most popular conjecture was that the air had acquired a distracting and infectious constitution, and that this operated to produce in them an alteration and derangement of mind. At any rate, a yearning for death and an insane impulse toward hanging suddenly fell upon all of them, and many managed to steal away and hang themselves. Arguments and tears of parents and comforting words of friends availed nothing, but they circumvented every device and cunning effort of their watchers in making away with themselves. The malady seemed to be of divine origin and beyond human help, until, on the advice of a man of sense, an ordinance was proposed that the women who hanged themselves should be carried naked through the market-place to their burial. And when this ordinance was passed it not only checked, but stopped completely, the young women from killing themselves. Plainly a high testimony to natural goodness and to virtue is the desire to guard against ill repute, and the fact that the women who had no deterrent sense of shame when facing the most terrible of all things in the world, death and pain, yet could not abide nor bear the thought of disgrace which would come after death.

XII. THE WOMEN OF CEOS

It was a custom for the maidens of Ceos to go in a company to the public shrines and spend the day

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[a] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 63. Aulus Gellius, xv. 10, translates the story from a lost work of Plutarch's (*De anima*), in which it was doubtless repeated. *Cf.* Bernardakis's ed. of the *Moralia*, vii. p. 21.

(249) δὲ μνηστῆρες ἐθεῶντο παιζούσας καὶ χορευούσας·
ἑσπέρας δὲ πρὸς ἑκάστην ἀνὰ μέρος βαδίζουσαι
διηκονοῦντο τοῖς ἀλλήλων γονεῦσι καὶ ἀδελφοῖς
ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀπονίζειν. ἤρων πολλάκις
μιᾶς πλείονες οὕτω κόσμιον ἔρωτα καὶ νόμιμον,
ὥστε τῆς κόρης ἐγγυηθείσης ἑνὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
εὐθὺς πεπαῦσθαι. κεφάλαιον δὲ τῆς εὐταξίας τῶν
E γυναικῶν, τὸ μήτε μοιχείαν μήτε φθορὰν ἀνέγγυον
ἐτῶν ἑπτακοσίων μνημονεύεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς
γενομένην.

XIII. ΦΩΚΙΔΕΣ

Τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι τυράννων κατειληφότων Δελ-
φοὺς καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν κληθέντα πόλεμον Θηβαίων
πολεμούντων πρὸς αὐτούς, αἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον
γυναῖκες, ἃς Θυιάδας ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐκμανεῖσαι καὶ
περιπλανηθεῖσαι νυκτὸς ἔλαθον ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ γενό-
μεναι· κατάκοποι δ' οὖσαι καὶ μηδέπω τοῦ φρονεῖν
παρόντος αὐταῖς, ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προέμεναι τὰ σώματα
F σποράδην ἔκειντο καθεύδουσαι. τῶν δ' Ἀμφισ-
σέων αἱ γυναῖκες, φοβηθεῖσαι μὴ διὰ τὸ σύμμαχον
τὴν πόλιν Φωκέων γεγονέναι καὶ συχνοὺς στρα-
τιώτας παρεῖναι τῶν τυράννων ἀγνωμονηθῶσιν αἱ
Θυιάδες, ἐξέδραμον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἅπασαι καὶ
κύκλῳ περιστᾶσαι σιωπῇ κοιμωμέναις μὲν οὐ
προσῄεσαν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξανέστησαν, ἄλλαι περὶ ἄλλας
ἐγίγνοντο θεραπεύουσαι καὶ τροφὴν προσφέρουσαι·

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[a] A story about the women of Phocis has been told already (*supra* 244 A). A better title for this story would be 'The Women of Amphissa.'

together, and their suitors watched their sports and dances. At evening they went by turns to each one's home and waited upon one another's parents and brothers even to washing their feet. Very often more than one youth would be in love with one maid, but their love was so orderly and so controlled by custom, that when the girl became engaged to one, the others ceased their attentions at once. The net result of this orderly behaviour on the part of the women was that there was no memory of a case of adultery or seduction in that country for the space of seven hundred years.

XIII. THE WOMEN OF PHOCIS [a]

When the despots in Phocis had seized Delphi, and the Thebans were waging war against them in what has been called the Sacred War, the women devotees of Dionysus, to whom they give the name of Thyads, in Bacchic frenzy wandering at night unwittingly arrived at Amphissa. As they were tired out, and sober reason had not yet returned to them, they flung themselves down in the market-place, and were lying asleep, some here, some there. The wives of the men of Amphissa, fearing, because their city had become allied with the Phocians, and numerous soldiers of the despots were present there, that the Thyads might be treated with indignity, all ran out into the market-place, and, taking their stand round about in silence, did not go up to them while they were sleeping, but when they arose from their slumber, one devoted herself to one of the strangers and another to another, bestowing attentions on them and offering them food. Finally, the τέλος δὲ πείσασαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπηκολούθησαν αὐταῖς ἄχρι τῶν ὅρων ἀσφαλῶς προπεμπομέναις.

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XIV. ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΟΙΛΙΑ

Ταρκύνιον Σούπερβον, ἕβδομον ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου
βασιλεύοντα Ῥωμαίων, ἐξήλασεν ὕβρις[1] καὶ ἀρετὴ
Λουκρητίας, γυναικὸς ἀνδρὶ γεγαμημένης λαμπρῷ
καὶ κατὰ γένος προσήκοντι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν.
ἐβιάσθη μὲν γὰρ ὑφ' ἑνὸς τῶν Ταρκυνίου παίδων,
ἐπιξενωθέντος αὐτῇ· φράσασα δὲ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ
οἰκείοις τὸ πάθος εὐθὺς ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτήν. ἐκπεσὼν
δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς
B ἐπολέμησε πολέμους, πειρώμενος ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν· καὶ τέλος ἄρχοντα Τυρρηνῶν Πορσίναν
ἔπεισεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην στρατεῦσαι μετὰ πολλῆς
δυνάμεως. ἅμα δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ λιμοῦ συνεπιτιθεμένου
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, πυνθανόμενοι τὸν
Πορσίναν οὐ πολεμικὸν εἶναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
δίκαιον ἄνδρα καὶ χρηστόν, ἐβούλοντο χρῆσθαι
δικαστῇ πρὸς τὸν Ταρκύνιον. ἀπαυθαδισαμένου
δὲ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου καὶ τὸν Πορσίναν, εἰ μὴ μένει[2]
σύμμαχος βέβαιος, οὐδὲ κριτὴν δίκαιον ἔσεσθαι
φάσκοντος, ἀφεὶς ἐκεῖνον ὁ Πορσίνας ἔπραττεν,
ὅπως φίλος ἄπεισι Ῥωμαίων, τῆς τε χώρας ὅσην
ἀπετέτμηντο Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
C κομισάμενος. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁμήρων αὐτῷ δοθέντων

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[1] ὕβρις] υἱέος ὕβρις S. A. Naber, wrongly, as is clear from Plutarch's *Life of Publicola*, chap. i.

[2] μένει] μενεῖ G. Papavassiliu, wrongly, as is clear from Plutarch's *Life of Publicola*, chap. xviii.

women of Amphissa, after winning the consent of their husbands, accompanied the strangers, who were safely escorted as far as the frontier.

XIV. VALERIA AND CLOELIA[a]

The two things that brought about the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, seventh king of Rome from Romulus, were arrogance and the virtue of Lucretia, a woman married to a distinguished man of royal lineage. For she was outraged by one of Tarquin's sons who had been welcomed as a guest at her home. She told her friends and family what had been done to her, and immediately slew herself. Deposed from power, Tarquin waged various wars in his endeavours to regain his sovereignty. Finally he persuaded Porsena, ruler of the Etruscans, to march against Rome with a great force.[b] At the same time with the war famine also attacked[c] the Romans, and they, learning that Porsena was not merely a great soldier but a just and fair man as well, wished to make him judge in their case against Tarquin. But Tarquin was stubborn, saying that Porsena, if he did not remain faithful as an ally, would not be a just judge either; and so Porsena renounced him and made it his endeavour that when he went away he should be a friend of the Romans, and should get back such part of the land as they had cut off from the Etruscans, and also the prisoners of war. To confirm these

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[a] The story is told (with interruptions) by Plutarch in his *Life of Publicola*, chaps. xvii-xix. (106-107) as well as by many other writers. *Cf.*, for example, Livy, ii. 13; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, v. 32-34; Seneca, *Consolatio ad Marciam*, 16. 2; Valerius Maximus, iii. 2. 2; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 31.

[b] *Cf.* Livy, ii. 9.

[c] *Ibid.* 11.

(250) δέκα μὲν ἀρρένων παίδων δέκα δὲ θηλειῶν (ἐν αἷς ἦν ἡ Ποπλικόλα τοῦ ὑπάτου θυγάτηρ Οὐαλερία), πᾶσαν εὐθὺς ἀνῆκε τὴν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευήν, καίπερ οὔπω τέλος ἐχούσης τῆς ὁμολογίας.

Αἱ δὲ παρθένοι κατέβησαν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς λουσόμεναι μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω τοῦ στρατοπέδου· μιᾶς δ' αὐτῶν ὄνομα Κλοιλίας προτρεψαμένης, ἀναδησάμεναι περὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς χιτωνίσκους παρεβάλοντο[1] πρὸς ῥεῦμα πολὺ καὶ δίνας βαθείας D νέουσαι καὶ[2] διεπέρασαν ἀλλήλων ἐχόμεναι πολυπόνως καὶ μόλις. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ λέγοντες ἵππου τὴν Κλοιλίαν εὐπορήσασαν αὐτὴν μὲν ἐπιβῆναι καὶ διεξελαύνειν ἠρέμα, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ὑφηγεῖσθαι παραθαρσύνουσαν νηχομένας καὶ παραβοηθοῦσαν. ᾧ δὲ τεκμηρίῳ χρῶνται, μετ' ὀλίγον ἐροῦμεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθείσας εἶδον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἐθαύμασαν, τὴν δὲ κομιδὴν οὐκ ἠγάπησαν οὐδ' ὑπέμειναν ἐν πίστει χείρονες ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς γενέσθαι. πάλιν οὖν τὰς κόρας ἐκέλευσαν ἀπιέναι καὶ συνέπεμψαν αὐταῖς ἀγωγούς, οἷς διαβᾶσι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέδραν ὑφεὶς ὁ Ταρκύνιος ὀλίγον ἐδέησεν ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι τῶν παρθένων. ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ὑπάτου Ποπλικόλα θυγάτηρ Οὐα- E λερία μετὰ τριῶν προεξέφυγεν οἰκετῶν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Πορσίνα στρατόπεδον, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ὁ τοῦ Πορσίνα υἱὸς Ἄρρους ταχὺ προσβοηθήσας ἐξείλετο τῶν πολεμίων.

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[1] παρεβάλοντο] παρεβάλλοντο in some MSS., perhaps rightly.

[2] καὶ added by F.C.B., as seems to be demanded by the *Life of Publicola*, chap. xix., which puts ῥεῦμα and δίνας in the same construction.

terms hostages were given to him, ten youths and ten maidens, among whom was Valeria, the daughter of Publicola the consul, whereupon Porsena at once remitted all his preparation for the war, although the agreement was not yet consummated.

The maidens went down to the river as if to bathe, a short distance away from the camp. At the instigation of one of them, Cloelia, they fastened their clothes to their heads, and took the risk of breasting a swift current and deep-whirling eddies, and by swimming close together they reached the other side by dint of a hard struggle, and with many a chance of failure. There are those who say that Cloelia procured a horse and, mounting it, swam it across slowly, acting as guide for the others, and encouraging and helping them as they were swimming. The argument with which they support this I will mention in a moment.

When the Romans saw them safe and sound, they admired the maidens' bravery and daring, yet did not like their coming back, nor could endure to prove themselves less honourable than one man in keeping faith. Accordingly they commanded the girls to go back again, and sent men with them to see that they got there. Tarquin set an ambush for these when they had crossed the river,[a] and came very near getting the maidens in his power. But Valeria, daughter of the consul, Publicola, with three servants succeeded in escaping to the camp of Porsena, and the others Porsena's son, Aruns, rescued from the enemy by hastening with all speed to their assistance.

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[a] His purpose, according to other accounts, was to prevent the return of the hostages, and so to make it appear that the Romans had not kept faith.

Ἐπεὶ δ᾿ ἤχθησαν, ἰδὼν αὐτὰς ὁ Πορσίνας ἐκέλευσεν
εἰπεῖν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ προτρεψαμένη καὶ
κατάρξασα τοῦ βουλεύματος. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλαι
φοβηθεῖσαι περὶ τῆς Κλοιλίας ἐσιώπησαν· αὐτῆς
δὲ τῆς Κλοιλίας εἰπούσης ἑαυτήν, ἀγασθεὶς ὁ
Πορσίνας ἐκέλευσεν ἵππον ἀχθῆναι κεκοσμημένον
εὐπρεπῶς, καὶ τῇ Κλοιλίᾳ δωρησάμενος ἀπέπεμψεν
εὐμενῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως πάσας. τοῦτο
F ποιοῦνται σημεῖον οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ τὴν Κλοιλίαν
ἵππῳ διεξελάσαι τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δ᾿ οὔ φασιν, ἀλλὰ
τὴν ῥώμην θαυμάσαντα καὶ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῆς ὡς
κρείττονα γυναικὸς ἀξιῶσαι δωρεᾶς ἀνδρὶ πολεμιστῇ
πρεπούσης. ἀνέκειτο γοῦν ἔφιππος εἰκὼν
γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἱερᾶς λεγομένης, ἣν οἱ
μὲν τῆς Κλοιλίας οἱ δὲ τῆς Οὐαλερίας λέγουσιν
εἶναι.

XV. ΜΙΚΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΩ

Ἀριστότιμος Ἠλείοις ἐπαναστὰς τύραννος ἴσχυε
μὲν δι᾿ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐχρῆτο δὲ τῇ
251 δυνάμει πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐπιεικὲς οὐδὲ μέτριον· καὶ γὰρ
αὐτὸς ἦν φύσει θηριώδης, καὶ τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὴν
ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα βαρβάροις μιγάσι δουλεύων
ὑπὸ φόβου, πολλὰ μὲν ὑβριστικὰ πολλὰ δ᾿ ὠμὰ
τοὺς πολίτας ὑπ᾿ αὐτῶν περιεώρα πάσχοντας· οἷον
ἦν καὶ τὸ Φιλοδήμου πάθος. ἔχοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ
θυγατέρα καλὴν ὄνομα Μίκκαν ἐπεχείρησέ τις τῶν

When they were brought to the camp, Porsena, with a look at them, bade them say which one of them was the instigator and leader in the plan. The others, for fear regarding Cloelia, said not a word; but Cloelia of her own accord said that it was herself, and Porsena, in admiration of her, ordered a horse to be brought, fittingly caparisoned, and presented it to her, and then sent them all back kindly and humanely. Many make of this an indication that Cloelia rode across the river on a horse. Others, however, say this is not so, but that Porsena, because he admired her strength and daring as above that of a woman, deemed her worthy of a gift fitting for a warrior. At all events, there stood an equestrian statue of a woman [a] close beside the Sacred Way, as it is called, and some say that this is the statue of Cloelia, others of Valeria.

XV. MICCA AND MEGISTO [b]

Aristotimus, having succeeded in becoming despot over the people of Elis, was able to prevail through the support of Antigonus [c] the king, but he used his power for no seemly or moderate purpose. He was himself brutal by nature, and he was led by fear to be subservient to a band of mixed barbarians who kept guard over his person and his sovereignty, and he overlooked many arrogant and cruel deeds done to the citizens by them. An example is what happened to Philodemus. This man had a beautiful daughter named Micca, and this girl one of the

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Publicola*, chap. xix. (107 c); Livy, ii. 13, who gives a slightly different explanation of the "virgo insidens equo" Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxiv. 13 (28-29).

[b] Plutarch seems to be our only authority for the details of this narrative, although the atrocities and death of Aristotimus are recorded briefly by Pausanias, v. 5. 1 (*cf.* vi. 14. 11), and by Justin, *Historiae Philippicae*, xxvi. 1. Aristotimus's name is found on coins of Elis (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 356).

[c] Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia, 283–239 B.C.

(251) περὶ τὸν τύραννον ξεναγῶν ὄνομα Λεύκιος ὕβρει
μᾶλλον ἢ ἔρωτι συγγενέσθαι· καὶ πέμψας ἐκάλει
τὴν παρθένον. οἱ μὲν οὖν γονεῖς τὴν ἀνάγκην
B ὁρῶντες ἐκέλευον βαδίζειν· ἡ δὲ παῖς οὖσα γενναία
καὶ μεγαλόφρων ἐδεῖτο τοῦ πατρὸς περιπλεκομένη
καὶ καθικετεύουσα μᾶλλον αὐτὴν περιιδεῖν ἀποθανοῦσαν
ἢ τὴν παρθενίαν αἰσχρῶς καὶ παρανόμως
ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν. καὶ διατριβῆς γενομένης, σπαργῶν
καὶ μεθύων ὁ Λεύκιος αὐτὸς ἐξανέστη μεταξὺ
πίνων πρὸς ὀργήν· καὶ τὴν Μίκκαν εὑρὼν ἐν τοῖς
γόνασι τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχουσαν ἐκέλευσεν
αὐτῷ συνακολουθεῖν· οὐ βουλομένης δὲ τὸ χιτώνιον
περιρρήξας ἐμαστίγου γυμνήν, αὐτὴν μὲν ἐγκαρτεροῦσαν
σιωπῇ ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ καὶ
ἡ μήτηρ, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀντιβολοῦντες καὶ δακρύοντες
C ἐπέραινον, ἐτράποντο πρὸς θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων
ἀνάκλησιν ὡς δεινὰ καὶ παράνομα πάσχοντες. ὁ
δὲ βάρβαρος ἐκμανεὶς παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ
καὶ μέθης ἀποσφάττει τὴν παρθένον, ὡς ἔτυχεν
ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχουσα τὸ πρόσωπον.

'Αλλ' οὐδὲ τούτοις ὁ τύραννος ἐκάμπτετο, πολλοὺς
δ' ἀνῄρει καὶ πλείονας ἐφυγάδευεν· ὀκτακόσιοι
γοῦν λέγονται καταφυγεῖν εἰς[1] Αἰτωλοὺς δεόμενοι
τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ νήπια τῶν τέκνων
κομίσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου. ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον
αὐτὸς ἐκήρυξε τὰς βουλομένας γυναῖκας ἀπιέναι
πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὅσον βούλονται τῶν γυναικείων
χρημάτων ἐπιφερομένας. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάσας ᾔσθετο
D μεθ' ἡδονῆς τὸ κήρυγμα δεδεγμένας (ἐγένοντο γὰρ
ὑπὲρ ἑξακοσίας[2] τὸ πλῆθος), ἐκέλευσεν ἀθρόας

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[1] εἰς van Herwerden: ἐπ'.

[2] ὑπὲρ ἑξακοσίας Bernardakis: ὑπὲρ ἑξακόσιαι.

officers of the despot's mercenaries named Lucius, to show his arrogance, rather than for love of her, undertook to make his paramour, and sent a summons for her. Her parents, seeing the necessity, advised her to go, but the girl, being noble and high-minded, begged her father, embracing and beseeching him, that he would rather bear to see her dead than robbed of her maidenhood in such a shameful and lawless way. There was some delay, and Lucius himself, lustful and drunk, started forth in the midst of his drinking in a passion. Finding Micca with her head on her father's knees, he commanded her to follow with him. But, as she was not willing, he tore off her clothes and whipped her naked body, while she bravely bore the painful blows in silence. Her father and mother, effecting nothing by their intreaties and tears, resorted to calling upon gods and men to witness their frightful and lawless treatment. But the barbarian, utterly crazed by rage and drink, killed the maiden, as she lay with her face in her father's bosom.

The despot, however, was not moved even by things like this, but he made away with many, and forced even more into exile. At any rate, it is said that eight hundred men fled for safety to the Aetolians, asking for rescue of their wives and youngest children from the despot. A little later he himself caused proclamation to be made that the women who wished might go away to their husbands, taking along as much as they wished of their feminine possessions. When he learned that they all received the proclamation with gladness (and their number was over six hundred), he issued orders that all

(251) ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ βαδίζειν, ὡς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτὸς
παρέξων. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας, αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς
πύλας ἠθροίζοντο τὰ χρήματα συσκευασάμεναι,
καὶ τῶν τέκνων τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις φέρουσαι
τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμαξῶν ἔχουσαι, καὶ περιέμενον
ἀλλήλας· ἄφνω δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν τοῦ τυράννου
ἐπεφέροντο,[1] μένειν βοῶντες ἔτι πόρρωθεν. ὡς δ'
ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ἐκέλευον ἀναχωρεῖν
ὀπίσω, τὰ δὲ ζεύγη καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας ὑποστρέψαντες
ἔωσαν εἰς αὐτὰς καὶ διὰ μέσων ἀφειδῶς
E διήλαυνον, οὔτ' ἀκολουθεῖν οὔτε μένειν ἐῶντες οὔτε
τοῖς νηπίοις βοηθεῖν ἀπολλυμένοις (τὰ μὲν γὰρ
ἐκπίπτοντα τῶν ἁμαξῶν τὰ δ' ὑποπίπτοντα διεφθείροντο),[2]
βοῇ καὶ μάστιξιν ὥσπερ πρόβατα
τῶν μισθοφόρων ἐπειγόντων ἀνατρεπομένας ὑπ'
ἀλλήλων, ἕως εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐνέβαλον ἁπάσας,
τὰ δὲ χρήματα πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστότιμον
ἀπεκομίσθη.

Χαλεπῶς δὲ τῶν Ἠλείων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐχόντων,
αἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱεραὶ γυναῖκες, ἃς ἑκκαίδεκα
καλοῦσιν, ἱκετηρίας καὶ στέμματα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ
θεοῦ λαβοῦσαι περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπήντησαν τῷ
F Ἀριστοτίμῳ, καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ὑπ' αἰδοῦς
διαστάντων, ἔστησαν τὸ πρῶτον σιωπῇ ὁσίως[3]
προϊσχόμεναι τὰς ἱκετηρίας. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο
φανεραὶ δεόμεναι καὶ παραιτούμεναι τὴν ὀργὴν
ὑπὲρ τῶν γυναικῶν, παροξυνθεὶς πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους
καὶ κεκραγὼς ὅτι προσελθεῖν εἴασαν αὐτὰς
ἐποίησε τὰς μὲν ὠθοῦντας τὰς δὲ τύπτοντας ἐξ-

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[1] ἐπεφέροντο] ἐπεφαίνοντο Cobet.

[2] διεφθείροντο] διεφθείρετο Dinse, wrongly.

[3] ὁσίως] καὶ ὁσίως Schellens.

should proceed in a company on a specified day, as if purposing himself to assure their safety. When the day arrived, the women gathered at the gates with their possessions which they had packed up, and some of their children they carried in their arms, and others they had in wagons, and they were waiting there for one another. Suddenly many of the despot's men bore down upon them, calling out to them, while still a long way off, to wait. And when these came near, they ordered the women to move back, and then turned the teams about and rode them at the women, driving them through their midst mercilessly, and giving the women no chance either to follow or to stay or to come to the help of their little ones who were being killed, some of whom perished by being thrown from the wagons, others by falling under foot. The mercenaries urged them on like a flock of sheep, with shouts and whips, while the women tripped over one another, until the soldiers had cast them all into prison. Their possessions were carried off to Aristotimus.

The people of Elis being highly indignant over this affair, the holy women devoted to Dionysus, whom they call the Sixteen, taking suppliant branches and fillets from those sacred to the god, went to meet Aristotimus close by the market-place. His bodyguard made way out of respect, and the priestesses silently halted, first of all reverently holding out their suppliant branches. But when it became clear that they were petitioning in behalf of the women, and trying by intreaty to mollify his anger, he, greatly exasperated with his guards, screamed out that they had permitted the priestesses to come into his presence, and he made them drive these from the

ελάσαι ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἑκάστην δὲ δυσὶ ταλάντοις
ἐζημίωσε.

Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, ἐν μὲν τῇ πόλει συνέστησε
πρᾶξιν ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον Ἑλλάνικος, ἀνὴρ διὰ
γῆρας ἤδη καὶ δύο τέκνων θάνατον ὡς οὐδὲν ἂν
252 πράξας ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου περιορώμενος. ἐκ δ'
Αἰτωλίας διαπεράσαντες οἱ φυγάδες καταλαμ-
βάνουσι τῆς χώρας ἐπιτήδειον ἐμπολεμεῖν ἔρυμα
τὴν Ἀμυμώνην, καὶ συχνοὺς προσεδέχοντο τῶν
πολιτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἤλιδος ἀποδιδράσκοντας. ταῦτα
δὲ δείσας ὁ Ἀριστότιμος εἰσῆλθε πρὸς τὰς γυναῖ-
κας, καὶ νομίζων φόβῳ μᾶλλον ἢ χάριτι διαπρά-
ξεσθαι προσέταττε πέμπειν καὶ γράφειν αὐτὰς τοῖς
ἀνδράσιν ὅπως ἀπίωσιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· εἰ δὲ μή,
κατασφάξειν ἠπείλει πάσας αἰκισάμενος καὶ προ-
B ανελὼν τοὺς παῖδας. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλαι, πολὺν
χρόνον ἐφεστῶτος καὶ κελεύοντος εἰπεῖν εἴ τι
πράξουσι τούτων, οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο πρὸς ἐκεῖνον,
ἀλλὰ προσέβλεψαν ἀλλήλαις σιωπῇ καὶ διένευσαν,[1]
ἀνθομολογούμεναι τὸ μὴ δεδιέναι μηδ' ἐκπε-
πλῆχθαι τὴν ἀπειλήν. Μεγιστὼ δ' ἡ Τιμολέοντος
γυνὴ καὶ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡγεμονικὴν
ἔχουσα τάξιν, διαναστῆναι μὲν οὐκ ἠξίωσεν οὐδ'
εἴασε τὰς ἄλλας· καθεζομένη δ' ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς
αὐτόν, " εἰ μὲν ἦς ἀνὴρ φρόνιμος, οὐκ ἂν διελέγου
γυναιξὶ περὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἂν ὡς
κυρίους ἡμῶν ἔπεμπες, ἀμείνονας λόγους εὑρὼν
C ἢ δι' ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐξηπάτησας· εἰ δ' αὐτὸς ἐκείνους

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[1] διένευσαν Wyttenbach: δι' εὔνοιαν.

market-place by pushing or striking one or another, and he fined each woman four hundred pounds.

After these events, Hellanicus started a concerted activity against the despot. He was a man who, owing to his advanced years and the death of two sons, was not thought of by the despot as likely to be active in any way. The exiles crossed over from Aetolia and occupied Amymone, a stronghold in Elis, well adapted to serve as a base for warlike operations, and there they received a great addition to their numbers from the citizens who managed to escape from Elis. Aristotimus, alarmed at this, went to see the imprisoned women, and, thinking that he should accomplish his purpose better by fear than by favour, he gave orders to them to write and send letters to their husbands so that the men should leave the country ; and if they would not write, he threatened to put them all to death after torturing them and making away with their children first. As he stood there a long time and urged them to say whether they would carry out any part of this programme, most of the women made no answer to him, but looked at one another in silence, and showed by nods that all their minds were made up not to be frightened or perturbed at the threat. Megisto, the wife of Timoleon, who, on account of her husband and her own virtues as well, held the position of leader, did not think it meet to rise, nor would she allow the other women to do so ; but, keeping her seat, she made answer to him : " If you were a sensible man, you would not be talking to women about husbands, but you would send to them, as to those having authority over us, finding better words to say to them than those by which you tricked us. But if you despair

(252) πεῖσαι ἀπεγνωκὼς δι' ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρεῖς παρα-
λογίζεσθαι, μήθ' ἡμᾶς ἔλπιζε πάλιν ἐξαπατήσειν
μήτ' ἐκεῖνοι κακῶς οὕτω φρονήσειαν, ὥστε φει-
δόμενοι παιδαρίων καὶ γυναικῶν[1] ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν
τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερίαν· οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτο κακὸν
αὐτοῖς ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι μηδὲ νῦν ἔχοντας, ὅσον
ἀγαθὸν ἐξελέσθαι τῆς σῆς ὠμότητος καὶ ὕβρεως
τοὺς πολίτας."

Ταῦτα τῆς Μεγιστοῦς λεγούσης, οὐκ ἀνασχό-
μενος ὁ 'Αριστότιμος ἐκέλευσε τὸ παιδίον αὐτῆς
ὡς ἀποκτενῶν ἐν ὄψει κομισθῆναι. ζητούντων δὲ
τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἀναμεμιγμένον ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις
παίζουσι καὶ διαπαλαίουσιν, ἡ μήτηρ ὀνομαστὶ
D προσκαλεσαμένη, "δεῦρο," ἔφη, "τέκνον, πρὶν
αἰσθέσθαι καὶ φρονεῖν ἀπαλλάγηθι τῆς πικρᾶς
τυραννίδος· ὡς ἐμοὶ βαρύτερόν ἐστι δουλεύοντά
σε παρ' ἀξίαν ἐφορᾶν ἢ ἀποθνήσκοντα."

Τοῦ δ' 'Αριστοτίμου σπασαμένου τὴν μάχαιραν
ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐκείνην καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἐπιφερομένου,
τῶν συνήθων τις αὐτῷ Κύλων[2] ὄνομα πιστὸς δοκῶν
εἶναι, μισῶν δὲ καὶ μετέχων τῆς συνωμοσίας τοῖς
περὶ τὸν 'Ελλάνικον, ἀντέστη καὶ ἀπέστρεψε
δεόμενος καὶ λέγων ἀγεννὲς εἶναι καὶ γυναικῶδες
E οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονικοῦ καὶ πράγμασι χρῆσθαι
μεμαθηκότος τὸ ἔργον· ὥστε μόλις ἔννουν γενόμενον
τὸν 'Αριστότιμον ἀπελθεῖν.

Γίγνεται δὲ σημεῖον αὐτῷ μέγα· μεσημβρία μὲν

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[1] γυναικῶν] γυναίων S. A. Naber, wrongly.

[2] Κύλων] Κύλλων in the Delphinian inscription (Dittenberger^{3} no. 423).

of persuading them yourself, and are attempting to use us to mislead them, do not expect to deceive us again, and I pray that they may never entertain such a base thought that, to spare their wives and little children, they should forsake the cause of their country's freedom. In truth, it is not so bad a thing for them to lose us, whom they have not at present, as it is a good thing to rescue the citizens from your cruelty and overbearing insolence."

As Megisto spoke thus, Aristotimus could not brook her words, and ordered her young child to be brought, as if intending to kill him in her sight. As the servants sought for him mingled among the other children playing and wrestling, his mother, calling him by name, said, "Come here, child, and, before you can realize and think, be delivered from this bitter despotism; since for me it is more grievous to look upon your undeserved slavery than upon your death."

At this, Aristotimus drew his sword upon the mother herself, but as he was rushing at her in a rage, one of his intimate associates, Cylon[a] by name, who was thought to be loyal to him, but really hated him, and was in the consipracy with Hellanicus and the rest, intervened and turned him from his purpose by intreating him and saying that such action was ignoble and womanish, not that of a manly ruler who had learned to meet any situation. The result was that Aristotimus, with difficulty regaining his senses, came away.

An ominous thing, however, happened to him.

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[a] See the inscription in honour of Cylon found at Delphi, Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscript. Graec.*^{3} no. 423 (no. 920 in the second edition).

γὰρ ἦν καὶ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀνεπαύετο· παρασκευαζομένων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἀετὸς μετέωρος ὤφθη δινούμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκίας, εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἐκ προνοίας καὶ στοχασμοῦ λίθον ἀφῆκεν εὐμεγέθη κατ' ἐκεῖνο τῆς στέγης τὸ μέρος, οὗ τὸ δωμάτιον ἦν, ἐν ᾧ κατακείμενος ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Ἀριστότιμος. ἅμα δ' ἄνωθεν ψόφου μεγάλου καὶ κραυγῆς ἔξωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδόντων τὸν ὄρνιν
F γενομένης, ἐκπλαγεὶς καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ γεγονὸς μετεπέμψατο μάντιν, ᾧ χρώμενος διετέλει κατ' ἀγοράν, καὶ διηρώτα περὶ τοῦ σημείου συντεταραγμένος. ὁ δ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν παρεκάλει ὡς τοῦ Διὸς αὐτὸν ἐξεγείροντος καὶ βοηθοῦντος, οἷς δ' ἐπίστευε τῶν πολιτῶν ἔφρασεν ὅσον οὔπω τὴν δίκην αἰωρουμένην ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐμπεσεῖσθαι τῷ τυράννῳ. διὸ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἑλλάνικον ἔδοξε μὴ μέλλειν, ἀλλ' ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ.

Τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς Ἑλλάνικος ἐδόκει κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους τῶν τεθνηκότων υἱῶν τὸν ἕτερον λέγειν αὐτῷ παραστάντα, "τί πέπονθας, ὦ πάτερ,
253 καθεύδων[1]; αὔριον δέ σε δεῖ τῆς πόλεως στρατηγεῖν." οὗτός τε δὴ διὰ τὴν ὄψιν εὐθαρσὴς γεγενημένος παρεκάλει τοὺς ἑταίρους,[2] ὅ τ' Ἀριστότιμος πυθόμενος Κρατερὸν αὐτῷ βοηθοῦντα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καταστρατοπεδεύειν, οὕτως ἐξεθάρσησεν, ὥστ' ἄνευ δορυφόρων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν προελθεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος. ὡς οὖν συνεῖδε τὸν καιρὸν Ἑλλάνικος, ὃ μὲν ἦν σημεῖον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐπιχειρεῖν συγκείμενον οὐκ ἔδωκε,

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[1] πέπονθας . . . καθεύδων ;] πεπονθὼς . . . καθεύδεις ; Dinse.

[2] ἑταίρους Wyttenbach : ἑτέρους.

It was midday, and he was resting, and his wife was with him. While preparations for dinner were going on, an eagle was seen high in air circling over the house; then, as if with intent and design, it let fall a good-sized stone on that part of the roof under which was the room where Aristotimus happened to be lying. At the same moment there was a great crash above and shouting outside by those who saw the bird. Aristotimus was seized with consternation, and when he learned what had happened, he sent for a seer whom he constantly consulted in the market-place, and, much perturbed, questioned him about the ominous happening. The seer encouraged him to believe that Zeus was rousing him and aiding him, but, on the other hand, told those citizens in whom he trusted that judgement was hovering over the despot's head, and was all but ready to fall on him. Wherefore it seemed best to Hellanicus and his friends not to delay but to make their attack on the next day.

That night Hellanicus in his sleep dreamed that one of his dead sons stood beside him and said, "What has happened to you, father, that you are asleep? To-morrow you must be commander of the city." So he, having gained good courage because of the vision, urged on his associates, while on the other hand, Aristotimus also having learned that Craterus was coming to his aid with a numerous force and was encamped at Olympia, became so extremely bold that without his bodyguard he went forth into the market-place in the company of Cylon. When, therefore, Hellanicus realized the opportunity, he did not give the signal which had been agreed upon between himself and those who were to make the attempt, but with clear

(253) λαμπρᾷ δὲ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ ἅμα τὰς χεῖρας προτείνων
B ἀμφοτέρας, "τί μέλλετε,[1] ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί; καλὸν
τὸ θέατρον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πατρίδος ἐναγωνίσασθαι."
πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Κύλων σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος
παίει τινὰ τῶν ἑπομένων τῷ Ἀριστοτίμῳ· Θρασυβούλου
δὲ καὶ Λάμπιδος ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπιφερομένων,
ἔφθη μὲν ὁ Ἀριστότιμος εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὸν
καταφυγών· ἐκεῖ δ' ἀποκτείναντες αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ
σῶμα προβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκάλουν τοὺς
πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. οὐ μὴν ἔφθησάν γε
πολὺ[2] τὰς γυναῖκας· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐξέδραμον μετὰ
χαρᾶς καὶ ὀλολυγμοῦ, καὶ περιστᾶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας
ἀνέδουν καὶ κατέστεφον. εἶτα τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ
τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ τυράννου ῥυέντος, ἡ μὲν γυνὴ συγκλείσασα
C τὸν θάλαμον αὑτὴν ἀνήρτησε. δύο δ'
ἦσαν αὐτῷ[3] θυγατέρες, παρθένοι μὲν ἔτι, κάλλισται
δὲ τὴν ὄψιν, ἤδη γάμων ὥραν ἔχουσαι· ταύτας
συλλαβόντες εἷλκον ἔξω πάντως μὲν ἀνελεῖν, αἰκίσασθαι
δὲ καὶ καθυβρίσαι πρότερον ἐγνωκότες.
ἀπαντήσασα δ' ἡ Μεγιστὼ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐβόα
δεινὰ ποιεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ δῆμος ἀξιοῦντες εἶναι ταῦτα[4]
τολμῶσι καὶ ἀσελγαίνουσι τοῖς τυράννοις ὅμοια.
ἐντρεπομένων δὲ πολλῶν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς γυναικὸς
παρρησιαζομένης καὶ δακρυούσης, ἔδοξεν ἀφελεῖν
D τὴν ὕβριν, αὐτὰς δ' ἐᾶσαι δι' αὑτῶν ἀποθανεῖν.

Ὡς δ' οὖν ἀναστρέψαντες ἔνδον ἐκέλευον εὐθὺς
ἀποθνῄσκειν τὰς παρθένους, ἡ πρεσβυτέρα Μυρὼ[5]
λύσασα τὴν ζώνην καὶ βρόχον ἐνάψασα τὴν

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[1] μέλλετε] Dinse would insert ἔφη or ἐβόησεν.

[2] πολὺ Cobet: πολλοί.

[3] αὐτῷ] αὐτῇ Dinse.

[4] ταῦτα] ταὐτὰ Cobet, omitting ὅμοια.

[5] Μυρὼ] Νοιρὼ Cobet.

voice, stretching out both arms at the words, he said, "Why delay, brave men? Fair is this place on the soil of your own native land to stage your contest!" So then Cylon first, drawing his sword, smote one of the men following with Aristotimus, but, as Thrasybulus and Lampis rushed at him from the opposite side, Aristotimus forestalled the conspirators by taking refuge in the temple of Zeus. There they slew him, and, exposing his corpse in the market-place, they sounded for the citizens the call to freedom. As a matter of fact, they were not much ahead of the women, for these at once ran forth with joyful acclamations and, surrounding the men, adorned them with ribbons and garlands. Then the crowd surged towards the house of the despot, but his wife, bolting the doors of her chamber, hanged herself. He had two daughters, still unwedded, most beautiful to look upon, of marriageable age. These they seized and dragged out, having resolved to do away with them, but to torture and insult them first. But Megisto, with the rest of the women, meeting them, cried out that they were committing a frightful crime if they who deemed themselves worthy to be a democratic people were, in this matter, showing recklessness and wanton violence like despots. As many had respect for the high worth of the woman who spoke so boldly amid her tears, they decided to omit the violence, and permit the daughters to die by their own hand.

When, therefore, they had returned the maidens to the house and ordered their death immediately, the elder, Myro, loosing her girdle and making a noose of it, bade farewell to her sister and urged

(253) ἀδελφὴν κατησπάζετο καὶ παρεκάλει προσέχειν
καὶ ποιεῖν ἅπερ ἂν αὐτὴν θεάσηται ποιοῦσαν,
" ὅπως ἄν," ἔφη, " μὴ ταπεινῶς μηδ' ἀναξίως
ἑαυτῶν καταστρέψωμεν." τῆς δὲ νεωτέρας δεο-
μένης αὐτῇ παρεῖναι προτέρᾳ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τῆς
ζώνης ἀντιλαμβανομένης, " οὐδὲν ἄλλο πώποτ',"
εἶπεν, " οὐδε ἓν[1] ἤρνημαί σοι δεομένῃ· καὶ ταύτην
E οὖν λάβε τὴν χάριν, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπομενῶ καὶ τλήσομαι
τοῦ θανάτου βαρύτερον, τὸ σέ, φιλτάτη, προτέραν
ἰδεῖν ἀποθνῄσκουσαν." ἐκ τούτου τὴν μὲν ἀδελφὴν
αὐτὴ διδάξασα τῷ τραχήλῳ περιβαλέσθαι τὸν
βρόχον, ὡς ᾔσθετο τεθνηκυῖαν, καθεῖλε καὶ κατ-
εκάλυψεν· αὐτὴ[2] δὲ τὴν Μεγιστὼ παρεκάλεσεν ἐπι-
μεληθῆναι, καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν αἰσχρῶς, ἐπειδὰν ἀπο-
θάνῃ, τεθεῖσαν· ὥστε μηδένα πικρὸν μηδὲ μισοτύραν-
νον οὕτω γενέσθαι τῶν παρόντων, ὃς οὐκ ἔκλαυσεν
οὐδὲ κατηλέησε τὴν τῶν παρθένων εὐγένειαν.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν κοινῇ πεπραγμένων γυναιξὶ μυρίων
ὄντων ἱκανὰ ταῦτα παραδείγματα· τὰς δὲ καθ'
F ἑκάστην ἀρετάς, ὅπως ἂν ἐπίῃ, σποράδην ἀνα-
γράψομεν, οὐδὲν οἰόμενοι τῆς κατὰ χρόνον τάξεως
δεῖσθαι τὴν ὑποκειμένην ἱστορίαν.

XVI. ΠΙΕΡΙΑ

Τῶν εἰς Μίλητον ἀφικομένων Ἰώνων στασιάσαντες ἔνιοι πρὸς τοὺς Νείλεω[3] παῖδας, ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς Μυοῦντα κἀκεῖ κατῴκουν, πολλὰ κακὰ πάσχοντες ὑπὸ τῶν Μιλησίων· ἐπολέμουν γὰρ αὐτοῖς διὰ

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[1] *οὐδὲ ἓν* F.C.B.: *οὐδὲν*.

[2] *αὐτὴ* F.C.B.: *αὐτὴν*.

[3] Νείλεω] there is considerable authority for the spelling Νειλέως.

her to take note and do exactly what she saw her do, "so that," she said, "we may not end our lives in any humiliating way, unworthy of ourselves." But when the younger sister wanted the other to concede to her the privilege of dying first, and seized hold of the girdle, the elder said, "I have never denied you anything else that you wanted; and so you may receive this favour also, and I will patiently endure and bear what is more grievous than death, and that is, dearest, to see you die first." Thereupon she instructed her sister how to put the noose around her neck, and when she saw that she was dead she took her down and covered her. She herself begged Megisto to take care of her and not to suffer her to be laid in any ignominious way when she should be dead. In consequence no one there was so bitter or such a hater of despots as not to shed tears and commiserate the nobility of the maidens.

Of the deeds, countless in number, done by women acting together these may suffice as examples. But cases of individual bravery I will put down as they come to me, not in any order, because I think that the record of the present subject does not at all require a chronological arrangement.

XVI. PIERIA[a]

Some of the Ionians who came to Miletus, owing to lively disagreements with the sons of Neileus, went away to Myus and settled there, suffering many ills at the hands of the Milesians; for these made war upon

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[a] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 35; Aristaenetus, *Letters*, i. 15.

τὴν ἀπόστασιν.[1] οὐ μὴν ἀκήρυκτος ἦν[2] οὐδ' ἀνεπίμικτος ὁ πόλεμος, ἀλλ' ἔν τισιν ἑορταῖς ἐφοίτων εἰς Μίλητον ἐκ τοῦ Μυοῦντος αἱ γυναῖκες. ἦν δὲ Πύθης ἀνὴρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμφανής, γυναῖκα μὲν ἔχων Ἰαπυγίαν, θυγατέρα δὲ Πιερίαν. οὔσης οὖν ἑορτῆς Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ θυσίας παρὰ Μιλησίοις, ἣν Νηληίδα[3] 254 προσαγορεύουσιν, ἔπεμψε τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, δεηθείσας ὅπως τῆς ἑορτῆς μετάσχωσι· τῶν δὲ Νείλεω[4] παίδων ὁ δυνατώτατος ὄνομα Φρύγιος τῆς Πιερίας ἐρασθεὶς ἐνενόει τί ἂν αὐτῇ μάλιστα γένοιτο παρ' αὐτοῦ κεχαρισμένον. εἰπούσης δ' ἐκείνης "εἰ διαπράξαιό μοι τὸ πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν βαδίζειν," συνεὶς[5] ὁ Φρύγιος δεομένην φιλίας καὶ εἰρήνης τοῖς πολίταις B κατέπαυσε τὸν πόλεμον. ἦν οὖν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσι δόξα καὶ τιμὴ τῆς Πιερίας, ὥστε καὶ τὰς Μιλησίων εὔχεσθαι γυναῖκας ἄχρι νῦν οὕτως τοὺς ἄνδρας[6] ἐρᾶν αὐτῶν, ὡς Φρύγιος ἠράσθη Πιερίας.

XVII. ΠΟΛΥΚΡΙΤΗ

Ναξίοις καὶ Μιλησίοις συνέστη πόλεμος διὰ τὴν Ὑψικρέοντος τοῦ Μιλησίου γυναῖκα Νέαιραν. αὕτη γὰρ ἠράσθη Προμέδοντος Ναξίου καὶ συνέπλευσεν, ὃς ἦν μὲν ξένος τοῦ Ὑψικρέοντος, ἐρασθείσῃ δὲ τῇ Νεαίρᾳ συνῆλθε, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα φοβουμένην ἀπαγαγὼν εἰς Νάξον ἱκέτιν τῆς Ἑστίας

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[1] ἀπόστασιν Cobet: ἀποστασίαν.

[2] ἦν] γ' ἦν Cobet. [3] Νηληίδα] Νειλήια Cobet.

[4] Νείλεω] there is considerable authority for the spelling Νειλέως.

[5] συνεὶς Bernardakis: συνεὶς οὖν; better perhaps συνεὶς αὐτήν.

[6] τοὺς ἄνδρας seems to be a necessary supplement.

them because of their defection. However, the war was not without truce or intercourse, but at certain festivals the women commonly went to Miletus from Myus. There was among the people of Myus a prominent man named Pythes, who had a wife named Iapygia and a daughter Pieria. As there was a festival in honour of Artemis, and a sacrifice, which they call Neleis,[a] he sent his wife, and daughter, who had asked that they might participate in the festival. The most influential of Neileus's sons, Phrygius by name, fell in love with Pieria, and tried to think what could be done on his part that would be most pleasing to her. And when she said, "If only you could make it possible for me to come here often and many with me," Phrygius was quick to understand that she wanted friendship and peace for the citizens, and stopped the war. There was, consequently, in both cities repute and honour for Pieria, so that the women of Miletus pray even to this day that their husbands may love them as Phrygius loved Pieria.

XVII. POLYCRITE[b]

A war arose between the Naxians and Milesians on account of Neaera the wife of Hypsicreon of Miletus. It was because she fell in love with Promedon of Naxos and sailed away with him. He was a friend and guest of Hypsicreon, but yielded to Neaera's ardent advances, and then, as she was in fear of her husband, he took her away to Naxos, and placed her as a suppliant at the shrine of Hestia.

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[a] *Cf.* Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. p. 572, line 63.

[b] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 36; Parthenius, *Love Stories*, nos. 9 and 18.

(254) ἐκάθισεν. τῶν δὲ Ναξίων οὐκ ἐκδιδόντων χάριν
C τοῦ Προμέδοντος, ἄλλως δὲ ποιουμένων πρόφασιν
τὴν ἱκετείαν, ὁ πόλεμος συνέστη. τοῖς δὲ Μιλησίοις
ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ προθυμότατα τῶν Ἰώνων
Ἐρυθραῖοι συνεμάχουν, καὶ μῆκος ἔσχε καὶ συμφορὰς
ἤνεγκε μεγάλας ὁ πόλεμος· εἶτ᾽ ἐπαύσατο
δι᾽ ἀρετὴν γυναικός, ὡς συνέστη διὰ μοχθηρίαν.

Διόγνητος γὰρ ὁ τῶν Ἐρυθραίων στρατηγὸς
ἔχων καὶ[1] πεπιστευμένος ἔρυμα κατὰ τῆς Ναξίων
πόλεως εὖ πεφυκὸς καὶ κατεσκευασμένον, ἠλάσατο
λείαν τῶν Ναξίων πολλὴν καὶ γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρας[2]
καὶ παρθένους ἔλαβεν· ὧν μιᾶς Πολυκρίτης ἐρασθεὶς
εἶχεν αὐτὴν οὐχ ὡς αἰχμάλωτον ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τάξει
γαμετῆς γυναικός. ἑορτῆς δὲ τοῖς Μιλησίοις καθηκούσης
ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ πρὸς πόσιν ἁπάντων
D καὶ συνουσίας τραπομένων, ἠρώτησε τὸν Διόγνητον
ἡ Πολυκρίτη μή τι κωλύοι πεμμάτων μερίδας
ἀποπέμψαι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῆς. ἐπιτρέψαντος δ᾽
ἐκείνου καὶ κελεύσαντος, ἐνέβαλε μολίβδινον γραμματίδιον
εἰς πλακοῦντα, κελεύσασα φράσαι τὸν
κομίζοντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὅπως αὐτοὶ μόνοι καταναλώσωσιν
ἃ ἔπεμψε. οἱ δ᾽ ἐντυχόντες τῷ μολίβδῳ
καὶ τὰ γράμματα τῆς Πολυκρίτης ἀναγνόντες,
κελευούσης νυκτὸς ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὡς
ὑπὸ μέθης διὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐξημελημένων πάντων,
προσήγγειλαν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ παρώρμησαν
E ἐξελθεῖν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν. ἁλόντος δὲ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ
πολλῶν διαφθαρέντων, ἐξῃτήσατο τὸν Διόγνητον
ἡ Πολυκρίτη παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ διέσωσεν.

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[1] ἔχων καὶ] Cobet would omit.

[2] ἐλευθέρας Bernardakis, proper but not imperative: ἐλευθέρους.

When the Naxians, as a favour to Promedon, refused to give her up, though they advanced another excuse, her position as suppliant, the war arose. Besides the many others who fought on the side of the Milesians the Erythraeans were the most zealous among the Ionians; and the war dragged on and on, and brought great calamities. Then it came to an end through a woman's bravery, as it had arisen through a woman's badness.

Diognetus, the general of the Erythraeans, entrusted with the command of a stronghold, its natural advantages reinforced by fortification to menace the city of the Naxians, gathered much spoil from the Naxians, and captured some free women and maidens; with one of these, Polycrite, he fell in love and kept her, not as a captive, but in the status of a wedded wife. Now when a festival which the Milesians celebrate came due in the army, and all turned to drinking and social gatherings, Polycrite asked Diognetus if there were any reason why she should not send some bits of pastry to her brothers. And when he not only gave her permission but urged her to do so, she slipped into a cake a note written on a sheet of lead, and bade the bearer tell her brothers that they themselves and no others should consume what she had sent. The brothers came upon the piece of lead and read the words of Polycrite, advising them to attack the enemy that night, as they were all in a state of carelessness from drink on account of the festival. Her brothers took this message to their generals and strongly urged them to set forth with themselves. When the place had been taken and many slain, Polycrite begged for the life of Diognetus from her citizens, and saved him. When

αὐτὴ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις γενομένη πρὸς[1] τοὺς πολίτας ἀπαντῶντας αὐτῇ, μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ στεφάνων ὑποδεχομένους καὶ θαυμάζοντας, οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς χαρᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀπέθανεν αὐτοῦ πεσοῦσα παρὰ τὴν πύλην· ὅπου τέθαπται, καὶ καλεῖται βασκάνου τάφος, ὡς βασκάνῳ τινὶ τύχῃ τὴν Πολυκρίτην φθονηθεῖσαν ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν τιμῶν.

Οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ναξίων συγγραφεῖς ἱστοροῦσιν· ὁ F δ' Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν οὐδ' ἁλούσης τῆς Πολυκρίτης, ἄλλως δέ πως ἰδόντα τὸν Διόγνητον ἐρασθῆναι καὶ πάντα διδόναι καὶ ποιεῖν ἕτοιμον εἶναι· τὴν δ' ὁμολογεῖν ἀφίξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἑνὸς μόνου τυχοῦσαν, περὶ οὗ τὸν Διόγνητον, ὥς φησιν ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὅρκον ᾔτησεν· ἐπεὶ δ' ὤμοσεν, ἠξίου τὸ Δήλιον αὐτῇ δοθῆναι (Δήλιον γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ χωρίον), ἄλλως δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔφη συνελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ διὰ τὸν ὅρκον ἐξέστη καὶ παρέδωκε τῇ Πολυκρίτῃ τὸν τόπον, ἐκείνη δὲ τοῖς πολίταις. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν εἰς ἴσον καταστάντες, ἐφ' οἷς ἐβούλοντο[2] πρὸς τοὺς Μιλησίους διελύθησαν.

XVIII. ΛΑΜΨΑΚΗ

255 Ἐκ Φωκαίας τοῦ Κοδριδῶν γένους ἦσαν ἀδελφοὶ δίδυμοι Φόβος[3] καὶ Βλέψος· ὧν ὁ Φόβος ἀπὸ τῶν Λευκάδων πετρῶν πρῶτος ἀφῆκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς θάλατταν, ὡς Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἱστόρηκεν.

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[1] πρὸς added by F.C.B. (probably omitted on account of the preceding πρὸς). E. Kurtz would read αἰσθομένη for γενομένη.

[2] ἐβούλοντο the preferred form: ἠβούλοντο.

[3] Φόβος] Φόξος Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 37.

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[a] *Frag.* 559 (ed. Rose) = Aulus Gellius, iii. 15.

she herself arrived at the gates, and found herself confronting the citizens who came to meet her, welcoming her with joy and garlands and giving expression to their admiration for her, she could not bear the immensity of her joy, but fell down dead beside the gate; and there she is buried, and her tomb is called the Tomb of Envy, as though by some envious fortune Polycrite was begrudged the enjoyment of her honours.

This is the story which the Naxian writers record. Aristotle,[a] however, says that Polycrite was not taken captive, but that Diognetus, in some other way, saw her and fell in love with her, and stood ready to give or to do anything; and she agreed to come to him, if she might obtain just one thing, for which, as the philosopher asserts, she required an oath of Diognetus. And when he had given the required oath, she demanded in fulfilment that Delium be given to her (the place was called by this name), otherwise she would have nothing to do with him. He, because of his love and his oath, was carried quite away, and handed over the spot to Polycrite, and she in turn to the citizens. Following this, the Naxians were again put on an equal footing, and effected a reconciliation with the Milesians on such terms as they desired.

XVIII. LAMPSACE [b]

There came from Phocaea twin brothers Phobus and Blepsus of the family of the Codridae, of whom Phobus was the first to throw himself into the sea from the Leucadian Rocks,[c] as Charon of Lampsacus

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[b] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 37.

[c] As a remedy for love, at least in later times.

(255) ἔχων δὲ δύναμιν καὶ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα παρέπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον ἰδίων ἕνεκα πραγμάτων· καὶ γενόμενος φίλος καὶ ξένος Μάνδρωνι, βασιλεύοντι Βεβρύκων τῶν Πιτυοεσσηνῶν προσαγορευομένων, ἐβοήθησε καὶ συνεπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν B προσοίκων ἐνοχλουμένοις. ὁ δὲ Μάνδρων ἄλλην τε πολλὴν ἐνεδείξατο τῷ Φόβῳ φιλοφροσύνην ἀποπλέοντι καὶ μέρος τῆς τε χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπισχνεῖτο δώσειν, εἰ βούλοιτο Φωκαεῖς ἔχων ἐποίκους εἰς τὴν Πιτυόεσσαν ἀφικέσθαι. πείσας οὖν τοὺς πολίτας ὁ Φόβος ἐξέπεμψε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἄγοντα τοὺς ἐποίκους. καὶ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Μάνδρωνος ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ προσεδόκησαν· ὠφελείας δὲ μεγάλας καὶ λάφυρα καὶ λείας ἀπὸ τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων λαμβάνοντες, ἐπίφθονοι τὸ πρῶτον εἶτα καὶ φοβεροὶ τοῖς Βέβρυξιν ἦσαν. ἐπιθυμοῦντες οὖν αὐτῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι, τὸν μὲν Μάνδρωνα, χρηστὸν ὄντα καὶ C δίκαιον ἄνδρα περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔπεισαν, ἀποδημήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου, παρεσκευάζοντο τοὺς Φωκαεῖς δόλῳ διαφθεῖραι. τοῦ δὲ Μάνδρωνος ἡ θυγάτηρ Λαμψάκη παρθένος οὖσα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν προέγνω, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπεχείρει τοὺς φίλους καὶ οἰκείους ἀποτρέπειν καὶ διδάσκειν ὡς ἔργον δεινὸν καὶ ἀσεβὲς ἐγχειροῦσι πράττειν, εὐεργέτας καὶ συμμάχους ἄνδρας νῦν δὲ καὶ πολίτας ἀποκτιννύντες. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθε, τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔφρασε κρύφα τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ παρεκελεύσατο φυλάτ-

has recorded.[a] Phobus, having influence and princely rank, sailed to Parium on some business of his own, and having become the friend and guest of Mandron, who was king of the Bebrycians who are called the Pityoessenians, he aided them by fighting on their side when they were being harassed by their neighbours. When Phobus took his departure Mandron expressed the utmost regard for him, and, in particular, promised to give him a part of their land and city if Phobus wished to come to Pityoessa with Phocaean colonists. So Phobus prevailed on his citizens and sent out his brother with the colonists. And what Mandron had promised was at their disposal, as they expected.[b] But they, inasmuch as they made great gains for themselves through the spoils and booty which they took from the neighbouring barbarians, were first an object of envy, and later an object of fear also, to the Bebrycians, who, desiring to be rid of them, could not prevail on Mandron, who was a fair and just man in his treatment of the Greeks; but when he had gone away on a journey, they prepared to destroy the Phocians by treachery. But the daughter of Mandron, Lampsace, a young girl, learned of the plot beforehand, and tried first to dissuade her friends and relatives and to point out to them that they were undertaking to carry out a frightful and wicked deed in murdering men who were their benefactors and allies and now also their fellow-citizens. But when she could not prevail on them, she secretly told the Greeks what was afoot, and warned them to be on their guard. And they,

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[a] *Cf.* Müller, *Frag. Histor. Graec.* i. p. 33.

[b] *Cf.* Strabo, xiii. (589), and Stephanus of Byzantium under Lampsacus.

(255) τεσθαι. οἱ δὲ θυσίαν τινὰ παρασκευασάμενοι καὶ
D θοίνην ἐξεκαλέσαντο τοὺς Πιτυοεσσηνοὺς εἰς τὸ
προάστειον· αὐτοὺς δὲ διελόντες δίχα, τοῖς μὲν τὰ
τείχη κατελάβοντο τοῖς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνεῖλον.
οὕτω δὴ τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες τόν τε Μάνδρωνα
μετεπέμποντο, συμβασιλεύειν τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν
κελεύοντες· καὶ τὴν Λαμψάκην ἐξ ἀρρωστίας
ἀποθανοῦσαν ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ πόλει μεγαλοπρεπῶς,
καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς Λάμψακον προσηγόρευσαν.
ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Μάνδρων προδοσίας ὑποψίαν φεύγων τὸ
μὲν οἰκεῖν μετ' αὐτῶν παρῃτήσατο, παῖδας δὲ τῶν
τεθνηκότων καὶ γυναῖκας ἠξίωσε κομίσασθαι, καὶ
ταῦτα προθύμως οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντες ἐξέπεμψαν·
E καὶ τῇ Λαμψάκῃ πρότερον ἡρωικὰς τιμὰς ἀποδιδόντες
ὕστερον ὡς θεῷ θύειν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ
διατελοῦσιν οὕτω θύοντες.

XIX. ΑΡΕΤΑΦΙΛΑ

Ἀρεταφίλα δ' ἡ Κυρηναία παλαιὰ μὲν οὐ γέγονεν
ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς Μιθριδατικοῖς καιροῖς, ἀρετὴν
δὲ καὶ πρᾶξιν ἐνάμιλλον τῇ βουλῇ[1] τῶν ἡρωίδων
παρέσχεν. ἦν δὲ θυγάτηρ μὲν Αἰγλάτορος Φαιδίμου
δὲ γυνή, γνωρίμων ἀνδρῶν· καλὴ δὲ τὴν
ὄψιν οὖσα, καὶ τὸ[2] φρονεῖν ἐδόκει περιττή τις
εἶναι καὶ πολιτικῆς δεινότητος οὐκ ἄμοιρος·
ἐπιφανῆ δ' αὐτὴν αἱ κοιναὶ τύχαι τῆς πατρίδος
ἐποίησαν.

F Νικοκράτης γὰρ ἐπαναστὰς Κυρηναίοις τύραννος

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[1] τῇ βουλῇ] τῇ βελτίστῃ S. A. Naber, wrongly.
[2] τὸ] τῷ Wyttenbach.

having made ready a sacrifice and banquet, invited the Pityoessenians to come to it just outside the city; then, dividing themselves into two parties, with the one they took possession of the walls, and with the other made away with the men. Having gained control of the city in this manner, they sent for Mandron, and bade him be king jointly with one or another of their own number. Lampsace died as the result of an illness, and they buried her within the city most magnificently, and called the city Lampsacus after her name.[a] When Mandron, endeavouring to avoid any suspicion of treachery, asked to be released from dwelling with them, but asked as his right to take away with him the children and wives of the slain, they sent them forth, doing them no wrong. They rendered heroic honours to Lampsace at first; later they voted to offer sacrifice to her as to a goddess, and so they continue to do.

XIX. ARETAPHILA[b]

Aretaphila, of Cyrene, was not born long years ago, but in the crucial times of Mithradates; she displayed, however, a bravery and an achievement which may well rival the counsel of the heroines of olden time. She was the daughter of Aeglator and the wife of Phaedimus, both men of note. She had beautiful features, and was reputed to be unusually sensible and not deficient in political wisdom, but the common misfortunes of her country brought her into prominence.

Nicocrates, having made himself despot over the

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[a] *Cf.* Strabo, xiii. (589), and Stephanus of Byzantium under Lampsacus.
[b] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 38.

*ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἐφόνευε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τὸν
ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτόχειρ ἀνελὼν Μελάν-
ιππον, ἔσχε*[1] *τὴν ἱερωσύνην· ἀνεῖλε δὲ καὶ Φαίδιμον
τὸν τῆς Ἀρεταφίλας ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν Ἀρεταφίλαν
ἔγημεν ἄκουσαν. πρὸς δὲ μυρίοις ἄλλοις παρα-
νομήμασι φύλακας ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν κατέστησεν, οἳ
τοὺς ἐκφερομένους νεκροὺς ἐλυμαίνοντο νύττοντες
ξιφιδίοις καὶ καυτήρια προσβάλλοντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ
μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ὡς νεκρὸν λαθεῖν ἐκκομιζό-
μενον.*

Δύσφορα μὲν οὖν καὶ[2] *τῇ Ἀρεταφίλᾳ τὰ οἰκεῖα*
256 *κακά, καίπερ ἐνδιδόντος αὐτῇ δι᾽ ἔρωτα τοῦ
τυράννου πλεῖστον ἀπολαύειν τῆς δυνάμεως (ἥττητο
γὰρ ἐκείνης καὶ μόνῃ χειροήθη παρεῖχεν αὑτὸν
ἄτεγκτος ὢν τἄλλα καὶ θηριώδης)· ἠνία δὲ μᾶλλον
αὐτὴν ἡ πατρὶς οἰκτρὰ πάσχουσα παρ᾽ ἀξίαν.
ἄλλος γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσφάττετο,
τιμωρία δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἠλπίζετο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ
φυγάδες, ἀσθενεῖς παντάπασιν ὄντες καὶ περίφοβοι,
διεσπάρησαν. αὐτὴν οὖν ἡ Ἀρεταφίλα ὑποθεῖσα
μόνην τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐλπίδα, καὶ τὰ Θήβης ζηλώσασα
τῆς Φεραίας καλὰ καὶ περιβόητα τολμήματα, συμ-
μάχων δὲ πιστῶν καὶ οἰκείων, οἵους ἐκείνῃ τὰ
πράγματα παρέσχεν, ἔρημος οὖσα, φαρμάκοις*
B *ἐπεχείρησε διεργάσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. παρασκευα-
ζομένη δὲ καὶ πορίζουσα καὶ διαπειρωμένη πολλῶν
δυνάμεων οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἀλλ᾽ ἐμηνύθη· καὶ γενομένων*

[1] *ἔσχε* F.C.B.: *εἶχε*.
[2] Pantazides would place καὶ after Ἀρεταφίλᾳ.

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[a] Who killed her husband Alexander. *Cf. Moralia*, 856 A; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 4. 35-37; Diodorus, xvi. 14; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 25 (53), *De inventione*, ii. 49

people of Cyrene, not only ordered the murder of many persons, but killed with his own hand Melanippus the priest of Apollo, and took the priesthood himself. He also killed Phaedimus the husband of Aretaphila, and made Aretaphila his unwilling wife. In addition to his other unnumbered acts of lawlessness, he stationed guards at the gates, who maltreated the dead that were being borne to the grave, prodding them with daggers, and applying red-hot irons to them, so that none of the citizens should be secretly carried out in the guise of a corpse.

Even for Aretaphila her own troubles were hard enough to bear, although the despot, because of his love for her, granted her the fullest enjoyment of his power, for he was quite vanquished by her, and with her alone did he conduct himself civilly, being relentless and brutal in all else. But even so, the piteous and undeserved suffering of her country distressed her the more; for one citizen after another was slaughtered, and there was no hope of vengeance from any quarter; for the exiles, altogether weak and timid, were scattered here and there and everywhere. So Aretaphila, risking herself as the sole remaining hope for the common weal, and emulating the glorious and far-famed daring of Thebe[a] of Pherae, but being destitute of faithful supporters in the household, such as the circumstances provided for Thebe, undertook to dispatch her husband by poison. In preparing, procuring, and testing many potent mediums she did not go unnoticed, but was betrayed. And when proofs were presented,

(144) and *De officiis*, ii. 7 (25); Valerius Maximus, ix. 13, ext. 4. Theopompus wrote an account of this (as Plutarch says, *Moralia*, 1093 c).

(256) ἐλέγχων, Καλβία μὲν ἡ τοῦ Νικοκράτους μήτηρ, φύσει φονικὴ γυνὴ καὶ ἀπαραίτητος, εὐθὺς ᾤετο δεῖν ἀναιρεῖν αἰκισαμένην[1] τὴν Ἀρεταφίλαν· τοῦ δὲ Νικοκράτους μέλλησιν ἐνεποίει τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ ἀσθένειαν ὁ ἔρως, καὶ τὸ τὴν Ἀρεταφίλαν ἐρρωμένως ὁμόσε χωρεῖν ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἀμύνουσαν ἑαυτῇ πρόφασίν τινα τῷ πάθει παρεῖχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελαμβάνετο τοῖς ἐλέγχοις καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς φαρμακείας ἑώρα μὴ δεχομένην ἄρνησιν, C ὡμολόγει, παρεσκευάσθαι δ' οὐκ ὀλέθριον φαρμακείαν· "ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μεγάλων," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνερ, ἀγωνίζομαι, τῆς σῆς εὐνοίας πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, ἣν διὰ σὲ καρποῦμαι πολλαῖς ἐπίφθονος οὖσα κακαῖς γυναιξίν· ὧν φάρμακα δεδοικυῖα καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπείσθην ἀντιμηχανήσασθαι, μωρὰ μὲν ἴσως καὶ γυναικεῖα, θανάτου δ' οὐκ ἄξια· πλὴν εἰ κριτῇ σοι δόξειε φίλτρων ἕνεκα καὶ γοητείας κτεῖναι γυναῖκα, πλεῖον ἢ σὺ βούλει φιλεῖσθαι δεομένην."

D Τοιαῦτα τὴν Ἀρεταφίλαν ἀπολογουμένην ἔδοξε τῷ Νικοκράτει βασανίσαι· καὶ τῆς Καλβίας ἐφεστώσης ἀτέγκτου καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου, ταῖς βασάνοις ἀνέκρινε· καὶ διεφύλαττεν αὑτὴν ἀήττητον ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ἄχρι καὶ τὴν Καλβίαν ἀποκαμεῖν ἄκουσαν.[2] ὁ δὲ Νικοκράτης ἀφῆκε πεισθεὶς καὶ μετενόει βασανίσας· καὶ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν διαλιπὼν αὖθις ἧκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους εἰς αὐτὴν φερόμενος, καὶ συνῆν αὖθις ἀναλαμβάνων τιμαῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύναις τὴν εὔνοιαν. ἡ δ' οὐκ ἔμελλε χάριτος

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[1] αἰκισαμένην] αἰκισάμενον Meziriacus.

[2] ἄκουσαν] κακοῦσαν S. A. Naber, wrongly as ἀνέκρινε (just above) shows.

Calbia, Nicocrates's mother, who was by nature bloodthirsty and inexorable, felt that she ought to make away with Aretaphila after torturing her. But Nicocrates' love had the effect of tempering his anger with procrastination and weakness, and the fact that Aretaphila vigorously met the accusations and defended herself against them provided some excuse for his attitude. But when she was apprehended by the proofs, and saw that her preparations for the poisoning admitted no denial, she confessed, but said that she had prepared no fatal poisoning. "No, my dear," said she, "my striving is for very important things, your affection for me, and the repute and influence which I enjoy because of you, and so am an object of envy to bad women. It was fear of their potions and devices that led me to invent some devices to counteract them. It was foolish and feminine perhaps, but not deserving of death, unless you as judge decide to put to death because of love-potions and charms a woman who yearns for more love than you are willing to grant her."

In spite of this defence of Aretaphila's, Nicocrates decided to have her put to the torture, and, with Calbia standing by, relentless and inexorable, he tested her in this way. She sustained herself with indomitable courage under the torments until even Calbia unwillingly gave over; and Nicocrates was convinced, and acquitted her, and was sorry that he had caused her to be tortured; and after no long time he came back again, impelled towards her by his passion for her, and resumed the old relations, and tried through honours and acts of kindness to regain her goodwill. But she, who had been trium-

ἡττᾶσθαι κρατήσασα βασάνων καὶ πόνων, ἀλλὰ
τῷ φιλοκάλῳ φιλονικίας[1] προσγενομένης ἑτέρας
ἥπτετο μηχανῆς.

E ᾿Ην γὰρ αὐτῇ θυγάτηρ ἀνδρὸς ὥραν ἔχουσα καὶ
τὴν ὄψιν ἱκανή[2]· ταύτην ὑφῆκε τἀδελφῷ τοῦ
τυράννου δέλεαρ, ὄντι μειρακίῳ πρὸς ἡδονὰς
εὐαλώτῳ. πολὺς δὲ λόγος ἐστὶ χρησαμένην γοητείᾳ
καὶ φαρμάκοις ἐπὶ τῇ κόρῃ τὴν ᾿Αρεταφίλαν,
χειρώσασθαι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸν
λογισμόν· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Λέανδρος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡλώκει
καὶ λιπαρήσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔτυχε τοῦ γάμου, τὰ
μὲν ἡ κόρη παρῆγεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς διδασκομένη
καὶ ἀνέπειθεν ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μηδ'
F αὐτὸν ἐλεύθερον ἐν τυραννίδι ζῶντα μηδὲ τοῦ
λαβεῖν γάμον ἢ φυλάξαι κύριον ὄντα, τὰ δ' οἱ
φίλοι τῇ ᾿Αρεταφίλᾳ χαριζόμενοι διαβολάς τινας
ἀεὶ καὶ ὑπονοίας κατεσκεύαζον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν
ἀδελφόν. ὡς δ' ᾔσθετο καὶ τὴν ᾿Αρεταφίλαν τὰ
αὐτὰ[3] βουλευομένην καὶ σπουδάζουσαν, ἐπεχείρει
τὸ ἔργον,[4] καὶ Δάφνιν οἰκέτην παρορμήσας ἀπέκτεινε
δι' ἐκείνου τὸν Νικοκράτην. τὰ λοιπὰ δ' οὐκέτι
τῇ ᾿Αρεταφίλᾳ προσεῖχεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἔδειξε τοῖς
ἔργοις ἀδελφοκτόνος οὐ τυραννοκτόνος γεγονώς·
257 ἦρχε γὰρ ἐμπλήκτως καὶ ἀνοήτως. τιμὴ δέ τις
ὅμως ἦν τῆς ᾿Αρεταφίλας παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ δύναμις,
οὐκ ἀπεχθανομένης οὐδὲ πολεμούσης ἄντικρυς
ἀλλ' ἀδήλως διαταττούσης τὰ πράγματα. πρῶτον
μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ Λιβυκὸν ὑπεκίνησε πόλεμον, ᾿Ανά-

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[1] φιλονικίας F.C.B.: φιλονεικίας.

[2] ἱκανὴ] καλὴ S. A. Naber, wrongly, for the second sentence below shows that her beauty was not overpowering.

[3] τὰ αὐτὰ] ταὐτὰ Dinse, proper but not necessary.

[4] τὸ ἔργον] τῷ ἔργῳ Turnebus.

phant over tortures and pain, had no intention of being vanquished by a show of favour, and, with eagerness for victory added to her eagerness for the honourable and good, she resorted to another device.

She was fortunate in having a daughter of marriageable age, rather good-looking. Her she dangled as a bait before the despot's brother, who was a young man and an easy prey to pleasures. There is much talk to the effect that Aretaphila, by using charms and love-potions on the girl, got the youth in hand and upset his reasoning powers. His name was Leander. When he had been captivated, and, by importuning his brother, had gained his consent to the marriage, the girl, on the one hand, instructed by her mother, tried to influence him and to induce him to set the city free, arguing that not even he himself was living as a free man under the despotism, and had not even warrant to contract a marriage or to keep to it; and, on the other hand, his friends, thinking to do a favour to Aretaphila, suggested to his mind certain prejudices and suspicions against his brother. When he discovered that Aretaphila was planning and working to the same end, he undertook the deed, and by urging on Daphnis a servant, through him he slew Nicocrates. For the rest, he no longer paid any attention to Aretaphila, but straightway showed by his deeds that he had made away with his brother, but not with the despot; for he ruled in a crazy and foolish way. Nevertheless there remained with him some respect for Aretaphila and some influence on her part, as she was not hateful to him and not directly hostile, but carried on her activities in his affairs unknown to him. First she secretly stirred up a war with the Africans for him by persuading a

(257) βουν τινὰ πείσασα δυνάστην τὴν χώραν ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ τῇ πόλει προσαγαγεῖν, ἔπειτα διέβαλε τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς πρὸς τὸν Λέανδρον, ὡς πολεμεῖν οὐκ ὄντας προθύμους, εἰρήνης δὲ μᾶλλον δεομένους καὶ ἡσυχίας, ἣν καὶ τὰ πράγματα ποθεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα, βουλομένου B βεβαίως κρατεῖν τῶν πολιτῶν· αὐτὴ δὲ πράξειν ἔφη τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ τὸν Ἀνάβουν εἰς λόγους αὐτῷ συνάξειν, ἐὰν κελεύῃ, πρὶν ἀνήκεστόν τι τὸν πόλεμον ἐξεργάσασθαι. κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Λεάνδρου, πρότερον αὐτὴ τῷ Λίβυι διελέχθη, συλλαβεῖν δεομένη τὸν τύραννον ἐπὶ δωρεαῖς μεγάλαις καὶ χρήμασιν, ὅταν εἰς λόγους αὐτῷ παραγένηται. πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ Λίβυος, ὤκνει μὲν ὁ Λέανδρος, αἰδεσθεὶς δὲ τὴν Ἀρεταφίλαν αὐτὴν παρέσεσθαι φάσκουσαν, ἐξῆλθεν ἄνοπλος καὶ ἀφύλακτος. ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς ἦλθε καὶ τὸν Ἀνάβουν εἶδεν, αὖθις ἐδυσχέραινε καὶ περιμένειν ἐβούλετο τοὺς δορυφόρους· C ἡ δ' Ἀρεταφίλα παροῦσα τὰ μὲν ἐθάρρυνεν αὐτὸν τὰ δ' ἐκάκιζε· τέλος δὲ γενομένης διατριβῆς, ἐφελκυσαμένη τῆς χειρὸς ἰταμῶς πάνυ καὶ τεθαρρηκότως προσήγαγε τῷ βαρβάρῳ καὶ παρέδωκεν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀνήρπαστο καὶ συνείληπτο καὶ δεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἐτηρεῖτο, ἄχρι οὗ τὰ χρήματα τῇ Ἀρεταφίλᾳ κομίζοντες οἱ φίλοι παρεγένοντο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν. πυθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὴν παράκλησιν· ὡς δ' εἶδον τὴν Ἀρεταφίλαν, ὀλίγον[1] ἐδέησαν ἐκλαθέσθαι τῆς πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ὀργῆς, καὶ πάρεργον τὴν ἐκείνου

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[1] ὀλίγον in Hutten's edition: ὀλίγου, however, the reading of the MSS., may stand.

certain potentate Anabus to overrun the country and lead his army against the city; then she falsely accused to Leander his friends and generals, intimating that they were not zealous in carrying on the war, but wanted rather peace and quiet, which his circumstances and despotism required, as he wished to hold secure his power over the citizens. She said that she herself would effect the reconciliation, and would get Anabus to come to a conference with him, if he would but give the word, before the war should have wrought some irremediable ill. When Leander gave the word, she herself had a talk with the African beforehand, in which she desired him, on the promise of many presents and much money, to seize the despot when he should come to the conference with him. When the African had been won over, Leander was hesitant, but, abashed before Aretaphila, who said that she would be present herself, he went forth unarmed and unattended. When he came near and saw Anabus, he again felt uneasy, and wanted to wait for his bodyguard. But Aretaphila, who was there, at one moment encouraged him, and the next called him a coward. Finally, as a delay ensued, she, quite impulsively and boldly dragging him by the hand, brought him up to the barbarian and handed him over. Instantly he was seized and made a prisoner, and, after having been put in bonds, was kept under watch by the Africans, until Aretaphila's friends, who were bringing the money for her, arrived, accompanied by the rest of the citizens. For almost all of them, on hearing the news, ran out at the call. When they saw Aretaphila, they came near forgetting their anger against the despot, and considered vengeance upon him a

D (257) τιμωρίαν ἐνόμιζον· ἔργον δὲ πρῶτον ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπόλαυσμα τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐκείνην ἀσπάσασθαι μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ δακρύων, ὥσπερ ἀγάλματι θεοῦ προσπίπτοντας. ἄλλων δ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπιρρεόντων, μόλις ἑσπέρας τὸν Λέανδρον παραλαβόντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τιμῶν τῆς Ἀρεταφίλας καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων ἐνεπλήσθησαν, οὕτω τραπόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους τὴν μὲν Καλβίαν ζῶσαν κατέκαυσαν, τὸν δὲ Λέανδρον ἐνράψαντες εἰς βύρσαν κατεπόντισαν. ἠξίουν δὲ τὴν Ἀρεταφίλαν συνάρχειν καὶ συνδιοικεῖν τοῖς ἀρίστοις E ἀνδράσι τὴν πολιτείαν. ἡ δ' ὡς ποικίλον τι δρᾶμα καὶ πολυμερὲς ἀγωνισαμένη μέχρι στεφάνου διαδόσεως, ὡς ἐπεῖδε τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέραν, εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ἐνεδύετο, καὶ τοῦ πολυπραγμονεῖν ὁτιοῦν παραβαλλομένη,[1] τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐν ἱστοῖς ἡσυχίαν ἄγουσα μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων διετέλεσεν.

XX. ΚΑΜΜΑ

Ἦσαν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ δυνατώτατοι τῶν τετραρχῶν καί τι καὶ κατὰ γένος προσήκοντες ἀλλήλοις Σινᾶτός τε καὶ Σινόριξ[2]· ὧν ὁ Σινᾶτος γυναῖκα παρθένον ἔσχε Κάμμαν ὄνομα, περίβλεπτον μὲν F ἰδέᾳ σώματος καὶ ὥρᾳ, θαυμαζομένην δὲ μᾶλλον δι' ἀρετήν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον σώφρων καὶ φίλανδρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνετὴ καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ ποθεινὴ τοῖς

[1] παραβαλλομένη] περιβαλλομένη in some MSS.

[2] Σινόριξ probably the correct spelling: συνόριξ.

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[a] *The Cup*, a drama by Alfred Lord Tennyson, follows closely Plutarch's story of Camma, which inspired it. The play (published in 1884) may be found in Tennyson's

secondary concern. Their first concern in the enjoyment of their freedom was to greet her with joy and tears, prostrating themselves before her as before the statue of a god. As the people surged on, one close upon another, it was with difficulty that by evening they took over Leander and returned to the city. When they had had their fill of honours and praises for Aretaphila, they then turned their attention to the despots. Calbia they burned alive, and Leander they sewed up in a leathern sack and sank in the depths of the sea. They asked that Aretaphila, as her proper due, should share with the best citizens in the control and management of the government. But she, as one who had played through a drama of varying sort and of many rôles up to the winning of the prize, when she saw the city free, withdrew at once to her own quarters among the women, and, rejecting any sort of meddling in affairs, spent the rest of her life quietly at the loom in the company of her friends and family.

XX. CAMMA [a]

There were in Galatia two of the most powerful of the tetrarchs, distantly related to each other, Sinatus and Sinorix. One of these, Sinatus, had married a maiden, Camma by name, conspicuous for her form and beauty, but even more admired for her virtues. Not only was she modest and fond of her husband, but she was also quick-witted and high-

collected works. It was presented at the Lyceum Theatre in 1881 by Henry Irving and ran for over one hundred and thirty nights. Certainly the account of Camma's death does not lack dramatic quality.

Plutarch repeats the story in *Moralia*, 768 B, and Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 39, also gives his version.

ὑπηκόοις ἦν διαφερόντως ὑπ' εὐμενείας καὶ χρηστότητος· ἐπιφανεστέραν δ' αὐτὴν ἐποίει καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱέρειαν εἶναι, ἣν μάλιστα Γαλάται σέβουσι, περί τε πομπὰς ἀεὶ καὶ θυσίας κεκοσμημένην ὁρᾶσθαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς.

Ἐρασθεὶς οὖν αὐτῆς ὁ Σινόριξ, καὶ μήτε πεῖσαι
μήτε βιάσασθαι ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δυνατὸς ὤν,
ἔργον εἰργάσατο δεινόν· ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ δόλῳ τὸν
Σινᾶτον, καὶ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν διαλιπὼν ἐμνᾶτο τὴν
258 Κάμμαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ποιουμένην διατριβὰς καὶ
φέρουσαν οὐκ οἰκτρῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς ἀλλὰ θυμῷ
νοῦν ἔχοντι καὶ καιρὸν περιμένοντι τὴν τοῦ Σινόριγος
παρανομίαν. ὁ δὲ λιπαρὴς ἦν περὶ τὰς
δεήσεις, καὶ λόγων ἐδόκει μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπορεῖν
εὐπρέπειαν ἐχόντων, ὡς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Σινάτου
βελτίονα παρεσχηκὼς ἑαυτὸν ἀνελὼν δ' ἐκεῖνον
ἔρωτι τῆς Κάμμης[1] μὴ δι' ἑτέραν τινὰ πονηρίαν.
ἦσαν οὖν τὸ πρῶτον ἀρνήσεις οὐκ ἄγαν ἀπηνεῖς τῆς
γυναικός, εἶτα κατὰ μικρὸν ἐδόκει μαλάττεσθαι·
B καὶ γὰρ οἰκεῖοι καὶ φίλοι προσέκειντο θεραπείᾳ καὶ
χάριτι τοῦ Σινόριγος μέγιστον δυναμένου, πείθοντες
αὐτὴν καὶ καταβιαζόμενοι· τέλος δὲ συνεχώρει
καὶ μετεπέμπετο πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐκεῖνον, ὡς
παρὰ τῇ[2] θεῷ τῆς συναινέσεως καὶ καταπιστώσεως
γενησομένης. ἐλθόντα δὲ δεξαμένη φιλοφρόνως
καὶ προσαγαγοῦσα τῷ βωμῷ κατέσπεισεν ἐκ
φιάλης, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐξέπιεν αὐτὴ τὸ δ' ἐκεῖνον

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[1] Κάμμης Hatzidakis: Κάμμας.

[2] τῇ Xylander, presumably from Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 39: τῷ.

minded, and unusually dear to her inferiors by reason of her kindness and benevolence. A thing that brought her into greater prominence was the fact that she was the priestess of Artemis, whom the Galatians especially reverence, and was seen magnificently attired always in connexion with the processions and sacrifices.

So Sinorix fell in love with her, and not being able to prevail upon her either by persuasion or force as long as her husband lived, he committed a horrible deed, and treacherously killed Sinatus. Then, without allowing much time to elapse, he commenced to woo Camma, who was spending time in the temple and bearing Sinorix's lawless transgression in no pitiful nor abject manner, but with a spirit that showed sense and bided its time. He was persistent in his suit, and seemed not to be at all at a loss for arguments that had some plausibility, to the effect that in all other respects he had shown himself a better man than Sinatus, and had made away with him for love of Camma and not because of any other nefarious intent. The woman's denials at the first were not too peremptory, and later, little by little, she appeared to be softened; for her relatives and friends also brought pressure to bear upon her by way of service and favour to Sinorix, who held such very great power, and they tried to persuade and coerce her. Finally she yielded, and sent for him to come to her, on the ground that the consenting and pledging should take place in the presence of the goddess. When he had come, she received him kindly and, having led him to the altar, poured a libation from a bowl, then drank a portion herself and bade him drink the rest; it was poisoned mixture

(258) ἐκέλευσεν· ἦν δὲ πεφαρμαγμένον μελίκρατον. ὡς
δ᾽ εἶδε πεπωκότα, λαμπρὸν ἀνωλόλυξε καὶ τὴν
θεὸν προσκυνήσασα, "μαρτύρομαί σε," εἶπεν, "ὦ
πολυτίμητε δαῖμον, ὅτι ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς ἡμέρας
ἐπέζησα τῷ Σινάτου φόνῳ, χρόνον τοσοῦτον οὐδὲν
C ἀπολαύουσα[1] τοῦ βίου χρηστὸν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ[2] τὴν ἐλπίδα
τῆς δίκης, ἣν ἔχουσα καταβαίνω πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν
ἄνδρα. σοὶ δ᾽, ὦ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων,
τάφον ἀντὶ θαλάμου καὶ γάμου παρασκευαζέτωσαν
οἱ προσήκοντες."

Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ Γαλάτης καὶ τοῦ φαρμάκου δρῶντος ἤδη καὶ διακινοῦντος τὸ σῶμα συναισθόμενος ἐπέβη μὲν ὀχήματος ὡς σάλῳ καὶ τιναγμῷ χρησόμενος, ἐξέστη δὲ παραχρῆμα καὶ μεταβὰς εἰς φορεῖον ἑσπέρας ἀπέθανεν. ἡ δὲ Κάμμα διενεγκοῦσα τὴν νύκτα καὶ πυθομένη τέλος ἔχειν ἐκεῖνον, εὐθύμως καὶ ἱλαρῶς κατέστρεψεν.

XXI. ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΗ

Παρέσχε δ᾽ ἡ Γαλατία καὶ Στρατονίκην τὴν
D Δηιοτάρου καὶ Χιομάραν τὴν Ὀρτιάγοντος, ἀξίας
μνήμης γυναῖκας.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν Στρατονίκη δεόμενον γνησίων παίδων ἐπὶ διαδοχῇ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπισταμένη τὸν ἄνδρα, μὴ τίκτουσα δ᾽ αὐτὴ συνέπεισεν ἐξ ἑτέρας γυναικὸς παιδοποιησάμενον αὐτῇ τὸ παιδίον περιιδεῖν ὑποβαλλόμενον. τοῦ δὲ Δηιοτάρου τήν τε γνώμην θαυμάσαντος καὶ πᾶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ ποιησαμένου, παρθένον εὐπρεπῆ παρασκευάσασα τῶν αἰχμαλώ-

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[1] ἀπολαύουσα Wyttenbach: ἀπολαβοῦσα, *cf.* 259 E, 272 F.

[2] ἀλλ᾽ ἢ Bernardakis: ἀλλά.

of milk and honey. When she saw that he had drunk, she uttered a clear cry of joy, and, prostrating herself before the goddess, said, "I call you to witness, goddess most revered, that for the sake of this day I have lived on after the murder of Sinatus, and during all that time I have derived no comfort from life save only the hope of justice; and now that justice is mine, I go down to my husband. But as for you, wickedest of all men, let your relatives make ready a tomb instead of a bridal chamber and a wedding."

When the Galatian heard these words, and felt the poison already working and creating a disturbance in his body, he mounted a chariot as if to try shaking and jolting as a relief, but he got out almost immediately and changed over into a litter, and in the evening he died. Camma endured through the night, and when she learned that he had come to his end, she died cheerful and happy.

XXI. STRATONICE

Galatia produced also Stratonice the wife of Deiotarus and Chiomara the wife of Ortiagon, women that deserve to be remembered.

Stratonice, well knowing that her husband desired children from her to succeed to the kingdom, but having no child herself, prevailed upon him to have a child by another woman, and to connive at its being passed off as her own. Deiotarus thought highly of the idea, and did everything in dependence upon her judgement, and she procured a comely

(258) των ὄνομα Ἠλέκτραν συνεῖρξε τῷ Δηιοτάρῳ, καὶ τοὺς γενομένους παῖδας ὥσπερ γνησίους αὑτῆς ἔθρεψε φιλοστόργως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς.

XXII. ΧΙΟΜΑΡΑ

Χιομάραν δὲ συνέβη τὴν Ὀρτιάγοντος αἰχμά-
E λωτον γενέσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν, ὅτε
Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Γναῖος ἐνίκησαν μάχῃ τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ
Γαλάτας. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν αὐτὴν ταξίαρχος ἐχρήσατο
τῇ τύχῃ στρατιωτικῶς καὶ κατῄσχυνεν· ἦν δ' ἄρα
καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀργύριον ἀμαθὴς καὶ[1] ἀκρατὴς
ἄνθρωπος· ἡττήθη δ' ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς φιλαργυρίας,
καὶ χρυσίου συχνοῦ διομολογηθέντος ὑπὲρ τῆς
γυναικός, ἦγεν αὐτὴν ἀπολυτρώσων, ποταμοῦ
F τινος ἐν μέσῳ διείργοντος. ὡς δὲ διαβάντες οἱ
Γαλάται τὸ χρυσίον ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ καὶ παρελάμ-
βανον τὴν Χιομάραν, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ νεύματος προσ-
έταξεν ἑνὶ παῖσαι τὸν Ῥωμαῖον ἀσπαζόμενον
αὐτὴν καὶ φιλοφρονούμενον· ἐκείνου δὲ πεισθέντος
καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψαντος, ἀραμένη καὶ περι-
στείλασα τοῖς κόλποις ἀπήλαυνεν. ὡς δ' ἦλθε
πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ προέβαλεν,
ἐκείνου θαυμάσαντος καὶ εἰπόντος, "ὦ γύναι,
καλὸν ἡ πίστις," "ναί," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ κάλλιον
ἕνα μόνον ζῆν ἐμοὶ συγγεγενημένον."

[1] ἀμαθὴς καὶ] Cobet would omit.

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[a] This is printed as one of the fragments of Polybius, xxi. 38 (xxii. 21), from whom it is possible that Plutarch copied the story. *Cf.* also Livy, xxxviii. 24; Valerius Maximus, vi. 1, ext. 2; Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, i. 27. 6 (ii. 11. 6).

maiden from among the prisoners, Electra by name, and sealed her to Deiotarus. The children that were born she brought up with loving care and in royal state as if they had been her own.

XXII. CHIOMARA[a]

It came to pass that Chiomara, the wife of Ortiagon, was made a prisoner of war along with the rest of the women at the time when the Romans under Gnaeus[b] overcame in battle the Galatians in Asia. The officer[c] who obtained possession of her used his good fortune as soldiers do, and dishonoured her. He was, naturally, an ignorant man with no self-control when it came to either pleasure or money. He fell a victim, however, to his love of money, and when a very large sum in gold had been mutually agreed upon as the price for the woman, he brought her to exchange for the ransom to a place where a river, flowing between, formed a boundary. When the Galatians had crossed and given him the money and received Chiomara, she, by a nod, indicated to one man that he should smite the Roman as he was affectionately taking leave of her. And when the man obediently struck off the Roman's head, she picked it up and, wrapping it in the folds of her garment, departed. When she came to her husband and threw the head down before him, he said in amazement, "A noble thing, dear wife, is fidelity." "Yes," said she, "but it is a nobler thing that only one man be alive who has been intimate with me."[d]

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[b] Gnaeus Manlius Vulso; the battle took place in 189 B.C.

[c] A centurion, according to the Roman account.

[d] "Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis."

Ταύτῃ μὲν ὁ Πολύβιός φησι διὰ λόγων ἐν Σάρδεσι γενόμενος θαυμάσαι τό τε φρόνημα καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν.

259 XXIII. ΓΥΝΑΙΟΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΟΝ[1]

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἑξήκοντα Γαλατῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους μεταπεμψάμενος εἰς Πέργαμον ὡς φίλους, ὑβριστικῶς ἐδόκει καὶ δεσποτικῶς προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ πάντες ἠγανάκτουν, Πορηδόριξ,[2] ἀνὴρ τό τε σῶμα ῥωμαλέος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν διαφέρων (ἦν δὲ Τοσιωπῶν[3] τετράρχης), ἀνεδέξατο τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ὅταν ἐν τῷ βήματι ἐν[4] γυμνασίῳ χρηματίζῃ συναρπάσας ὤσειν ἅμα σὺν αὐτῷ κατὰ τῆς φάραγγος. τύχῃ δέ τινι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης οὐκ ἀναβάντος εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον αὐτοῦ, μεταπεμπομένου δὲ τοὺς
B Γαλάτας οἴκαδε, θαρρεῖν παρεκάλει, καὶ ὅταν ἐν ταὐτῷ γένωνται, διασπάσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ διαφθεῖραι πανταχόθεν προσπεσόντας. τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ἀλλὰ μηνύσεως γενομένης, καθ' ἕνα τῶν Γαλατῶν παρεδίδου σφαγησόμενον· εἶτά πως ἀναμνησθεὶς νεανίσκου πολὺ προέχοντος[5] ὥρᾳ καὶ κάλλει τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν ᾤκτιρε καὶ μετενόει· καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀχθόμενος ὡς ἐν πρώτοις ἀπολωλότος, ὅμως δ' ἔπεμψεν, εἰ ζῶν εὑρεθείη, μεθεῖναι κελεύων· ἦν δ' ὄνομα τῷ νεανίσκῳ Βηπολιτανός. καί τις αὐτῷ τύχη θαυμαστὴ συνέπεσε· καλὴν γὰρ ἐσθῆτα
C καὶ πολυτελῆ συνελήφθη φορῶν· ἣν ὁ δήμιος ἀν-

[1] The title (not in the MSS.) was added by Xylander.

[2] Πορηδόριξ an early correction: πορηδόραξ.

[3] Τοσιωπῶν] Τολιστοβώγων Wyttenbach: Τεκτοσάγων suggested by Bernardakis on the basis of inscriptional evidence, but certainty is impossible.

[4] ἐν added by F.C.B.

[5] προέχοντος Wyttenbach: προέχοντος πρωτεύσαντος.

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[a] *Cf.* Appian, *The Mithradatic Wars*, vii. 46.

Polybius says that he had a conversation with this woman in Sardis, and that he admired her good sense and intelligence.

XXIII. A WOMAN OF PERGAMUM

When Mithradates,[a] after sending for sixty of the noblest of Galatians to come to Pergamum as friends, seemed to comport himself arrogantly and despotically toward them, and all were indignant, Poredorix, a man of great bodily strength and of unusual spirit, tetrarch of the Tosiopians, undertook, when Mithradates should be hearing cases on the tribunal in a gymnasium, to seize hold of it suddenly and precipitate him, tribunal and all, down into the ravine. But by some chance Mithradates did not go up to the gymnasium on that day, but sent for the Galatians to come to his house, whereupon Poredorix urged them to keep up their courage and, when they all should be met together there, to rend Mithradates limb from limb, and kill him, by falling upon him from all sides at once. Knowledge of this came to Mithradates through the agency of some informer, and he delivered over the Galatians one by one to be executed. A little later, happening to remember a young man who, in comeliness and beauty, far surpassed those of his age, he felt sorry for him and changed his mind. It was plain that he was much distressed, since the youth had probably been put to death among the first; yet he sent orders that, if the youth should be found alive, they should let him go. The young man's name was Bepolitanus, and a marvellous piece of luck befell him in this wise: when he was arrested he was wearing very beautiful and costly clothing, which the executioner wished to

(259) αἵμακτον αὑτῷ καὶ καθαρὰν διαφυλάξαι βουλόμενος, καὶ ἀποδύων ἠρέμα[1] τὸν νεανίσκον, εἶδε τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προσθέοντας ἅμα καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦ μειρακίου βοῶντας. τὸν μὲν οὖν Βηπολιτανὸν ἡ πολλοὺς ἀπολέσασα φιλαργυρία διέσωσεν ἀπροσδοκήτως.

Ὁ δὲ Πορηδόριξ[2] κατακοπεὶς ἄταφος ἐξεβέβλητο, καὶ τῶν φίλων οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησε προσελθεῖν· γύναιον δὲ Περγαμηνόν, ἐγνωσμένον ἀφ' ὥρας ζῶντι[3] τῷ Γαλάτῃ παρεκινδύνευσε θάψαι καὶ περι- D στεῖλαι τὸν νεκρόν· ᾔσθοντο δ' οἱ φύλακες καὶ συλλαβόντες ἀνήγαγον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. λέγεται μὲν οὖν τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῆς παθεῖν ὁ Μιθριδάτης, νέας παντάπασι καὶ ἀκάκου τῆς παιδίσκης φανείσης· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς ἔοικε τὴν αἰτίαν γνοὺς ἐρωτικὴν οὖσαν ἐπεκλάσθη καὶ συνεχώρησεν ἀνελέσθαι καὶ θάψαι τὸν νεκρὸν ἐσθῆτα καὶ κόσμον ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου λαβοῦσαν.

XXIV. ΤΙΜΟΚΛΕΙΑ

Θεαγένης ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ καὶ Πελοπίδᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἀνδράσι τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λαβὼν διάνοιαν, ἔπταισε περὶ τὴν κοινὴν τύχην τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, κρατῶν ἤδη καὶ διώκων τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀντιτεταγμένους. ἐκεῖνος E γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρὸς τὸν ἐμβοήσαντα, " μέχρι ποῦ διώκεις;" ἀποκρινάμενος, " μέχρι Μακεδονίας."

[1] ἠρέμα Cobet: ἀτρέμα.

[2] Πορηδόριξ an early correction: πορηδόραξ.

[3] ζῶντι] ζῶν τι! E. Kurtz.

keep, unstained by blood and unsullied, for himself, and he was stripping this off in a leisurely way, when he saw the messengers from the king running towards him and shouting the youth's name. So in the case of Bepolitanus, avarice, which has been the undoing of many a man, unexpectedly saved his life.

Poredorix was executed and his body cast forth unburied, and not one of his friends dared to go near him; but a woman of Pergamum, who for her loveliness had been known to the Galatian while he was living, took the risk of burying and covering up his body. The guards, noticing her, arrested her and took her before the king. It is said that Mithradates' emotions were stirred at the sight of her, as the girl appeared altogether young and innocent. A still stronger influence very likely came from his having learned that love was the reason behind it all; at any rate, he relented and granted her permission to remove and bury the corpse, and to take for it clothing and adornment from what belonged to him.

XXIV. TIMOCLEIA [a]

Theagenes of Thebes, who had come to entertain the same aspirations for his city as Epameinondas and Pelopidas and the noblest of the Thebans, came to grief, involved in the general fortunes of Greece at Chaeroneia, when he was already overpowering and pursuing the opposing lines. He is the one who, in answer to a man who cried out, " How far is your pursuit to go ? " said, " As far as Macedonia ! "

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[a] Plutarch tells of Timocleia more briefly in his *Life of Alexander*, chap. xii. (671 A). *Cf.* also Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 40; Hieronymus, *Adversus Iovinianum*, 35; Zonaras, iv. 9 (185 B).

Ἀποθανόντι δ' αὐτῷ περιῆν ἀδελφὴ μαρτυροῦσα
κἀκεῖνον ἀρετῇ γένους καὶ φύσει μέγαν ἄνδρα
καὶ λαμπρὸν γενέσθαι· πλὴν ταύτῃ γε καὶ χρηστὸν
ἀπολαῦσαί τι τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπῆρξεν, ὥστε κουφότερον,
ὅσον τῶν κοινῶν ἀτυχημάτων εἰς αὐτὴν ἦλθεν,
ἐνεγκεῖν.

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκράτησε Θηβαίων Ἀλέξανδρος, ἄλλοι
δ' ἄλλα τῆς πόλεως ἐπόρθουν ἐπιόντες, ἔτυχε τὴν
Τιμοκλείας οἰκίαν καταλαβὼν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἐπι-
εικὴς οὐδ' ἥμερος ἀλλ' ὑβριστὴς καὶ ἀνόητος· ἦρχε
δὲ Θρᾳκίου τινὸς ἴλης[1] καὶ ὁμώνυμος ἦν τοῦ
F βασιλέως οὐδὲν δ' ὅμοιος. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ γένος οὔτε
τὸν βίον αἰδεσθεὶς τῆς γυναικός, ὡς ἐνέπλησεν
ἑαυτὸν οἴνου, μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐκάλει συναναπαυσο-
μένην. καὶ τοῦτο[2] πέρας οὐκ ἦν· ἀλλὰ καὶ χρυσὸν
ἐζήτει καὶ ἄργυρον, εἴ τις εἴη κεκρυμμένος ὑπ'
αὐτῆς, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀπολῶν τὰ δ' ὡς ἕξων διὰ παντὸς
ἐν τάξει γυναικός. ἡ δὲ δεξαμένη λαβὴν αὐτοῦ
διδόντος, "ὤφελον μέν," εἶπε, "τεθνάναι πρὸ
260 ταύτης ἐγὼ τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ ζῆν, ἵνα[3] τὸ γοῦν σῶμα
πάντων ἀπολλυμένων[4] ἀπείρατον ὕβρεως διεφύ-
λαξα[5]· πεπραγμένων δ' οὕτως, εἴ σε κηδεμόνα
καὶ δεσπότην καὶ ἄνδρα δεῖ νομίζειν, τοῦ
δαίμονος διδόντος, οὐκ ἀποστερήσω σε τῶν σῶν·
ἐμαυτὴν γὰρ ὅ τι βουλήσῃ ὁρῶ γεγενημένην.
ἐμοὶ περὶ σῶμα κόσμος ἦν καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν ἐκ-
πώμασιν, ἦν τι καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ νομίσματος. ὡς δ'
ἡ πόλις ἡλίσκετο, πάντα συλλαβεῖν κελεύσασα τὰς

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[1] ἴλης Xylander: εἴλης.

[2] τοῦτο Meziriacus: τούτου.

[3] ἵνα added by F.C.B.

[4] ἀπολλυμένων] ἀπολομένων Cobet.

[5] διεφύλαξα] διαφυλάξαι most MSS.: διαφυλάξασα Meziriacus.

A sister survived him to bear witness that by reason of the virtues of the family and his own natural endowment he was a great and splendid man. However, she had the advantage of getting some benefit from her virtues, so that she could bear more lightly so much of the general misfortunes as came upon her.

For when Alexander had overpowered the Thebans,[a] and some of his men were going to this part of the city, and others to that, and plundering, it happened that a man took possession of Timocleia's house who was not reasonable or civil but arrogant and foolish. He was commander of a certain Thracian troop, and bore the same name as the king, but was in no way like him; for, without showing the least respect for the ancestry or the estate of the woman, after he had guzzled his fill of wine, he summoned her after dinner to spend the night with him. And this was not the end; he asked for gold and silver, if any had been hidden away by her, at one time threatening to kill her, at another promising to keep her for all time in the position of a wife. She, seizing upon the hold he offered, said, "Would God I had been dead before this night rather than to be alive, so that I might at least, when all else is being ravaged, have preserved my honour. But, since what has been done is done, if I must look upon you as my protector, lord, and husband, by God's will, I will not deprive you of your own; for I see that I myself have become whatever your will shall decide. I did possess personal ornaments and silver fashioned into drinking-cups, and there was also some gold and money. When the city was being captured, I told

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[a] In 335 B.C.

(260) θεραπαινίδας ἔρριψα, μᾶλλον δὲ κατεθέμην εἰς
φρέαρ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἔχον· οὐδ' ἴσασιν αὐτὸ πολλοί·
B πῶμα γὰρ ἔπεστι καὶ κύκλῳ περιπέφυκεν ὕλη
σύσκιος. ταῦτα σὺ μὲν εὐτυχοίης λαβών, ἐμοὶ
δ' ἔσται πρός σε μαρτύρια καὶ γνωρίσματα τῆς
περὶ τὸν οἶκον εὐτυχίας καὶ λαμπρότητος."

'Ακούσας οὖν ὁ Μακεδὼν οὐ περιέμεινε τὴν
ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἡγου-
μένης τῆς Τιμοκλείας· καὶ τὸν κῆπον ἀποκλεῖσαι
κελεύσας, ὅπως αἴσθοιτο μηδείς, κατέβαινεν ἐν τῷ
χιτῶνι. στυγερὰ δ' ἡγεῖτο Κλωθὼ τιμωρὸς ὑπὸ[1]
τῆς Τιμοκλείας ἐφεστώσης ἄνωθεν. ὡς δ' ᾔσθετο
τῇ φωνῇ κάτω γεγονότος, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτὴ τῶν
C λίθων ἐπέφερε πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους αἱ θερα-
παινίδες ἐπεκυλίνδουν, ἄχρι οὗ κατέκοψαν αὐτὸν
καὶ κατέχωσαν. ὡς δ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ
τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνείλοντο κηρύγματος ἤδη γεγονότος
μηδένα κτείνειν Θηβαίων, ἦγον αὐτὴν συλλαβόντες
ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ προσήγγειλαν τὸ τετολμη-
μένον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ καταστάσει τοῦ προσώπου
καὶ τῷ σχολαίῳ τοῦ βαδίσματος ἀξιωματικόν τι
καὶ γενναῖον ἐνιδὼν πρῶτον ἀνέκρινεν αὐτὴν τίς
εἴη γυναικῶν. ἡ δ' ἀνεκπλήκτως πάνυ καὶ
τεθαρρηκότως εἶπεν, "ἐμοὶ Θεαγένης ἦν ἀδελφός,
ὃς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ στρατηγῶν καὶ μαχόμενος πρὸς
ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἔπεσεν,
ὅπως ἡμεῖς μηδὲν τοιοῦτον πάθωμεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ

[1] ὑπὸ] ὑπὲρ Hartman.

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[a] The poetic expression probably comes from some lyric or dramatic poet. It can hardly have been made up by Plutarch from Hesiod's *Shield of Heracles*, 258.

my maid-servants to get this all together, and I threw it, or rather deposited it, into a dry well. Nor do many know of it; for there is a cover over the well, and a shady wood growing all around it. I hope you may be fortunate in obtaining it, and for me it will serve as proofs and tokens to you of the happy and splendid state of my house."

When the Macedonian heard this, he could not wait for daylight, but went straight to the place under the guidance of Timocleia, and, after ordering the garden to be shut close, so that nobody should find out what was going on, he climbed down into the well in his shirt only. An odious Fate led him on,[a] destined to work vengeance upon him at the hands of Timocleia standing over him at the top of the well. When she could tell by his voice that he had reached the bottom, she herself brought many of the stones, while her maid-servants rolled in many big ones on top until they had beaten him down and completely buried him. When the Macedonians came to know of this and recovered the corpse, inasmuch as proclamation had been made before this to kill none of the Thebans, they arrested Timocleia and brought her to the king, and told of her daring deed. But he, seeing in the composure of her countenance and her unhurried step an indication of high rank and noble blood, first questioned her as to who she was among the women. She quite undauntedly and courageously said, "I had the good fortune to have a brother Theagenes, who was a general at Chaeroneia and fell there, fighting against you Macedonians for the freedom of Greece, that we might not have any such experience as we have had. But since we have had an experience un-

(260) πεπόνθαμεν ἀνάξια τοῦ γένους, ἀποθανεῖν οὐ
D φεύγομεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄμεινον ἴσως ζῶσαν ἑτέρας
πειρᾶσθαι νυκτός, εἰ σὺ τοῦτο μὴ κωλύσεις."

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν παρόντων ἐδάκρυσαν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δ' οἰκτίρειν μὲν οὐκ ἐπῄει τὴν ἄνθρωπον ὡς μείζονα, θαυμάσας δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸν λόγον εὖ μάλα καθαψάμενον αὐτοῦ, τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσι παρήγγειλε προσέχειν καὶ φυλάττειν, μὴ πάλιν ὕβρισμα τοιοῦτον εἰς οἰκίαν ἔνδοξον γένηται· τὴν δὲ Τιμόκλειαν ἀφῆκεν αὐτήν τε καὶ πάντας ὅσοι κατὰ γένος αὐτῇ προσήκοντες εὑρέθησαν.

XXV. ΕΡΥΞΩ

Βάττου τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Εὐδαίμονος υἱὸς Ἀρ-
E κεσίλαος ἦν οὐδὲν ὅμοιος τῷ πατρὶ τοὺς τρόπους·
καὶ γὰρ ζῶντος ἔτι περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν περιθεὶς
ἐπάλξεις ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐζημιώθη ταλάντῳ· καὶ
τελευτήσαντος ἐκείνου, τοῦτο μὲν[1] φύσει χαλεπὸς
ὢν (ὅπερ καὶ ἐπεκλήθη), τοῦτο δὲ φίλῳ πονηρῷ,
Λαάρχῳ, χρώμενος ἀντὶ βασιλέως ἐγεγόνει τύραν-
νος. ὁ δὲ Λάαρχος[2] ἐπιβουλεύων τῇ τυραννίδι καὶ
τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐξελαύνων ἢ
φονεύων, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον τὰς αἰτίας ἔτρεπε·
F καὶ τέλος ἐκεῖνον μὲν εἰς νόσον ἐμβαλὼν φθινάδα
καὶ χαλεπήν, λαγὼν πιόντα θαλάσσιον, διέφθειρεν,

[1] μὲν van Herwerden: μὲν οὖν.

[2] Λάαρχος] Ἀλίαρχος (or Λέαρχος?) Herodotus, iv. 160, but Λάαρχος occurs in inscriptions.

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[a] *Cf.* Herodotus, iv. 160; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 41; Müller, *Frag. Histor. Graec.* iii. p. 387, Nicolaus Damasc. Frag. 52.

[b] He was nicknamed 'The Harsh.'

deserved by our family, we have no wish to escape death; for it were better, perhaps, not to live to experience another such night, unless you put a stop to this thing."

At this the most sympathetic of those present began to weep, but it did not occur to Alexander to pity the woman, for he felt that she was too great for that, but he marvelled at her bravery and her words, which touched him greatly, and he issued orders to his officers that they should take good care and be on the watch that no such insult should again be offered to a noted house. Timocleia he allowed to go free, both herself and all others who were found to be related to her.

XXV. ERYXO[a]

Arcesilaus, the son of Battus who was nicknamed 'The Happy,' was not at all like his father in his ways. In fact, while his father was still living, he surrounded his house with a rampart, and was fined two hundred pounds by his father; and when his father had come to his end, for one thing Arcesilaus, being harsh by nature (and this gave him his nickname),[b] and for another consorting with a vicious friend Laarchus, instead of being a king became a despot. Laarchus, secretly scheming to become despot, banished or murdered the noblest among the men of Cyrene, and diverted all the blame for this from himself to Arcesilaus; and finally he brought Arcesilaus into a wasting and grievous illness by a drink containing sea-hare,[c] and thus

[c] A kind of fish (*Lepus marinus*); Plutarch (*Moralia*, 983 F) says that it is fatal to human beings.

αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν[1] ὡς τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἐκείνου Βάττῳ διαφυλάττων. ὁ μὲν οὖν παῖς καὶ διὰ τὴν χωλότητα καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν κατεφρονεῖτο, τῇ δὲ μητρὶ πολλοὶ προσεῖχον αὐτοῦ· σώφρων τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ φιλάνθρωπος οἰκείους τε πολλοὺς καὶ δυνατοὺς εἶχε. διὸ καὶ θεραπεύων αὐτὴν ὁ Λάαρχος ἐμνηστεύετο, καὶ τὸν Βάττον ἠξίου παῖδα θέσθαι γήμας ἐκείνην, καὶ κοινωνὸν ἀποδεῖξαι[2] τῆς ἀρχῆς· ἡ δ' Ἐρυξὼ (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῇ γυναικὶ) βουλευσαμένη μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, 261 ἐκέλευε τὸν Λάαρχον ἐντυγχάνειν ἐκείνοις, ὡς αὐτῆς προσιεμένης τὸν γάμον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Λάαρχος ἐνετύγχανε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἐπίτηδες παρῆγον καὶ ἀνεβάλλοντο, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ Ἐρυξὼ θεραπαινίδα παρ' αὐτῆς παραγγέλλουσαν, ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἀντιλέγουσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί, γενομένης δὲ τῆς συνόδου παύσονται διαφερόμενοι καὶ συγχωρήσουσι· δεῖν[3] οὖν αὐτόν, εἰ βούλεται, νύκτωρ ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτήν· καλῶς γὰρ ἕξειν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς γενομένης.

Ἦν οὖν ταῦτα καθ' ἡδονὴν τῷ Λαάρχῳ, καὶ παντάπασιν ἀναπτοηθεὶς[4] πρὸς τὴν φιλοφροσύνην B τῆς γυναικὸς ὡμολόγησεν ἥξειν, ὅταν ἐκείνη κελεύῃ. ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττεν ἡ Ἐρυξὼ μετὰ Πολυάρχου τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν ἀδελφῶν. ὁρισθέντος δὲ καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον, ὁ Πολύαρχος εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον τῆς ἀδελφῆς παρεισήχθη κρύφα, νεανίσκους ἔχων δύο σὺν αὑτῷ[5] ξιφήρεις, φόνῳ

[1] ἔσχεν F.C.B.: εἶχεν.

[2] ἀποδεῖξαι Bernardakis: ἀποδείξας.

[3] δεῖν Benseler: δεῖ (or else ἕξειν below should be changed to ἕξει).

[4] ἀναπτοηθεὶς] ἀναπτερωθεὶς Cobet.

accomplished his death; then he took over the sovereign rule himself on the pretext that he was keeping it for Arcesilaus's son Battus. The boy, by reason of his lameness and his youth as well, was looked down upon, but to his mother many gave heed, for she was discreet and humane, and had many influential relatives. Wherefore Laarchus lavished attentions upon her, trying to win her as his wife, saying that it was only right and proper to make Battus his own son by marrying her, and to proclaim him colleague in the sovereignty. Eryxo (for that was the woman's name), after taking counsel 261 with her brothers, bade Laarchus to have an interview with them, as if she herself looked with favour on the marriage. But when Laarchus interviewed them, and they purposely misled him and put him off, Eryxo sent a maid-servant to him to tell him from her that at present her brothers declared themselves opposed, but if the union should be consummated, they would cease their dissent and give over; he must, therefore, come to her by night if he were willing; for if the beginning were once made, all the rest would be well.

This was joyful news to Laarchus, and, all excitement in view of the woman's compliant mood, he agreed to come whenever she should give the word. B Eryxo carried out all this in consultation with Polyarchus the eldest of her brothers. When a time had been determined upon for the coming together, Polyarchus was secretly introduced into his sister's room, having with him two young men with sword in hand who were intent on avenging

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[5] αὑτῳ Bernardakis: αὐτῷ.

(261) πατρὸς ἐπεξιόντας, ὃν ὁ Λάαρχος ἐτύγχανεν ἀπεκτονὼς νεωστί.

Μεταπεμψαμένης δὲ τῆς Ἐρυξοῦς αὐτόν, ἄνευ δορυφόρων εἰσῆλθε, καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων αὐτῷ προσπεσόντων τυπτόμενος τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀπέθανε. τὸν μὲν οὖν νεκρὸν ἔρριψαν ὑπὲρ τὸ τεῖχος, τὸν δὲ Βάττον προαγαγόντες[1] ἀνέδειξαν ἐπὶ τοῖς πατρίοις βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πολιτείαν ὁ Πολύαρχος ἀπέδωκε τοῖς Κυρηναίοις.

C Ἐτύγχανον δ' Ἀμάσιδος τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως στρατιῶται συχνοὶ παρόντες, οἷς ὁ Λάαρχος ἐχρῆτο πιστοῖς, καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν οὐχ ἥκιστα δι' ἐκείνων τοῖς πολίταις. οὗτοι πρὸς Ἄμασιν ἔπεμψαν τοὺς κατηγορήσοντας τοῦ τε Πολυάρχου καὶ τῆς Ἐρυξοῦς. χαλεπαίνοντος δ' ἐκείνου καὶ διανοουμένου πολεμεῖν τοῖς Κυρηναίοις, συνέβη τὴν μητέρα τελευτῆσαι, καὶ ταφὰς αὐτῆς ἐπιτελοῦντος, ἀναγγέλλοντας ἐλθεῖν παρὰ[2] τοῦ Ἀμάσιδος. ἔδοξεν
D οὖν τῷ Πολυάρχῳ βαδίζειν ἀπολογησομένῳ· τῆς δ' Ἐρυξοῦς μὴ ἀπολειπομένης, ἀλλ' ἕπεσθαι καὶ συγκινδυνεύειν βουλομένης, οὐδ' ἡ μήτηρ Κριτόλα, καίπερ οὖσα πρεσβῦτις, ἀπελείπετο. μέγιστον δ' αὐτῆς ἦν ἀξίωμα, Βάττου γεγενημένης ἀδελφῆς τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος. ὡς οὖν ἦλθον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, οἵ τ' ἄλλοι θαυμαστῶς ἀπεδέξαντο τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ Ἄμασις οὐ μετρίως ἀπεδέξατο τήν τε σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῆς γυναικός· δώροις δὲ τιμήσας καὶ θεραπείᾳ βασιλικῇ τόν τε Πολύαρχον καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς Κυρήνην ἀπέστειλεν.

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[1] προαγαγόντες van Herwerden: προσαγαγόντες.

[2] παρὰ] Hartman would omit.

the murder of their father, whom Laarchus, a short time before, had put to death.

When Eryxo sent for Laarchus, he came in unattended, and, the young men falling upon him, he was run through by their swords and killed. His body they threw over the wall and, bringing forward Battus, they proclaimed him king in succession to his father's rights, and Polyarchus restored to the people of Cyrene their original form of government.

It happened that there were in the city numerous soldiers of Amasis, king of the Egyptians. These Laarchus had employed as trusty retainers, and they were not the least of his instruments through which he terrorized the citizens. These soldiers sent men to Amasis to accuse Polyarchus and Eryxo. He was much incensed and had thoughts of making war on the people of Cyrene, but just then it happened that his mother died, and it was during the days in which he was holding her funeral that messengers returned from Amasis with the tidings. So Polyarchus thought it best to go there to make his defence. When Eryxo would not be left behind, but expressed her wish to go with him and share the danger, their mother Critola, although well on in years, would not be left behind either. Her standing was of the highest, since she was the sister of Battus the Happy. When they came to Egypt, the people expressed wondrous approval of their exploit, and Amasis expressed extraordinary approval of the self-control and courage of the woman; and after honouring both Polyarchus and the women with presents and royal attentions he sent them back to Cyrene.

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XXVI. ΞΕΝΟΚΡΙΤΗ

E Οὐχ ἧττον δ' ἄν τις ἀγάσαιτο τὴν Κυμαίαν Ξενοκρίτην ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖσι περὶ Ἀριστόδημον τὸν τύραννον, ᾧ τινες Μαλακὸν ἐπίκλησιν οἴονται γεγονέναι, τὸ ἀληθὲς[1] ἀγνοοῦντες. ἐπεκλήθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων Μαλακός, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀντίπαις, ὅτι μειράκιον ὢν παντάπασι μετὰ τῶν ἡλίκων ἔτι κομώντων (οὓς κορωνιστὰς ὡς ἔοικεν ἀπὸ τῆς κόμης ὠνόμαζον) ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμοις ἐπιφανὴς ἦν καὶ λαμπρὸς οὐ τόλμῃ μόνον οὐδὲ χειρὸς ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέσει καὶ προνοίᾳ φανεὶς περιττός. ὅθεν εἰς τὰς μεγίστας προῆλθεν ἀρχὰς θαυμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ F Ῥωμαίοις ἐπικουρίαν ἄγων ἐπέμφθη πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν Ταρκύνιον Σούπερβον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καταγόντων. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ στρατείᾳ[2] μακρᾷ γενομένῃ πάντῃ πρὸς χάριν ἐνδιδοὺς τοῖς στρατευομένοις τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ δημαγωγῶν μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγῶν ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς συνεπιθέσθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ συνεκβαλεῖν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ δυνατωτάτους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενόμενος τύραννος ἦν μὲν ἐν ταῖς περὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἐλευθέρους ἀδικίαις αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ μοχθηρότερος.[3] ἱστόρηται γὰρ ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας παῖδας ἤσκει κομᾶν[4] καὶ

[1] τὸ ἀληθὲς] Bernardakis, in sudden access of virtue, would write τἀληθές; but *cf.* 229 A in his text.
[2] στρατείᾳ Bernardakis: στρατιᾷ.
[3] μοχθηρότερος van Herwerden: μοχθηρότατος.
[4] κομᾶν Meziriacus: κόμαις.

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[a] *Cf.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, v. 4-12; Diodorus, vii. 10.

XXVI. XENOCRITE

No less admiration might be expressed for Xenocrite of Cumae for her behaviour towards Aristodemus the despot,[a] who, some think, had the nickname of 'Mild' given to him, but they do not know the truth. The fact is that by the barbarians he was called 'Mild,' which, in their tongue, means 'childlike,' because, when he was a mere youth with others of his age who were still wearing their hair long (whom they called 'harassers,'[b] from their long hair presumably), in the wars against the barbarians he was conspicuous and brilliant, not merely by daring and the work of his hands, but showing himself to be above others in quickness of mind and forethought. Wherefore he advanced to the highest offices, being admired by his fellow-citizens, and he was sent to bring aid to the Romans when they were besieged by the Etruscans who would restore Tarquinius Superbus to his kingdom. In this campaign, which lasted a long time, he gave in altogether to the citizens who were in the military service, and, by playing the part of a demagogue rather than that of a general, he persuaded them to join him in attacking the Senate and in driving into exile the noblest and most influential. Following upon this, he made himself despot, and in the ways in which he misconducted himself towards women and free-born youth he surpassed his former record for viciousness. In fact it is recorded in history that he imposed on the boys the custom of wearing long hair and golden

[b] Strollers who went about singing begging songs. *Cf.* Athenaeus, 359 D-360 B. "Harassers" as a corruption of "Hair-raisers" is no more weird than Plutarch's Greek etymology!

χρυσοφορεῖν, τὰς δὲ θηλείας ἠνάγκαζε περιτρόχαλα
κείρεσθαι καὶ φορεῖν ἐφηβικὰς χλαμύδας καὶ τῶν
262 ἀνακώλων χιτωνίσκων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐξαιρέτως
ἐρασθεὶς τῆς Ξενοκρίτης εἶχεν αὐτὴν φυγάδος
οὖσαν πατρός, οὐ καταγαγὼν οὐδὲ πείσας ἐκεῖνον,
ἀλλ' ὁπωσοῦν ἡγούμενος ἀγαπᾶν συνοῦσαν αὐτῷ
τὴν κόρην, ἅτε δὴ ζηλουμένην καὶ μακαριζομένην
ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. τὴν δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἐξέπλητ-
τεν· ἀχθομένη δ' ἐπὶ τῷ συνοικεῖν ἀνέκδοτος καὶ
ἀνέγγυος οὐδὲν[1] ἧττον ἐπόθει τῶν μισουμένων ὑπὸ
τοῦ τυράννου τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερίαν.

Ἔτυχε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τάφρον ἄγων
B κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν χώραν ὁ Ἀριστόδημος, οὔτ'
ἀναγκαῖον ἔργον οὔτε χρήσιμον, ἄλλως δὲ τρίβειν
καὶ ἀποκναίειν πόνοις καὶ ἀσχολίαις τοὺς πολίτας
βουλόμενος· ἦν γὰρ προστεταγμένον ἑκάστῳ μέ-
τρων τινῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐκφέρειν τῆς γῆς. γυνὴ δέ τις[2]
ὡς εἶδεν ἐπιόντα[3] τὸν Ἀριστόδημον, ἐξέκλινε καὶ
παρεκαλύψατο τῷ χιτωνίσκῳ τὸ πρόσωπον. ἀπ-
ελθόντος οὖν τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου, σκώπτοντες οἱ
νεανίσκοι καὶ παίζοντες ἠρώτων ὅ τι δὴ μόνον
ὑπ' αἰδοῦς φύγοι τὸν Ἀριστόδημον, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
ἄλλους οὐδὲν πάθοι τοιοῦτον· ἡ δὲ καὶ μάλα μετὰ
σπουδῆς ἀπεκρίνατο, "μόνος γάρ," ἔφη, "Κυ-
μαίων Ἀριστόδημος ἀνήρ ἐστι."

Τοῦτο γὰρ[4] λεχθὲν τὸ ῥῆμα πάντων μὲν ἥψατο,
C τοὺς δὲ γενναίους καὶ παρώξυνεν αἰσχύνῃ[5] τῆς
ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ξενοκρίτην
ἀκούσασαν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐβούλετ' ἂν καὶ αὐτὴ γῆν

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[1] οὐδὲν] οὐδενὸς E. Kurtz.

[2] γυνὴ δέ τις added by F.C.B.: Wyttenbach would write ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ γυνή τις.

[3] ἐπιόντα Xylander: ἀπιόντα.

ornaments, and the girls he compelled to bob their hair and to wear boys' clothes and the short undergarment. However, he was singularly enamoured of Xenocrite, whom he kept, the daughter of an exiled father, without restoring her father to his country or winning his consent, but believing that somehow the girl was contented to be with him, inasmuch as she was envied and deemed happy by the citizens. But all this did not make any great impression on her. She was distressed at being partner to a union in which there had been no giving in marriage nor plighting of troth, and she longed for her country's freedom no less than did those who were the object of the despot's hatred.

It happened at that juncture that Aristodemus was extending a moat all the way round the country, a work neither necessary nor useful, but the real reason was that he wished to wear out the citizens and waste their strength with toils and labours; for it was prescribed for each one to carry out a certain number of measures of earth. One woman, when she saw Aristodemus approaching, stepped well out of his way and covered her face with her garment. When he had gone, the young men made fun of her and asked her, in joke, why her modesty led her to avoid Aristodemus only, when she had no such feeling towards the rest of the men. She with a very serious purpose replied, "Because among all the people of Cumae Aristodemus is the only man!"

These few words thus spoken laid hold upon them all, and also incited the noble-minded, for very shame, to struggle for their liberty. It is said that when Xenocrite heard of it she said that she herself would

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[4] γάρ] γοῦν Meziriacus.

[5] αἰσχύνῃ] αἰσχύνη Dinsie.

(262) ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς φέρειν παρόντος ἢ τρυφῆς συμμετέχειν Ἀριστοδήμῳ καὶ δυνάμεως τοσαύτης. ἐπέρρωσεν οὖν ταῦτα τοὺς[1] συνισταμένους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Θυμοτέλης· καὶ τῆς Ξενοκρίτης εἰσόδου παρεχούσης αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ἄνοπλον καὶ ἀφύλακτον, οὐ χαλεπῶς παρεισπεσόντες διαφθείρουσιν αὐτόν. οὕτω μὲν ἡ Κυμαίων πόλις ἠλευθερώθη δυοῖν ἀρετῇ γυναικῶν, τῆς μὲν ἐπίνοιαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁρμὴν ἐμβαλούσης τοῦ ἔργου, τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος συλλαβομένης.

Τιμῶν δὲ καὶ δωρεῶν μεγάλων τῇ Ξενοκρίτῃ D προτεινομένων ἐάσασα πάσας ἓν ᾐτήσατο, θάψαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου· καὶ τοῦτ' οὖν ἔδοσαν αὐτῇ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱέρειαν αὐτὴν εἵλοντο, οὐχ ἧττον οἰόμενοι τῇ θεῷ κεχαρισμένην ἢ πρέπουσαν ἐκείνῃ τιμὴν ἔσεσθαι.

XXVII. ΠΥΘΕΩ ΓΥΝΗ[2]

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν Πύθεω τοῦ κατὰ Ξέρξην γυναῖκα σοφὴν γενέσθαι καὶ χρηστήν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πύθης ὡς ἔοικε χρυσείοις ἐντυχὼν μετάλλοις καὶ ἀγαπήσας τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν πλοῦτον οὐ μετρίως ἀλλ' ἀπλήστως καὶ περιττῶς, αὐτός τε περὶ ταῦτα διέτριβε καὶ τοὺς πολίτας καταβιβάζων ἅπαντας ὁμαλῶς ὀρύττειν ἢ φορεῖν ἢ καθαίρειν ἠνάγκαζε E τὸ χρυσίον, ἄλλο μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους τὸ παράπαν

[1] τοὺς added by Patzig.
[2] πυθεω γυνη added by Xylander: not in the MSS.

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[a] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, viii. 42; Herodotus, vii. 27-29 and 38-39, where the name is given as Pythius.

rather carry earth for her father, if he were only in his own land, than be associated with Aristodemus in all his luxury and power. These things gave added strength to those who were banding together against Aristodemus, at the head of whom was Thymoteles. And when Xenocrite provided them with a safe way to get in and assurance that Aristodemus was unarmed and unattended, they forced their way in without much difficulty, and dispatched him. Thus the city of Cumae was made free by the bravery of two women, the one who put into their minds the thought and impulse for the deed, and the other who co-operated with them to bring about its conclusion.

Honours and great gifts were tendered to Xenocrite, but she would have none of them; one request only she made, to bury the body of Aristodemus, and this they granted her, and chose her to be priestess of Demeter, feeling that the honour would be no less pleasing to the goddess than appropriate for Xenocrite.

XXVII. THE WIFE OF PYTHES[a]

It is said the wife of Pythes, contemporary with Xerxes, was wise and good. Pythes himself, as it appears, came by chance upon some gold mines,[b] and, delighting in the wealth from them not with moderation, but insatiably and beyond measure, he himself spent all his time over them, and put the citizens down there also, and compelled all alike to dig or carry or wash out the gold, performing no

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[b] On the source of the gold of Pythes see T. Leslie Shear in the *Classical Weekly*, xvii. p. 186.

μηδὲ πράττοντας. ἀπολλυμένων δὲ πολλῶν πάν-
των δ' ἀπαγορευόντων, αἱ γυναῖκες ἱκετηρίαν
ἔθεσαν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἐλθοῦσαι τῆς τοῦ Πύθεω
γυναικός. ἡ δ' ἐκείνας μὲν ἀπιέναι καὶ θαρρεῖν
ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὴ δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ χρυσίον τεχνιτῶν
οἷς ἐπίστευε μάλιστα καλέσασα καὶ καθείρξασα,
ποιεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἄρτους τε χρυσοῦς καὶ πέμματα
F παντοδαπὰ καὶ ὀπώρας, καὶ ὅσοις δὴ μάλιστα τὸν
Πύθην ἐγίγνωσκεν ἡδόμενον ὄψοις καὶ βρώμασι.
ποιηθέντων δὲ πάντων, ὁ μὲν Πύθης ἧκεν ἀπὸ
τῆς ξένης· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἀποδημῶν· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ
δεῖπνον αἰτοῦντι παρέθηκε χρυσῆν τράπεζαν οὐδὲν
ἐδώδιμον ἔχουσαν ἀλλὰ πάντα χρυσᾶ. τὸ μὲν
οὖν πρῶτον ἔχαιρε Πύθης τοῖς μιμήμασιν, ἐμ-
πλησθεὶς δὲ τῆς ὄψεως ᾔτει φαγεῖν· ἡ δὲ χρυσοῦν
ὅ τι τύχοι ποθήσας προσέφερε. δυσχεραίνοντος δ'
αὐτοῦ καὶ πεινῆν βοῶντος, " ἀλλὰ σύ γε τούτων,"
εἶπεν, " ἄλλου δ' οὐδενὸς εὐπορίαν πεποίηκας
263 ἡμῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐμπειρία καὶ τέχνη πᾶσα φροῦδος,
γεωργεῖ δ' οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ τὰ σπειρόμενα καὶ
φυτευόμενα καὶ τρέφοντα τῆς γῆς ὀπίσω κατα-
λιπόντες ὀρύττομεν ἄχρηστα καὶ ζητοῦμεν, ἀπο-
κναίοντες αὑτοὺς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας."

Ἐκίνησε ταῦτα τὸν Πύθην, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν οὐ
κατέλυσε τὴν περὶ τὰ μέταλλα πραγματείαν, ἀνὰ
μέρος δὲ τὸ πέμπτον ἐργάζεσθαι κελεύσας τῶν
πολιτῶν, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπὶ γεωργίαν καὶ τὰς
τέχνας ἔτρεψε.

Ξέρξου δὲ καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
λαμπρότατος ἐν ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς καὶ ταῖς δωρεαῖς

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[a] Herodotus tells the story of Pythes' (Pythius's) relations with Xerxes at length in vii. 27-39.

other work and carrying on no other activity. Many perished and all were completely exhausted, when the women, coming to the door of the wife of Pythes, made supplication. She bade them depart and not lose heart; then she summoned the goldsmiths whom she trusted most, secluded them, and ordered them to make golden loaves of bread, cakes of all sorts, fruit, and whatever else in the way of dainties and food she knew Pythes liked best. When these had all been made, Pythes arrived home from abroad; for he had been travelling. And when he called for dinner, his wife caused a golden table to be set before him which contained nothing edible, but everything of gold. At first Pythes was delighted with the mimic food, but when he had gazed his fill, he called for something to eat; and she served to him a golden replica of whatever he chanced to express a desire for. By this time he was in a high dudgeon and shouted out that he was hungry, whereupon she said, " But it is you who have created for us a plentiful supply of these things, and of nothing else; for all skill in the trades has disappeared from among us; no one tills the soil, but we have forsaken the sowing and planting of crops in the soil and the sustaining food that comes from it, and we dig and delve for useless things, wasting our own strength and that of our people."

These things moved Pythes, and he did away with much of his activities at the mines, but not all, ordering a fifth of the citizens to work the mines in turn, and the remainder he transferred to agriculture and the trades.

When Xerxes[a] was on his way to invade Greece, Pythes, who had been most splendid in his enter-

(263) γενόμενος χάριν ᾐτήσατο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως,
πλειόνων αὐτῷ παίδων ὄντων, ἕνα παρεῖναι τῆς
B στρατείας καὶ καταλιπεῖν αὐτῷ γηροβοσκεῖν.[1] ὁ
δὲ Ξέρξης ὑπ' ὀργῆς τοῦτον μόνον, ὃν ἐξῃτήσατο,
σφάξας καὶ διατεμὼν ἐκέλευσε τὸν στρατὸν
διελθεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐπηγάγετο, καὶ πάντες
ἀπώλοντο κατὰ τὰς μάχας.

Ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Πύθης ἀθυμήσας ἔπαθεν ὅμοια
πολλοῖς τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἀνοήτων· τὸν μὲν γὰρ
θάνατον ἐφοβεῖτο, τῷ βίῳ δ' ἤχθετο. βουλόμενος
δὲ μὴ ζῆν, προέσθαι δὲ τὸ ζῆν μὴ δυνάμενος,
χώματος ὄντος ἐν τῇ πόλει μεγάλου καὶ ποταμοῦ
διαρρέοντος, ὃν Πυθοπολίτην ὠνόμαζον, ἐν μὲν
C τῷ χώματι κατεσκεύασε μνημεῖον, ἐκτρέψας δὲ
τὸ ῥεῖθρον, ὥστε διὰ τοῦ χώματος φέρεσθαι
ψαύοντα τοῦ τάφου τὸν ποταμόν· ἐπὶ τούτοις
συντελεσθεῖσιν αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον κατῆλθε,
τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀναθεὶς
ἅπασαν ἐκέλευσε μὴ προσιέναι, πέμπειν δὲ τὸ
δεῖπνον αὐτῷ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν εἰς βᾶριν
ἐντιθεῖσαν, ἄχρι οὗ τὸν τάφον ἡ βᾶρις παρέλθῃ
τὸ δεῖπνον ἀκέραιον ἔχουσα, τότε δὲ παύσασθαι
πέμπουσαν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότος. ἐκεῖνος μὲν
οὕτω τὸν λοιπὸν βίον διῆγεν, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς
καλῶς ἐπεμελήθη καὶ μεταβολὴν κακῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέσχε.

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[1] γηροβοσκεῖν] γηροβοσκόν Cobet.

tainments and gifts, asked as a favour from the king that, as he had several sons, the king should exempt one from military duty, and leave him at home to be a comfort to Pythes in his old age. Xerxes, in his rage,[a] ordered that this one son for whom the father made his request should be killed and cut in two, and that the army should march between the two halves; the others he took with him, and all perished in the battles.

Because of this Pythes lost all spirit, and went through an experience similar to that of many bad and foolish men; for he was afraid of death and burdened with life. He wished not to live, and yet could not let go of life. As there was a great mound in the city, and also a river flowing through it, which they called the Pythopolites, he made ready a mausoleum in the mound, and then turned the course of the stream so that the river was carried through the mound with its waters touching the tomb. Upon the completion of all this he went down into the mausoleum, committing the government and care of the whole city to his wife, and ordered her not to come near him, but to send his dinner for him every day, by placing it in a boat, until the time when the boat should pass by the tomb with the dinner untouched; then she should cease sending, taking it for granted that he was dead. He passed the remainder of his life in this way, and his wife administered the government excellently, and gave the citizens relief from their miseries.

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[a] *Cf.* Seneca, *De ira*, iii. 16; Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxiii. 10 (47).

INDEX

ABDERA, 289: a town in Thrace near the mouth of the river Nestus.

Academy, the, 137, 381: the school of philosophy founded by Plato at Athens, so called from the place of meeting.

Achaeans, 171: a people in the N.W. of the Peloponnesus.

Achilles, 89, 479: one of the most prominent Greek leaders in the Trojan war.

Acrotatus, 295: eldest son of Cleomenes II., king of Sparta. Acrotatus, dying before his father (before 309 B.C.), never became king.

Acrotatus, 247, 249: grandson of the elder Acrotatus, and son of Areus I., king of Sparta. He succeeded his father in 265 B.C. but fell in battle the same year at Megalopolis.

Ada, 57: queen of Caria.

Adeimantus, 89: Corinthian naval commander in the Persian war, 480 B.C.

Aegina, 99, 235: an island off the coast of Attica near Athens.

Aeglator, 541: a citizen of Cyrene.

Aegospotami (battle of), 373.

Aemilius, see Paulus.

Aeschylus quoted, 97: Athenian tragic poet, 525-456 B.C.

Aetolia, 523: a country in the S.W. of Greece, north of the Gulf of Corinth.

Agamemnon, 75, 249: brother of Menelaus, and commander-in-chief of the Greeks in the Trojan war.

Agasicles, 243: an early king of Sparta.

Agathocles, 37, 39: ruler of Syracuse and Sicily 318–289 B.C.

Agathon, 39, 40: Athenian tragic poet, *circa* 447–400 B.C.

Agesilaus, 121, 129-133, 243-285, 301, 361, 377, 479: king of Sparta 398-360 B.C.

Agesipolis I., 285-287: son of Pausanias, and king of Sparta 394–380 B.C.

Agesipolis II., 285: son of Cleombrotus, and king of Sparta 371–370 B.C.

Agis II., 125-127, 187-293, 329, 357: son of Archidamus II., and king of Sparta 427–401 B.C.

Agis III., 125-127, 133, 293, 329, 413: son of Archidamus III., and king of Sparta 338–331 B.C.

Agis IV., 293: son of Eudamidas II., and king of Sparta 245–241 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Ahenobarbus, see Domitius.

Ajax, 479: son of Telamon, from the island of Salamis, one of the Greek heroes of Troy. Sophocles' *Ajax* portrays his last day.

Albinus, Aulus Postumius, 185: a Roman who wrote poems and a Roman history in Greek, and doubtless other works as well. He was praetor in 155 and consul in 151 B.C.

Alcamenes, 295, 447: son of Teleclus, and king of Sparta for 38 years (779–742 B.C. or 785-748 B.C. ?) at the time of the first Messenian war.

INDEX

Alcander, 359: a young Spartan who put out Lycurgus's eye.

Alcestis, 479: daughter of Pelias and Anaxibia, and wife of Admetus. She died to save her husband from dying. *Cf.* Euripides, *Alcestis.*

Alcibiades, 99-101, 413: a handsome Athenian, ward of Pericles and friend of Socrates, banished 415 B.C. for alleged sacrilege; most of his later life was spent in exile.

Alexander of Pherae, 145, 153, 542: was master of Thessaly from 369 to 358 B.C., when he was assassinated.

Alexander the Great, 41, 49, 53-69, 81, 107, 111, 113, 225, 231, 233, 235, 315, 323, 447, 493, 563, 567: son of Philip, and king of Macedon, 356–323 B.C.

Alexandria (Alexandrians), 191, 193, 231: a city in Egypt, founded by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.

Amasis, 571: king of Egypt *circa* 569–525 B.C.

Amazons, 503: a mythical (?) race of warlike women. (There is a tradition that many of them were slain by Bellerophon when they invaded Lycia, in the reign of Iobates.)

Amisodarus (Isaras, in Lycian), 501: a king of Lycia (Hom. *Il.* xvi. 328).

Ammon (shrine of), 61.

Amphiaraüs, 97: an Argive, son of Oecles and Hypermnestra; a prophet and hero at Argos. Took part in the Calydonian boar hunt, the Argonautic expedition, and the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, where he met his death. Worshipped as a hero after death; oracular shrine at Oropus.

Amphissa (the women of), 511-513: a town in Locris near the borders of Phocis.

Amymone, 523: a stronghold in Elis.

Anabus, 549: a ruler in northern Africa, otherwise unknown.

Anacreon, 477: celebrated Greek lyric poet of Teos in Asia Minor; *circa* middle of 6th cent. B.C. to early 5th cent.

Anaxander, 299: king of Sparta, earlier part of 7th cent. B.C.

Anaxandridas, 297-299: king of Sparta *circa* 560–520 B.C.

Anaxarchus, 57: a philosopher from Abdera, of the school of Democritus, in favour with Alexander.

Anaxibius, 312 footnote.

Anaxilas, 299: a Spartan, son of Archidamus, 7th cent. B.C.

Anaximenes, 73: of Lampsacus, historian, rhetorician, and orator, 4th cent. B.C.

Androcleidas, 299: a Spartan, perhaps the opponent of Lysander.

Antagoras, 75: an epic poet from Rhodes, *circa* first half of 3rd cent. B.C.

Antalcidas, 121, 137, 273, 277, 299, 301, 361: a Spartan, author of the "Peace of Antalcidas" between Greece and Persia, 387 B.C.

Antigenes, 63: one of the generals of Alexander the Great.

Antigenidas, 147: a famous flute-player from Thebes, latter part of 4th cent. B.C.

Antigonus, 69-75: called the "One-eyed," *circa* 380–301 B.C., general of Alexander the Great.

Antigonus Gonatas, 77-79, 403, 407, 517: the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes; born *circa* 319 B.C.; king of Macedonia 283–239 B.C.

Antiochus, 137, 303: an ephor at Sparta.

Antiochus "The Hawk" (Hierax), 81, 83: younger son of Antiochus II., king of Syria (227 B.C.).

Antiochus III. (The Great), 81, 167, 171: king of Syria 223–187 B.C.

Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), 203: king of Syria 176–163 B.C.

Antiochus VII., 87: king of Syria 137–128 B.C.

Antipater, 49, 51, 59, 61, 81, 115, 311, 413: trusted Macedonian officer, appointed regent by Alexander during his Asiatic expedition, 334 B.C., and con-

tinued as regent after Alexander's death until 320 B.C. Was general against the Greeks during the Lamian war.
Antipatrides, 61: a friend of Alexander the Great.
Antiphates, 91: a handsome youth favoured by Themistocles.
Antony, Mark (Marcus Antonius), 229, 231: friend of Caesar, triumvir with Octavian and Lepidus, enamoured of Cleopatra; lived 83–30 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Apelles, 477: perhaps the most famous Greek painter, second half of the 4th cent. B.C.
Aphrodite, 441: the Greek goddess of love.
Apollo, 131, 247: the Greek god, brother of Artemis.
Appius, see Claudius.
Arbela (battle of), 59.
Arcadia (Arcadians), 309, 311; the league, 149: a country in the centre of the Peloponnesus.
Arcesilaus II., 567, 569: called "The Harsh," son of Battus II., and king of Cyrene in Africa *circa* 560–550 B.C. He was killed by his brother (or friend) Learchus (or Haliarchus).
Archelaus, 39, 41: king of Macedonia 413–399 B.C.
Archidamidas, 305: an unknown Spartan.
Archidamus II., 123, 305-309: son of Zeuxidamus, and king of Sparta 469–427 B.C.
Archidamus III., 133, 136, 137, 309-311: son of Agesilaus, and king of Sparta 361–338 B.C.
Archilocus, 443: from the island of Paros; wrote elegiac poetry as well as the iambic, of which he was reputed to be the inventor; *circa* 650 B.C.
Areius, 231 (233 probably the same man): of Alexandria, a philosopher and friend of Caesar Augustus.
Ares, 441: the Greek god of war.
Aretaphila, 541-551: of Cyrene, daughter of Aeglator, and wife of Phaedimus.
Areus, I., 303: king of Sparta; son of Acrotatus, grandson of Cleomenes II., whom he succeeded, Acrotatus having died. He reigned 309–265 B.C.
Argileonis, 124, 313, 455: the mother of Brasidas.
Arginusae (battle of), 333.
Argos (Argives), 127, 145, 267, 323, 335, 337, 339, 373, 379, 389, 401; the women of, 489-491: an important city in the east of the Peloponnesus.
Ariamenes, 15: son of Darius I. of Persia.
Aristagoras, 455, 457: of Miletus, instigated the Ionian revolt in 500 B.C.
Aristeides, 95-97: a high-minded Athenian, often called "the Just"; fought at Marathon and Salamis; died 468 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Aristodemus, 73: a friend of Antigonus the "One-eyed."
Aristodemus, 573, 575, 577: tyrant of Cumae in Campania, 502–492 (?) B.C.
Aristogeiton, 111: unscrupulous Athenian orator against whom two of Demosthenes' orations are directed. He died in prison.
Ariston, 303-305: son of Agasicles, and king of Sparta *circa* 560–510 B.C. *Cf.* Herodotus vi. 61-66.
Aristotimus, 517, 519, 521, 523, 525, 527, 529: tyrant of Elis for six months in 271 B.C.
Aristotle, 49: the philosopher, 384–322 B.C.
Aristotle quoted, 537.
Armenia, 205, 235: a country in the N.E. of Asia Minor.
Artaxerxes I. (Long-hand), 17: king of Persia 465–425 B.C.
Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon), 9, 21: king of Persia 404–358 B.C. (The latter date is questioned.) Son of Darius and Parysatis, and brother of the younger Cyrus.
Artemis, 81, 485, 501, 553, 555; Orthia, 443: the Greek goddess, sister of Apollo.

Aruns, 515: son of the Etruscan king Lars Porsena.

Astyages, 491: son of Cyaxeres, and last king of Media; reigned *circa* 584–550 B.C.; overthrown by Cyrus the Great.

Astycratidas, 311: a Spartan, otherwise unknown.

Ateas, 25: king of the Scythians, 4th cent. B.C.

Athena (of the Brazen House), 247, 307, 359.

Athenodorus, 233: a Stoic philosopher from Tarsus, and an intimate friend of the emperor Augustus.

Athens (Athenians), 43, 45, 63, 73, 77, 95, 99, 105, 109, 115, 131, 137, 139, 145, 147, 235, 261, 265, 267, 301, 305, 323, 325, 357, 373, 379, 381, 397, 401, 415, 419, 497, 501.

Attalus II. Philadelphus, 83: born 200 B.C., second son of Attalus I.; king of Pergamum 159–138 B.C.

Attica, 113.

Augustus (C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus), 229-237: born 63 B.C., was the first emperor of Rome, 23 B.C.–A.D. 14 (although he had been at the head of the State for at least ten years before that).

Babylonians, 17.

Bacis, 477: a legendary seer, reputed author of oracles which were quoted in classical times.

Baetis, 183: a river in southern Spain.

Banon, 507: an interpreter in the army of Hannibal.

Baria (Barea, Bareia, Badia, Batheia), 165: a town on the S.E. coast of Spain.

Battus II., 567, 571: son of Arcesilaus I., and king of Cyrene in Africa *circa* 583–560 (?) B.C. He was called "The Happy."

Battus III., 569, 571: son of Arcesilaus II., and king of Cyrene in Africa *circa* 550-530 B.C. He was called "The Lame."

Bebrycians, 539: a people in the N.W. of Asia Minor.

Bellerophon, 503, 505: son of Glaucus, king of Corinth. Antei wife of Proetus, fell in love with him, etc.

Bepolitanus, 559, 561: a Galatian.

Bias (Anaxibius?), 313: a Spartan general (?); see footnote on page 312.

Birdless Rock (in India), 65.

Black Broth (at Sparta), 427.

Blepsus, 537: a Phocaean, descendant of Codrus.

Boeotia (Boeotians), 147, 149, 361, 375: a country in the east of Greece, N.W. of Attica.

Bowmen (on the coins of Persia), 261.

Brasidas, 123, 237, 313-315: a distinguished Spartan general in the Peloponnesian war. He fell at Amphipolis in 422 B.C.

Brauron, 497, 501: a place on the east coast of Attica.

Brundusium, 227: a city in Calabria in the extreme S.E. of Italy.

Brutus (Decimus Iunius Brutus Albinus), 229, 479: intimate and trusted friend of Julius Caesar, but later joined in the conspiracy against Caesar; put to death by order of Antony in 43 B.C.

Bulis, 417: a Spartan, sent with Sperchis to Xerxes to atone for the killing of the Persian heralds.

Caepio, Q., 205: Roman general (consul in 106 B.C.), badly defeated by the Cimbrians in 105 B.C.

Caesar, C. Iulius, 213, 219, 221, 223-229, 231: famous Roman general, statesman, and writer, 100–44 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Caesar, C., 235: son of M. Agrippa and of Julia, daughter of the emperor Augustus; died in A.D. 4 of a wound received in Armenia.

Calbia, 545, 551: mother of Nicocrates of Cyrene.

Callicratidas, 331-335: upright Spartan commander who succeeded Lysander in command of the Spartan fleet off Asia Minor in 406 B.C. He met his death in the battle of Arginusae soon after.

Callias (Calleas), 277: a Spartan (unknown except for this incident).
Callippides, 271: a famous tragic actor from Athens (*circa* 400 B.C.).
Callippus, 39: an Athenian who followed Dion to Syracuse, but afterward assassinated him, and became ruler of Syracuse for a short time.
Callistratus, 145: Athenian orator and demagogue, 4th cent. B.C.
Camerinum, 201: a town in Umbria in Italy.
Camma, 551-555: wife of Sinatus of Galatia.
Cannae (battle of), 159.
Caphene, 495: a Carian maiden.
Caphisias, 85: a flute-player.
Caria, 249: a country in S.W. Asia Minor.
Carthage (Carthaginians), 163, 165, 185, 187, 191, 495: celebrated city on the northern coast of Africa, settled by the Phoenicians.
Casander, 61: (*circa* 350-297 B.C.) son of Antipater, and ruler of Macedonia (and Greece) from 317 B.C. till his death.
Cassius (C. Cassius Longinus), 229: one of the assassins of Julius Caesar; defeated at Philippi, he ordered his freedmen to kill him.
Cato (M. Porcius Cato the Elder), 177-185, 187, 479: commonly called the Censor, 234(?)-149 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Cato, M. Porcius, 213, 229: commonly called Cato Uticensis, or Cato Minor, 95-46 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Catulus, Quintus Lutatius, 203: consul in 102 B.C. with C. Marius. He was a highly educated man, author of orations and poems, and of a history of his consulship and the Cimbric war.
Catulus, Quintus Lutatius, 223: a leading Roman aristocrat, often opposed to Caesar; consul in 78 B.C., censor in 65 B.C., died in 60 B.C.
Celtiberians, 183, 189: a powerful people in central Spain.
Celtic women, 493-495.
Ceos, the women of, 509-511.
Cephisophon, 443: an unidentified orator.
Cephisus, 139, 301: a river west of Athens.
Chabrias, 105-107, 147, 149: celebrated Athenian general, early 4th cent. B.C.
Chaeroneia (battle of), 45, 309, 561, 565.
Chares, 105, 111: unscrupulous Athenian general, middle of 4th cent. B.C.
Charillus (Charilaus), 121, 305, 393-395: an early king of Sparta, by tradition put in the time of Lycurgus.
Charon, 403: a Theban, instrumental in helping to dislodge the Spartans from Thebes in 379 B.C.
Charon of Lampsacus quoted, 537: Greek historian of the 5th cent. B.C.
Chimaera, 503: the fabulous monster, lion, goat, and serpent combined.
Chimarrhus, 501: a pirate, otherwise unknown.
Chiomara, 555-557: wife of Ortiagon.
Chios (Chians), 399, 463, 485, 487; the women of, 485, 389: a large island off the coast of Asia Minor.
Cicero, M. Tullius, 215-223: famous Roman orator and statesman, 106-43 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Cimbri (Cimbrian), 201, 205: a Celtic people who attempted to invade Italy *circa* 105 B.C.
Claudius (Appius Claudius Pulcher), 189: consul in 143 B.C.; father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus. He lived in constant enmity with Scipio Africanus Minor.
Clea, 473, 475: priestess at Delphi, and a friend of Plutarch's.
Cleander,, 331, 335: a Spartan associated with Callicratidas in command of the fleet in 406-405 B.C.; harmost of Byzantium in 400 B.C.
Cleitomachus, 191: of Carthage, born *circa* 187 B.C.; came to Athens and became a pupil of

Carneades, and was for two years at the head of the Academy; a prolific writer, mostly of philosophical works.
Cleitorians, 391: a people in northern Arcadia, in the central Peloponnesus. Those who drank at the fountain in Cleitor lost for ever any desire for alcohol.
Cleon, 269: a rhetorician of Halicarnassus (*circa* 400 B.C.).
Cleonae, 485: a town near Hyampolis in Phocis.
Cleombrotus, 335: son of Pausanias, and king of Sparta 380–371 B.C. He fell at the battle of Leuctra.
Cleomenes I., 303, 335-341, 347, 455, 489, 491: son of Anaxandridas, and king of Sparta *circa* 517–488 B.C. (the dates are uncertain).
Cleomenes II., 135, 343: son of Cleombrotus, and king of Sparta 370–309 B.C.
Cleonymus, 315: younger son of Cleomenes II. king of Sparta; excluded from the throne in 309 B.C., when his father died.
Clodius (Publius Claudius (Clodius) Pulcher), 223: unprincipled Roman of patrician birth; obtained adoption by a plebeian to become tribune of the plebs in 59 B.C., so as to avenge himself on Cicero, who was forced into exile. Clodius was also enamoured of Caesar's wife, Pompeia.
Cloelia, 513-517: one of the maidens given as hostages to Lars Porsena.
Conon, 273: distinguished Athenian general. With Persian assistance he defeated the Spartan fleet off Cnidus in 394 B.C., and rebuilt the long walls at Athens in 393 B.C.
Corinth (Corinthians), 127, 147, 265, 267, 287, 307, 329, 375; battle of, 131.
Coroneans, 487: a people on the west coast of Asia Minor (probably Greek colonists).
Coroneia (battle of), 265: a town in Boeotia.
Cornelia, 479: a Roman matron, mother of the Gracchi; 2nd century B.C.
Cornelius, see Scipio.
Cosmetics, forbidden in Sparta, 365.
Cotys, 25: king of the Odrysae in Thrace, 382–358 B.C.
Crassus, P. Licinius, 173: praetor 176, consul 171 B.C., when he was appointed to conduct the war against Perseus, by whom he was defeated in a battle in Thessaly.
Crataidas, 499: Spartan leader of a colony to Melos and Crete.
Craterus, 67, 311, 527: a distinguished general of Alexander the Great.
Crates, 51: a relative of Harpalus.
Cratidas, 377: an ephor at Sparta.
Crete, 459, 499: the large island south of Greece, home of early Aegean civilization.
Critola, 571: mother of Eryxo.
Cronus (= Semitic Baal, El, or Moloch), 27.
Cryassus, 495, 497: a city in Caria.
Culleo, see Terentius.
Cumae, 573, 575, 577: a city in Campania in Italy.
Curius (Manius Curius Dentatus), 155: consul in 290 B.C., in which year he defeated the Samnites (ending the Samnite war), and also conquered the Sabines who had revolted. In 275 B.C. he defeated Pyrrhus at Beneventum. He celebrated two triumphs in 290 B.C., a third in 275, and perhaps still another in the interval between the second and the third.
Cyclops, 69: the one-eyed giant who was blinded by Odysseus.
Cylon (Cyllon), 525, 527, 529: one of the leaders in the revolt against Aristotimus tyrant of Elis.
Cynisca, 267: sister of Agesilaus.
Cyrene, 541, 567, 571: a city in northern Africa founded by Battus in 631 B.C.
Cyrus the Elder, 13, 491, 493: also called "The Great," first king of the Persians, founder of the Persian empire, killed in 529 B.C.
Cyrus the Younger, 19, 331, 333: the second of the sons of Darius Nothos, king of Persia; attempted to wrest the kingdom from his

brother Artaxerxes, and fell at the battle of Cunaxa, 401 B.C.

DAÏPHANTUS, 483, 485: a Phocian, son of Bathyllius, and leader of the Phocians against the Thessalians some years before the Persian wars. Plutarch wrote his life, now lost.
Daïphantus, 151: a Theban officer, slain at the battle of Mantineia in 362 B.C.
Damatria, 459: a Spartan woman.
Damindas, 315: a Spartan, otherwise unknown.
Damis, 315: a Spartan, otherwise unknown.
Damonidas, 135, 315: a Spartan, otherwise unknown, but apparently prominent in his day.
Daphnis, 547: a servant of Leander the brother of Nicocrates.
Darius I., 13, 15: king of Persia 521–485 B.C., associated with Gobryas in overthrowing Smerdis (Herodotus iii. 67-78).
Darius III., 59, 225: (*circa* 380–330 B.C.) king of Persia conquered by Alexander the Great.
Deiotarus, 555, 557: presumably the elder Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia in the earlier part of the 1st cent. B.C.
Delium, 537: a stronghold in Naxos.
Delos, 381: an island in the Aegean sea, one of the Cyclades.
Delphi, 247: a town in Phocis, the seat of the celebrated oracle of Apollo.
Delphus, 499: Spartan leader of a colony to Melos and Crete.
Demades, 69, 81, 115, 133, 293: a brilliant Athenian orator, opponent of Demosthenes; put to death by Antipater, 318 B.C.
Demaratus, 317-319, 345, 491: king of Sparta *circa* 510–491 B.C. Deposed on the charge of illegitimacy, he went to Persia and accompanied Xerxes on his expedition against Greece in 480 B.C.
Demaratus, 53: of Corinth, a friend of Philip of Macedon.
Demeter, 577: the Greek goddess of agriculture, worshipped especially at Athens and Eleusis.
Demetrius of Phalerum, 119: Athenian orator and writer, 350 (?)–283 B.C., put in charge of Athens by the Macedonians (317 B.C.), but forced to flee, 308–307 B.C., by Demetrius Poliorcetes.
Demetrius Poliorcetes, 73, 75-77: king of Macedonia, and famous as a general; son of Antigonus the "One-eyed"; lived 337–283 B.C.
Demosthenes, 109: the famous Attic orator, 385–322 B.C.
Dercyliadas, 363: a prominent Spartan general, active in Asia Minor from 411 to about 396 B.C.
Dercylidas (Mandrocleidas in Plut. *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. xxvi.), 315: a Spartan, one of the ambassadors sent to Pyrrhus in 272 B.C., when Pyrrhus undertook to restore Cleonymus as king of Sparta.
Diodotus, 217: teacher of Q. M. Metellus Nepos.
Diogenes, 399: of Sinope 420 (?)–323 B.C., the famous Cynic philosopher, to whom are ascribed numerous pungent and witty sayings.
Diognetus, 535, 537: general of the Erythraeans.
Diomedon, 145: from Cyzicus; sent by Artaxerxes with money for Epameinondas.
Dion, 39: of Syracuse in Sicily, brother-in-law of the elder Dionysius. Plutarch wrote his life.
Dionysius the Elder, 29-35, 127, 305, 371, 427: born 430 B.C., rose to be tyrant of Syracuse, 405–367 B.C.
Dionysius the Younger, 35, 37: son of Dionysius the Elder, succeeded his father as ruler, but was finally driven out by Timoleon in 343 B.C.
Dionysus, priestess of, 521.
Diphridas, 265: one of the Spartan ephors.
Dodona, 247: the seat of the oracle of Zeus in Epeirus.
Dolabella, P., 229: profligate son-in-law of Cicero; espoused Caesar's side in the Civil War, but after

Caesar's death joined the assassins. Besieged in Laodicea by Cassius, he ordered one of his soldiers to kill him to save him from his enemies.
Domitius (Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus), 171: consul 192 B.C.; legate of L. Scipio in the war against Antiochus the Great.
Domitius (Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus), 209: consul in 87 B.C.; son-in-law of L. Cornelius Cinna. Proscribed by Sulla for choosing the side of Marius, he fled to Africa and raised an army, but was defeated by Pompey in 81 B.C.
Dromichaetas, 79: king of the Getae in Thrace *circa* 300 B.C.
Dyrrachium, 227: the Greek Epidamnus, a city in Illyria.

Ecprepes, 319: an ephor at Sparta.
Egypt, 133, 215, 231, 281.
Egyptian kings, 23.
Eirene, 479: mistress of Ptolemy brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus (Athenaeus, 593 B).
Elaphebolia, 485: a festival at Hyampolis (in Phocis) in honour of Artemis.
Elis, 125, 289, 327, 517, 521: country in N.W. of the Peloponnesus. In it was Olympia where the Olympic games were held.
Epaenetus, 319: a Spartan, otherwise unknown.
Epameinondas, 139-151, 153, 279, 281, 561: of Thebes in Boeotia, *circa* 420–362 B.C., famous general and statesman, founder of the Theban League.
Epeirus (Epirotes), 157: a country in the N.W. of Greece.
Ephesus (Ephesians), 81: a city on the coast of Asia Minor.
Epicharmus, 29: comic poet from the island of Cos, but lived most of his life in Sicily under the patronage of Hiero.
Epicydes, 89: popular leader at Athens in 480 B.C.; his name is known only in connexion with Themistocles.
Eretria (Eretrians), 93.
Eros, 223: a slave of Cicero's.
Eros, 231, 233: procurator in Egypt at the time of Augustus Caesar.
Erythrae (Erythraeans), 487, 535: a city on the coast of Asia Minor opposite Chios.
Eryxo, 567-571: wife of Arcesilaus II. of Cyrene.
Eteocles, 413: an ephor at Sparta.
Etruscans, 573; Etruscan women, 497-501.
Euboedas, 319: a Spartan, otherwise unknown.
Eudamidas, 137, 319-323: brother of Agis III., and king of Sparta for a few years beginning with 331 B.C.
Eumenes II., 83: king of Pergamum 197–159 B.C.
Euphrates (river), 211.
Euripides, 39: Athenian tragic poet, *circa* 485–406 B.C.
Euripides quoted, 219 (?), 477.
Eurotas, 139, 301, 367, 427, 429, 459: a river east of Sparta.
Eurybiades, 89, 91: a Spartan, commander of the allied Greek fleet in the Persian war, 480 B.C.
Eurycles, 235: probably one of the commanders at the battle of Actium.
Eurycratidas, 323: king of Sparta in the first half of the 6th cent. B.C.
Evius, 61: a flute-player from Chalcis in Euboea.

Fabius, see Maximus.
Fabricius (C. Fabricius Luscinus), 155-159: a grand and simple Roman of the old school. Consul in 282 and 278 B.C. Sent as ambassador to Pyrrhus (280? B.C.), and later (278 B.C.) conducted the war against Pyrrhus which resulted in the evacuation of Italy by Pyrrhus. He was also censor in 275 B.C. when he tried to combat the rising tide of luxury.
Faustus Cornelius Sulla, 219: son of Sulla the dictator (*circa* 88–46 B.C.); sided with Pompey in the civil war, and put to death by Caesar's soldiers.

Fighting cocks, 135, 343.
Flagellation (of boys at Sparta), 445.
Flamininus, T. Quintius, 169-171: Roman general, consul 198 B.C.; conquered Philip V. of Macedon at Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C., and proclaimed the freedom of Greece at the Isthmian Games in the following year. He died about 174 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

GALATIA (Galatians), 81, 551, 555, 557, 559, 561: a people of Asia Minor.
Gellius (L. Gellius Poplicola), 211: consul 72 B.C.; censor 70 B.C.; defeated Crixus and a part of Spartacus's army, but was later defeated himself.
Gelon, 27, 29: ruler of Gela 491–483 B.C., and of Syracuse 485–478 B.C.
Geradatas (Geradas), 367: a Spartan of early times.
Gnaeus Manlius Vulso, 557: Roman general; consul in 189 B.C.
Gorgias, 475: of Leontini in Sicily; famous as an author and rhetorician, born about 480 B.C., and said to have lived over one hundred years.
Gorgo, 347, 363, 455-457: daughter of Cleomenes I., king of Sparta, and wife of Leonidas.
Gracchus, C., 197: one of the two brothers who attempted to bring about a reform in the laws relating to public lands in Italy. He died a violent death in 121 B.C.
Granicus (the battle of), 55.
Gyrtias, 457-459: the mother of Areus I., king of Sparta (or else of his wife).

HANNIBAL, 159, 161, 165, 167, 169, 493, 505, 507: son of Hamilcar Barca, and a very famous Carthaginian general, who attempted to conquer Rome. He lived 247–183 B.C.
Harmodius, 103: one of the two slayers of Hipparchus at Athens in 514 B.C.; one of his descendants also had this name.
Harpalus, 51: a Macedonian, son of Machatas; treasurer of Alexander the Great, and for a time governor of India.
Hecataeus, 305: of Abdera (*circa* 300 B.C.); philosopher, historian, and reputed to have been also a critic and grammarian.
Hecate, 147: a chthonic deity, often worshipped at cross-roads.
Hegesippus, 107: patriotic Athenian orator, 4th cent. B.C., strongly opposed to Philip of Macedon.
Hellanicus, 523, 525, 527: leader in the revolt against Aristotimus tyrant of Elis.
Hellespont, 263: the modern Dardanelles.
Helots, 255, 297, 441, 445, 497: the name given to the slave population in Sparta.
Hephaestion, 59, 67: son of Amyntor and intimate friend of Alexander the Great and cavalry commander under him.
Heracleia, 505: a Greek city on the south shore of the Black Sea.
Heracles, 65, 137, 139, 301, 373, 377: the famous strong man of the Greeks.
Hermaeus (an Argive month), 491.
Hermodotus, 71: an obscure poet.
Hermon, 333: pilot of Callicratidas' ship at the battle of Arginusae.
Herodotus quoted, 491: Greek historian of the 5th cent. B.C.
Herondas, 325: a Spartan, otherwise unknown.
Hesiod, 335: of Ascra in Boeotia, epic poet of the 8th or 9th century B.C.
Hidrieus (Idrieus), 131, 253: ruler of Caria, middle of 4th cent. B.C.
Hiero, 29: ruler of Gela and Syracuse 478–467 B.C.
Hipparchus, 49: one of the three men appointed by Philip, about 343 B.C., to rule Eretria in Euboea.
Hippoclus, 485: king of Chios.
Hippocratidas, 329-331: an early king of Sparta.
Hippodamus, 329: see the footnote on p. 328.

Homer, 75, 89, 101, 335: the traditional author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Homer, the *Iliad* quoted, 61, 245, 249.

Homer, the *Odyssey* quoted, 191.

Hortensius, Q. Hortalus, 219: famous Roman orator (114–50 B.C.). Consul in 69 B.C.; defended Verres against the prosecution by Cicero in 70 B.C.

Hyampolis, 483: a town on the eastern border of Phocis.

Hypsicreon, 533: of Miletus.

Iapygia, 533: wife of Pythes of Myus.

Idanthyrsus, 25: king of the Scythians *circa* 500 B.C.

Imbros, 497: an island west of the north part of Asia Minor.

"Impudence," festival of, 491.

Indarnes (Hydarnes), 417: a Persian, commander for Xerxes in Asia Minor.

India (Indians), 63, 65.

Iobates, 503: king of Lycia (prehistoric).

Iolaïdas, 151: a Theban officer, slain at the battle of Mantineia, 362 B.C.

Iphicrates, 103-105, 149: celebrated Athenian general, early part of 4th cent. B.C.

Iron money, 355.

Isaras, see Amisodarus.

Ismenias, 25: a celebrated flute-player, 4th cent. B.C.

Isthmian Games, 169.

Italy (Italians), 197.

Ithaca, 39: an island on the west coast of Greece.

Jason of Pherae, 143, 145: ruler ("Tagus") of Thessaly early in 4th cent. B.C.

Jerusalem, 87.

Jews, 87.

Julia, 235: the daughter of Augustus, who married Tiberius (later emperor) as her third husband. Her reputation was not lily-white.

Laarchus (Learchus, Haliarchus?), 567, 569, 571: friend (or brother) of Arcesilaus II. of Cyrene.

Labotas, 343: an early king of Sparta.

Lacedaemon (Lacedaemonians), see Sparta.

Laelius, C. (Sapiens), 189: consul 140 B.C.; intimate friend of Scipio Africanus Minor; the principal character in Cicero's *De amicitia*.

Laenas, see Popillius.

Laevinus, P. Valerius, 157: consul in 280 B.C. when he was defeated by Pyrrhus who had invaded Italy.

Lamachus, 101: brave and devoted Athenian general; born *circa* 470; fell in the Syracusan expedition, 414 B.C.

Lampis, 529: supporter of Aristotimus tyrant of Elis.

Lampis, 411: a wealthy ship-owner of Aegina.

Lampsace, 537-541: daughter of Mandron, king of the Pityoessenians.

Lampsacus, 541: a city at the east end of the Hellespont.

Larissa, 263: a town in northern Thessaly.

Lasthenes, 47: of Olynthus, accused by Demosthenes of having betrayed his country to Philip of Macedon.

Leander, 547, 549, 551: brother of Nicocrates of Cyrene.

Lemnos, 497, 501: an island west of the north part of Asia Minor.

Lentulus (Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus), 211: consul 70 B.C. and censor 72 B.C. with L. Gellius Poplicola; defeated by Spartacus.

Leo, 345: son of Eucratidas, and king of Sparta in the 7th cent. B.C.

Leonidas, 325, 347-351, 363, 457: leader of the Spartans at Thermopylae.

Leonidas, 55: tutor of Alexander the Great.

Leontis, 475: an unknown woman.

Leosthenes, 113; an Athenian, commander-in-chief of the Greek forces at the beginning of the Lamian war, 323–321 B.C.

Leotychidas I., 343, 361 : son of Anaxilas, and king of Sparta at the time of the second Messenian war, 7th cent. B.C. (Herodotus viii. 131).

Leotychidas II., 345 : son of Menares (Ariston in Plutarch is thought to be a mistake), and king of Sparta *circa* 491–469 B.C. (The dates are uncertain.) Herodotus viii. 131.

Leucadian Cliff, 421, 537: the southern extremity of the island of Leucas, west of Greece. To leap from it was traditionally thought to be a cure for love.

Leuconia, 485, 487 : a town on the west coast of Asia Minor, probably on the peninsula opposite Chios.

Leucothea, 369 : Ino, the daughter of Athamas of Boeotia, threw herself into the sea and was changed into a deity, bearing the name of Leucothea.

Leuctra (battle of), 143, 279, 401.

Licinius (C. Licinius Sacerdos), 191 : a Roman knight.

Licinius, see Crassus.

Livius, M. Macatus, 161 : commander of the garrison in Tarentum in the second Punic war.

Lochagus, 351 : an unknown Spartan.

Locrians, 267 : peoples of central Greece.

Lucius, 519 : an officer in the mercenary force of Aristotimus tyrant of Elis.

Lucullus, Lucius Licinius, 205-207, 211, 213 : Roman general; consul in 74 B.C.; friend and confidant of Sulla the dictator. Defeated Mithradates and Tigranes in several battles, 74–68 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Lusius, 201 : nephew of C. Marius.

Lutatius, see Catulus.

Lycian women, 501-505.

Lyctus, 501 : a town in Crete.

Lycurgus, 9, 119-121, 253, 277, 353-371, 393, 435, 437, 439, 445, 447, 449 : the reputed founder of the Spartan constitution. Plutarch wrote his life.

Lygdamis, 419 : tyrant of Naxos, in the latter half of the 6th cent. B.C. He was ousted by the Spartans, probably in 524 B.C.

Lyre, strings of, 319, 437.

Lysander, 127, 269, 331, 371-379, 417 : Spartan general and naval commander; brought to a close the Peloponnesian war by winning the battle of Aegospotami, 404 B.C.; fell in the battle of Haliartus, 395 B.C.

Lysanoridas (*v.l.* Lysander), 403 : one of the Spartan governors (harmosts) of Thebes after it was treacherously seized by Phoebidas in 382 B.C.

Lysimachus, 79, 401 : a Macedonian, one of the generals of Alexander the Great, at whose death he became king of Thrace. In 291 B.C. he tried to subdue the Getae, but was compelled to surrender. He fell in battle against Seleucus in 281 B.C.

MACEDON (Macedonians), 169, 173, 175, 263, 311, 321, 447.

Machaetas, 51 : an unknown Macedonian, unless Machatas, the father of Harpalus, is meant.

Maeandrius, 341 : succeeded his brother Polycrates as despot of Samos in 522 B.C. The name is everywhere spelled Maeandrius except twice in Plutarch.

Maecenas, C. Cilnius, 233 : a wealthy Roman, patron of letters; friend of Horace, Virgil, and other poets, as well as of the emperor Augustus, to whom he bequeathed his property on his death in 8 B.C.

Mamertines, 207, 209 : an Oscan people in Sicily.

Mandron, 539, 541 : king of the Pityoessenian Bebrycians.

Manlius (Cn. Manlius Vulso), 557 : consul in 189 B.C. when he conquered the Galatians in Asia Minor.

INDEX

Mantineia (battle of), 125, 281, 287.
Marathon (battle of), 89.
Marcellinus, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, 213: consul 56 B.C., friend of Cicero, and enemy of Pompey.
Marcellus, M. Claudius, 159, 161: distinguished Roman general, five times consul, conqueror of Syracuse; appointed colleague of Q. Fabius Maximus to conduct the war against Hannibal in 216 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Marius, C., 199-203, 209: famous Roman general, seven times consul, the first time in 107 B.C. at the age of 50. Defeated Jugurtha and saved Rome from the Cimbri and Teutones. Died in 86 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Marsyas, 71: brother of Antigonus the "One-eyed."
Masaesylians, 507: a people of Numidia (western part) in Africa.
Maximus, Q. Fabius (Venucosus), 159-163: consul in 233, 228, 215, 214, and 209 B.C. Dictator to conduct the war against Hannibal in 217 B.C. From his cautious policy in this war he received the name of "Cunctator." He died in 203 B.C.
Megabates, 251: son of Spithridates.
Megalopolis, 311: a large city in Arcadia in the Peloponnesus.
Megara (Megarians), 127, 271, 375: a country in Greece N.E. of the Isthmus of Corinth.
Megisto, 523-531: the wife of Timoleon.
Melos, the women of, 495-497.
Memmius, 195: a military tribune under Scipio Africanus Minor.
Memnon, 23: of Rhodes; an ally of Darius against Alexander the Great.
Menecrates, 129, 271, 273: a very successful physician from Syracuse. He seems to have gone (about 359 B.C.) to the court of Philip of Macedon.
Menyllus, 113: a Macedonian, commander of the garrison in Athens which was imposed by Antipater after the Lamian war (322 B.C.).
Messene (Messenians), 137, 149, 295, 303, 389: a country west of Sparta in the Peloponnesus.
Metapontum, 399: a Greek city on the Gulf of Tarentum in southern Italy.
Metellus (L. Caecilius Metellus Creticus), 225, 227: tribune of the plebs in 49 B.C.; attempted to thwart Caesar's designs.
Metellus, Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, 197-199: Roman general; praetor in 148 B.C. when he defeated the pretender to the Macedonian throne, and later the Greeks, their conquest being completed by Mummius in 146 B.C. Consul in 143 B.C. with the province of Hither Spain. Died in 115 B.C. Often confused with Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, whose life Plutarch wrote.
Metellus (Q. Marcus Metellus Nepos), 217: brother of Metellus Celer; supported Pompey, and, for a time, opposed to Cicero, but when consul (in 57 B.C.) he did not oppose the recall of Cicero from exile.
Micca, 517-519: daughter of Philodemus.
Micion, 113: commander of the Macedonian forces which invaded Attica in 322 B.C.
Miletus (Milesians), 57, 531, 533, 535; the women of, 509: a city on the coast of Asia Minor.
Miltiades, 87, 89: one of the ten generals in command of the Athenians at Marathon. He held the supreme command on the day of the battle.
Minucius (M. Minucius Rufus), 159: consul 221 B.C. In 227 B.C. he was magister equitum to the dictator Q. Fabius Maximus in the war against Hannibal.
Mithradates, 75: founder of the line of kings of Pontus.
Mithradates VI., 559, 561: king of Pontus *circa* 120-63 B.C.
Music, Spartan, 433-437.

Myro, 529: elder daughter of Aristotimus.
Myronides, 95: noted Athenian general in the 5th cent. B.C.
Myus, 531: an Ionian city in Caria.

NAMERTES, 379: an unknown Spartan.
Narthacium, 265: a mountain in Thessaly.
Nasica (P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum), 175: 2nd cent. B.C., a wise and learned man, twice consul; consistently opposed to Cato's policy regarding Carthage.
Naxos (Naxians), 533, 535, 537: a large island in the Aegean sea.
Neaera, 533: wife of Hypsicreon of Miletus.
Nectanabis, 131, 283: last king of the Sebennite dynasty in Egypt, middle of 4th cent. B.C.
Neileus (or Neileos), 531: son of Codrus (the last king of Athens) and founder of the city of Miletus in Asia Minor.
Nestor, 479: of Pylos, the wise old man of the Homeric poems.
Nicander, 379: an early Spartan king (*circa* 800 B.C.?), son of Charillus.
Nicanor, 43: a Macedonian.
Nicias, 131, 253: a friend of Agesilaus.
Nicocrates, 541, 543, 545, 547: tyrant of Cyrene in Africa.
Nicodemus, 151: a cripple.
Nicomachus, 477: a distinguished Greek painter, middle of the 4th cent. B.C.
Nicostratus, 137: Argive general, middle of 4th cent. B.C.
Nonius, 221: an officer in Pompey's army at the battle of Pharsalus.
Numantia (Numantians), 193, 197: most important town of the Celtiberians in Spain; destroyed by Scipio Africanus Minor in 133 B.C.
Nymphaeus, 495, 497: of Melos, leader of a colony of Melians to Caria.
Nymphis, 505: Greek historian of Heracleia in Pontus, 2nd cent. B.C.

OCHUS, 493: son of Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon), and king of Persia 358 (?)–338 B.C.
Odysseus, 479: a most important character in the Homeric poems.
Oedipus, 145: king of Thebes in Boeotia, subject of Sophocles' plays which bear that name.
Olympias, 479: wife of Philip of Macedon and mother of Alexander the Great.
Olympic games, 125, 289, 323, 347, 381, 413, 421.
Olynthus, 285: a flourishing town in the Chalcidian peninsula at the head of the Gulf of Torone, captured by the Spartans in 379 B.C., and by Philip in 348 B.C.
Optilletis, 359: epithet of Athena.
Orestes, 145: son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra; he slew his mother to avenge the death of his father.
Orontes, 21: Persian satrap of Mysia; honoured with Athenian citizenship 349–348 B.C.
Orontes, 317: a prominent Persian; probably unknown except in this connexion.
Ortiagon, 555, 557: one of the three princes of Galatia at the time of the Roman invasion in 189 B.C.

PAEDARETUS (Paedaritus, Pedaritus), 135, 385, 463: Spartan general at the time of the Peloponnesian war.
Panaetius, 193: of Rhodes, a Stoic philosopher, friend of Scipio Africanus Minor.
Panthoidas, 381: Spartan governor (harmost) who fell at Tanagra 377 B.C. (Plut. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xv.)
Parium, 539: a town of Mysia on the Hellespont.
Parmenio, 41, 53, 57, 59, 81: trusted general of Philip and Alexander; accused of plotting against the life of Alexander, he was assassinated by command. He lived 400–330 B.C.

Parysatis, 21: wife of Darius II. (Ochus, or Nothus).

Paulus (L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus), 173: distinguished Roman general; aedile 192, praetor 191, consul 182 and 168 B.C.; conquered Perseus (last king of Macedonia) at Pydna in 168 B.C. He lived 230–160 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Pausanias, 381: son of Cleombrotus; regent of Sparta from 479 B.C.; commanded the Greeks at the battle of Plataea; died 468 B.C.

Pausanias, 383-385: son of Pleistoanax; king of Sparta (444 nominally) 408–394 B.C.

Pegasus, 503: Bellerophon's winged horse.

Peiraeus, 99: the sea-port of Athens.

Peisistratus, 117-199: benignant "tyrant" of Athens, off and on, from 560 to 528 B.C.; rated by some as one of the Seven Wise Men.

Pelasgians, 499: the traditional name of the early inhabitants of some parts of Greece (including Attica).

Pelopidas, 141, 151-153, 479, 561: eminent Theban general and statesman, early part of 4th cent. B.C.; intimate friend of Epameinondas.

Peloponnesus, 145, 147, 171.

Pergamum, 559, 561: a city near the west coast of Asia Minor, opposite Lesbos.

Periander, 309: a physician, 4th cent. B.C.

Pericles, 97-99, 101, 221: the famous Athenian general and statesman. Died 429 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Perillus (or Perilaus?), 57: a Macedonian, brother of Casander (?).

Perinthus, 291: an important town in Thrace.

Perseus, 83, 173, 175: son of Philip V. and last king of Macedonia (from 178 to 168 B.C.).

Persian king, 129, 145, 247, 259, 273, 275, 281.

Persian women, 491-493.

Petillius (Q.?), 167: accuser of Scipio Africanus.

Phaedimus, 541, 543: of Cyrene, husband of Aretaphila.

Pharnabazus, 273: Persian satrap, governing the provinces about the Hellespont from 412 to 393 B.C.

Pharnaces, 229: king of Pontus 63–47 B.C.; son of Mithradates the Great.

Pharsalians, 265: the people of Pharsalia in Thessaly.

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Philip, 25, 41-55, 137, 285, 291, 303, 309, 329, 403, 447: of Macedon, 382–336 B.C., conqueror of Greece, father of Alexander the Great.

Philip V., 169, 487, 489: king of Macedon, able and eminent, defeated by the Roman general Flamininus at Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C. He lived from 237 to 179 B.C.

Philip, 69, 71: a son of Antigonus the "One-eyed."

Philip, 345: a priest of the Orphic mysteries.

Philippides, 79: Athenian, poet of the New Comedy, *circa* 300 B.C.

Philodemus, 517: a citizen of Elis, otherwise unknown.

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Philopoemen, 171: (*circa* 252–183 B.C.) of Megalopolis; distinguished general of the Achaean League.

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Phocion, 109-115: upright Athenian general and statesman, 402–317 B.C. He was put to death on a charge of treason. Plutarch wrote his life.

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Phoebidas, 391: Spartan general who in 382 B.C. treacherously

seized the Cadmeia in Thebes; fell in battle against the Thebans sometime after 378 B.C.
Phraates III. (Arsacas XII.), 211: king of the Parthians *circa* 70–60 B.C.
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Phyle, 117: an Athenian fortress on Mt. Parnes.
Pieria, 531-533: daughter of Pythes of Myus.
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Pleistoanax, 387: son of the elder Pausanias, and king of Sparta *circa* 458–408 B.C.
Pollis, 499: Spartan leader of a colony to Melos and Crete.
Poltys, 23: a legendary king of Aenos in Thrace.
Polyarchus, 569, 571: eldest brother of Eryxo the wife of Arcesilaus II. of Cyrene.
Polybius, 185, 187, 559: of Megalopolis, celebrated Greek historian, *circa* 201–120 B.C.; he was a hostage in Rome 168–150 B.C.
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Polysperchon, 85: distinguished general under Alexander the Great and his successors.
Polyxenus, 35: perhaps the brother-in-law of Dionysius the Elder.
Pompeia, 223: daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus and of Cornelia the daughter of the dictator Sulla. She was married to Julius Caesar as his third wife, and divorced by him in 61 B.C.
Pompey (Cn. Pompeius Magnus), 207-215, 219, 221, 225, 227, 235: famous Roman general; triumvir with Julius Caesar and Crassus. Plutarch wrote his life.
Pompey, Quintus, 189: son of Aulus Pompey; of humble origin, no mean orator, consul in 141 B.C., and censor in 131 B.C.
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Lagus, and king of Egypt 323–285 B.C.
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Pythes (Pythius) and his wife, 577-581: a wealthy Lydian, son of Atys. He seems to have lived at Celaenae in Phrygia.
Python, 61: a Macedonian, commander under Alexander the Great, and later under Alexander's successors.
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Scipio, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, 163-169: Roman general, consul 205 B.C.; conquered the Carthaginians at Zama 202 B.C. He lived 235–183 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life to parallel the *Life of Epameinondas*; both are now lost.
Scipio, Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus (Minor), 185-197, 199: son of Aemilius Paulus, adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus Maior; Roman general, consul in 147 and 134 B.C.; censor 142 B.C.; conqueror of Carthage in 147–146 B.C.; friend of Polybius the historian. He lived 185–129 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life, which is now lost.
Scipio (Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica), 229: sometimes called Metellus Scipio, because he was adopted by Metellus Pius; consul (with Pompey) in 52 B.C. An enemy of Caesar, he killed himself after Caesar's victory at Thapsus in 46 B.C.
Sciraphidas, 443: an unknown Spartan.
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Selinus, 303: important Doric colony in S.W. Sicily.

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Seriphus, 91: a small island in the Aegean sea.
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Servilius (P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus), 209: Roman general, consul in 79 B.C., subdued the pirates in Cilicia and its neighbourhood, and organized the Roman province of Cilicia († 44 B.C.).
Servius Tullius, 479: the sixth king of Rome.
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Sperchis, 417: a Spartan, sent with Bulis to Xerxes to atone for the killing of the Persian heralds.
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but was himself put to death in 395 B.C.

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Xenophon, 267: Greek historian and general writer, 430–350 (?) B.C.

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Zeuxidamus, 323-325: an early king of Sparta, or else the son of Leotychidas II. If the latter, he died before his father, and so never became king.

Zeuxis, 477: a most celebrated Greek painter; latter part of 5th century B.C.

Zopyrus, 15: a distinguished Persian; personal friend of Darius I.

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